

The Role of Mediating Institutions for the Integration of Brazilian (Im-)Migrants in Japan

Dissertation

zur Erlangung des Grades eines Doktors der Philosophie

eingereicht am Fachbereich Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften

der Freien Universität Berlin

vorgelegt von

Chaline Mondwurf

Berlin 2023

Erstgutachterin: Prof. Dr. Cornelia Reiher

Zweitgutachterin: Prof. Dr. Stephanie Schütze

Tag der Disputation: 15. April 2024

Hiermit versichere ich an Eides statt, dass ich die vorliegende Dissertation mit dem Titel „The Role of Mediating Institutions for the Integration of Brazilian (Im-)Migrants in Japan“ selbstständig verfasst und keine anderen als die angegebenen Hilfsmittel genutzt habe. Alle wörtlich oder inhaltlich übernommenen Stellen habe ich als solche gekennzeichnet.

Ich versichere außerdem, dass ich die beigefügte Dissertation nur in diesem und keinem anderen Promotionsverfahren eingereicht habe und dass diesem Promotionsverfahren keine endgültig gescheiterten Promotionsverfahren vorausgegangen sind.

Racial harmony is not gonna come by us holding hands and singing “Kumbaya”. That understanding has to be earned, it has to be worked for, and there are sacrifices involved. And I think that breaking isolation requires work and sacrifice.

Barack Obama

Acknowledgments

This dissertation would not have been possible without the numerous support I received. First and foremost, I would like to thank my interlocutors who so warmly welcomed me, shared their thoughts with me, and let me participate in a part of their life. I am very grateful to my Brazilian acquaintances who, without hesitation, accepted me as one of them. I am especially indebted to Pedro, whom I could always ask anything and who – in the words of another Brazilian acquaintance – “showed me how to live”.

Many thanks to the two institutions that provided access points to my field. The international exchange organization HICE generously gave me the opportunity to do an internship and all its employees and volunteers supported me by explaining things, letting me participate in events, and introducing people to me. The teachers and students of the dance school Brasil A2 warmly welcomed me and let me join their activities. Besides providing me with numerous insights, they taught me how to dance and allowed me to share many wonderful moments with them.

I would like to express my deepest thanks to my supervisors without whom this project would not have been completed. My heartfelt gratitude to Prof. Dr. Cornelia Reiher who accompanied me and my project from the beginning, always encouraged me, and gave many useful recommendations. I am also very grateful to Prof. Dr. Stephanie Schütze, especially for inviting me to join her colloquium which provided me with many fruitful insights. My dissertation project has been generously funded by the Graduate School of East Asian Studies (GEAS) of Freie Universität Berlin and DFG.

I would like to gratefully acknowledge the assistance and support of all other people who commented on my dissertation at any stage. These include professors and fellow students of my university as well as beyond. I am thankful for the opportunities to present my research, especially at the DIJ, the Institute of Social Science of Tōkyō University, and the EAJS PhD Workshop, and for the various helpful comments I received. Last but not least, I would like to thank Jörg, Sophie, Tim, and my sister Fe who read a part of my draft and gave many helpful hints, as well as all other friends and family members who believed in me and (emotionally) supported me.

Contents

Glossary	xi
Abbreviations	xv
List of figures	xvi
List of tables	xvi
1. Introduction.....	1
1.1. Historical background: Japanese migration to Brazil and back	3
1.2. Literature review: Brazilians in Japan and their integration	7
1.3. Purpose and research question.....	12
1.4. Methodology and structure	15
2. Concepts and theories	18
2.1. Migration and integration	18
2.1.1. Migration patterns and transnationalism	18
2.1.2. Means of integration	21
2.1.3. Multiculturalism or interculturalism?	28
2.2. Brazilians in Japan	32
2.2.1. Nikkei, Japanese Brazilians, and Brazilians.....	32
2.2.2. Diaspora or ethnic community?.....	33
2.2.3. Encountering the host society.....	35
2.3. Local level institutions.....	38
2.3.1. The local government and its tabunka kyōsei efforts	38
2.3.2. The concept of mediating institutions.....	39
3. Methodology	43
3.1. Approach and its limitations.....	43
3.2. Identity and position of the researcher in the field	45
3.3. Fieldwork activities and data acquisition.....	47
3.3.1. Access to the field.....	48
3.3.2. Participant observation	50

3.3.3.	Interviews and research participants.....	53
3.4.	Data analysis.....	63
3.4.1.	Identifying relevant research areas as categories of analysis.....	63
3.4.2.	Identifying mediating institutions.....	66
4.	The Brazilians in Japan.....	69
4.1.	The Japanese migration and integration regime.....	69
4.1.1.	Japanese immigration law.....	69
4.1.2.	<i>Tabunka kyōsei</i> : The Japanese notion of multiculturalism.....	72
4.1.3.	Local <i>tabunka kyōsei</i> efforts.....	76
4.2.	Brazilian migration to Japan.....	79
4.2.1.	The beginning of the <i>dekassegui</i> movement.....	80
4.2.2.	The actual condition of the Brazilian diaspora in Japan.....	82
4.2.3.	Brazilian migration patterns.....	85
4.3.	Choice and description of fieldsite.....	88
4.3.1.	Municipalities with big Brazilian communities.....	89
4.3.2.	Hamamatsu.....	92
5.	The role of institutions related to local community and everyday life for the integration of Brazilian immigrants in Hamamatsu.....	97
5.1.	Brazilian community life in Hamamatsu.....	98
5.1.1.	Ethnic community.....	99
5.1.2.	Everyday life.....	103
5.1.3.	Planning a life course in Japan? The decision to stay or to return.....	114
5.1.4.	Culture and sports as a means of integration?.....	122
5.2.	Relation to the host society and the role of mediating institutions in shaping it	134
5.2.1.	Interaction, participation, and mutual understanding.....	135
5.2.2.	Measures for fostering interaction: opportunities created by mediating institutions.....	144

5.2.3.	Stereotypes, prejudices, and discrimination in everyday life	152
5.2.4.	Measures for combatting discrimination.....	163
5.3.	Discussion and conclusion	166
5.3.1.	Role of relevant mediating institutions	169
5.3.2.	Four dimensions of social integration.....	175
6.	The role of religious institutions for the integration of Brazilian immigrants in Hamamatsu	179
6.1.	Pentecostalism	185
6.1.1.	Pentecostalism and the Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus	185
6.1.2.	Pentecostalism among Brazilian migrants in Japan and the Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus in Hamamatsu	188
6.1.3.	The IURD's role for integration of Brazilian migrants	195
6.2.	Catholic Church	198
6.2.1.	The Catholic Church and interculturalism	199
6.2.2.	The Catholic Church in Hamamatsu	203
6.2.3.	The Catholic Church's role for integration of Brazilian migrants.....	209
6.3.	Spiritism.....	215
6.3.1.	Development and Brazilianization of Spiritism	216
6.3.2.	Spiritism in Japan.....	218
6.3.3.	Spiritism's role for integration of Brazilian migrants	221
6.4.	Discussion and Conclusion	223
6.4.1.	Role for integration.....	223
6.4.2.	Four dimensions of social integration.....	229
7.	The role of educational institutions for integration of Brazilian immigrants in Hamamatsu	235
7.1.	School education.....	238
7.1.1.	Brazilian schools	239
7.1.2.	Japanese schools	250

7.1.3. Options after junior high school: entering a factory vs. pursuing higher education	274
7.2. Bilingual education	284
7.2.1. Language education of children through civil society.....	287
7.2.2. The role of children as interpreters for their parents	293
7.2.3. When bilingual education fails.....	295
7.3. Adults' education	300
7.3.1. Language education of adults through civil society.....	300
7.3.2. Financial education and planning.....	306
7.3.3. Access to information on everyday life in the host society	307
7.4. Discussion and Conclusion	313
7.4.1. The role of educational mediating institutions	314
7.4.2. Four dimensions of social integration.....	318
8. Conclusion	324
8.1. Findings.....	324
8.2. Interpretation and discussion.....	333
8.3. Contribution, limitations, and outlook.....	341
Bibliography.....	345
Appendix: Short description of interlocutors	398
Institutions	398
Individuals	401
Abstract	403

Glossary

<i>baito (arubaito)</i>	side job
<i>bentō</i>	lunch box
<i>budō</i>	martial arts
<i>bukatsu</i>	extracurricular club activities
<i>burakumin</i>	descendants of Japan's feudal outcast group
<i>calor humano</i>	human warmth
<i>chūtohampa</i>	halfway, incomplete, half-hearted, scattered
<i>churrasco</i>	Brazilian BBQ
<i>danchi</i>	housing / apartment complex
<i>dekassegui / dekasegi (also: decasségui)</i>	literally: working away from home, originally meant Japanese migrants who lived in rural areas and during winter searched for work in industrial regions, nowadays mostly Japanese Brazilian (and other Latin American) “return” labor migrants to Japan
<i>dōjō</i>	dojo, hall used for martial arts training
<i>eijūsha</i>	permanent resident
<i>empreiteira</i>	employment broker, recruiting agency (<i>haken gaisha</i>)
<i>gaijin / gaikokujin</i>	<i>gaijin</i> is a pejorative form of <i>gaikokujin</i> , which literally means “foreign national”, “alien”, “non-Japanese”, or “outsider”
<i>gakkō hōjin</i>	legally incorporated educational institution
<i>gyōsei sankā</i>	participation in governance

<i>hanami</i>	cherry blossom viewing
<i>hiragana</i>	Japanese syllabary used primarily for native Japanese words
<i>ibunka rikai</i>	understanding of other cultures
<i>ijime</i>	bullying
<i>inaka</i>	countryside
<i>issei</i>	first-generation Japanese descendent / immigrant
<i>izakaya</i>	Japanese bar which also serves snacks
<i>dar um jeito</i>	the Brazilian way of doing things, to wangle something
<i>jinken kyōiku</i>	human rights education
<i>juku</i>	cram school
<i>kakushu gakkō</i>	miscellaneous school; legal category of schools including certain vocational schools, driving schools, cram schools, etc.
<i>kanji</i>	Chinese characters
<i>kao no mienai teijūka</i>	invisible permanent settlement process
<i>katakana</i>	Japanese syllabary used primarily for foreign words and names
<i>kikoku shijo</i>	children who have returned to Japan after living abroad
<i>kimochiwarui</i>	unpleasant, disgusting
<i>kokumin kenkō hoken</i>	National Health Insurance, operated by local authorities
<i>kokusaika</i>	a) internationalization b) International Affairs Division of Hamamatsu City Hall
<i>kokusai kōryū kyōkai</i>	associations for international exchange

<i>kokusai kyūshitsu</i>	international class
<i>kokusai rikai kyōiku</i>	education for international understanding
<i>kōminkan</i>	Japanese public community center (former designation)
<i>kyōdō sentā</i>	Japanese public community center
<i>matsuri</i>	Japanese festival
<i>mestiço</i>	person of ‘racially’ mixed ancestry
<i>mienai teijūka</i>	see: <i>kao no mienai teijūka</i>
<i>mukai</i>	here: fetching children up and driving them home
<i>mushūkyō</i>	without religion
<i>nenkin</i>	pension
Nikkei / Nikkeijin	people of Japanese descent who were born and raised outside of Japan, can be subdivided into its various generations (<i>issei, nisei, sansei, yonsei</i>)
<i>nisei</i>	second-generation Japanese descendant
Padre	Father (rel.)
<i>panelinha</i>	closed groups
<i>rōmaji</i>	transliteration of Japanese characters into the Latin alphabet
<i>sabetsu</i>	discrimination
<i>samba</i>	Brazilian dance
<i>sansei</i>	third-generation Japanese descendant
<i>saudade</i>	yearning, nostalgia, homesickness
<i>seishain (shain)</i>	regular employee
<i>senmongakkō</i>	vocational school

<i>senpai – kōhai</i>	senior – junior; essential element of Japanese seniority-based status relationships
<i>shakai hoken</i>	company-based social insurance scheme
<i>shinshūkyō</i>	Japanese New Religions
<i>sōji</i>	cleanup
<i>tabunka kyōsei</i>	Japanese notion of interculturalism (literally: multicultural coexistence)
<i>teijisei kōkō</i>	Japanese part-time high school
<i>teijūka</i>	see: <i>kao no mienai teijūka</i>
<i>teijūsha</i>	long-term resident
<i>tōgō</i>	integration, unity
<i>tsūyaku</i>	interpretation
<i>yonseī</i>	fourth-generation Japanese descendent
<i>yōchien</i>	Japanese nursery school
<i>zainichi</i>	resident (person) / situated (institution) in Japan; Korean national with permanent residency in Japan and their descendants
<i>zangyō</i>	overtime work, extra hours
<i>zurui</i>	sneaky, sly

Abbreviations

ABRAH	<i>Associação Brasileira de Hamamatsu (Hamamatsu burajiru kyōkai; Hamamatsu Brazilians Association)</i>
BoE	Board of Education
CLAIR	Council of Local Authorities for International Relations (<i>jichitai kokusaika kyōkai</i>)
COLORS	Communicate with Others to Learn Other Roots and Stories
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
E.A.S.	Escola Alegria de Saber
HICE	Hamamatsu Foundation for International Communications and Exchange
IIEC	International Institute of Education and Culture
JLPT	Japanese Language Proficiency Test
MEC	Ministério da Educação (Brazilian Ministry of Education)
MEXT	<i>Monbu kagakushō</i> (Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology)
MRE	Ministério das Relações Exteriores (Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs)
NPO	Non-for-Profit Organization
PTA	Parent Teacher Associations
3F (san-efu)	fashion, festival, and food
3K (san-kei)	<i>kitsui, kitanai, kiken</i> (in English: demanding, dirty, dangerous)
SMJ	NPO SOS Mamães no Japão
SUAC	Shizuoka University of Art and Culture
U-ToC	Foreign Resident Study Support Center (abbreviation of: Yūto Todo mundo Center)

List of figures

Figure 1: Intercultural Strategies of Ethnocultural Groups and the Larger Society ...	22
Figure 2: Types of social integration of migrants	22
Figure 3: Systemic integration and social integration	25
Figure 4: Social reaction to difference	75
Figure 5: Number of Brazilians in Japan.....	80
Figure 6: Japanese cities with the highest numbers of Brazilian residents	82
Figure 7: Location of Japanese cities with significant Brazilian populations	89
Figure 8: Numbers of Brazilian residents in Hamamatsu.....	93
Figure 9: Administrative districts of Hamamatsu city	94
Figure 10: Number of foreign students enrolled in Japanese elementary and junior high schools in Hamamatsu.....	250
Figure 11: Foreign students who continue their studies at Japanese high school .	277
Figure 12: Advancement of foreign students after junior high school in 2016.....	278

List of tables

Table 1: Fieldwork events and activities	52
Table 2: Interviews	57
Table 3: Interview guides.....	61
Table 4: Relevant actors regarding the Brazilian community in Hamamatsu.....	68

1. Introduction

Living together of many cultures

On Sunday, February 11th, 2018, the “Hamamatsu Foundation for International Communication and Exchange” (Hamamatsu Kokusai Kōryū Kyōkai; HICE) organized its annual *Global Fair*, at the same time celebrating HICE’s 35th anniversary. A few days before, I just had arrived in Hamamatsu, a city in Shizuoka prefecture with around 800,000 inhabitants and 23,000 foreign residents, and was surprised by the variety of cultures and people from different nationalities who came to attend the fair. Using the whole building where HICE is situated, different cultures that are present in the city introduced themselves: In the lobby on the first floor, booths offered handicraft and decoration from various countries. Some institutions, including the library and a bank, also had a booth. The local radio station Fm Haro! made a live broadcasting. In the courtyard, representatives from different countries served food from their respective country: Brazil, Philippines, Canada, Russia, and Turkey. On the second and third floors, cultural activities were offered. In the Malaysia / Indonesia room, visitors could apply henna and try on typical clothes, including headscarves. In the Japanese room, people could join a tea ceremony and make Japanese sweets. In another room, conversations with exchange students took place. One room housed a photo exhibition on the life as *dekassegui* (Latin American work migrant in Japan).¹ For children, the fair offered a stamp rally and strap making. On the stage of the big hall on the second floor, cultural performances, such as dances, took place and speeches were held, including by the Brazilian consul general. When Sahel Rose, an Iranian actress in her thirties who grew up in Japan, gave a lecture on her experiences of living in Japan as a foreigner, the hall was full and everybody listened excitedly. As so many people had concluded before her, she proclaimed the message that all people are equal, and that even if the language barrier hinders interaction, fostering mutual understanding should be the goal.

¹ The Japanese term *dekasegi* (*dekassegui* or *decasségui* in Portuguese) literally means “working away from home”. Originally written in *kanji* (Chinese characters), nowadays it is mostly written in *katakana* (Japanese syllabary used primarily for foreign words and names) and refers to (Brazilian) descendants of Japanese who migrate to Japan to work in order to escape economic instability in Latin America (cf. Mita 2009: 195), in other words, temporary migrant workers (cf. Tsuda 2009: 208).

Dreams of a young Brazilian girl

On a Sunday at the end of May 2018, when I was sitting on a bench across the street from HICE in the city center of Hamamatsu and enjoying the sun, a young (not Japanese looking) girl – let us call her Cora – arrived by bike and sat down on a bench next to mine. After a while, she started a conversation. First, she shyly tried to address me in Portuguese to see if I was Brazilian. Then, realizing that I understood Portuguese, she started talking nineteen to the dozen. Soon I noticed that she used very simple expressions. Often, she was searching for Portuguese words which she apparently did not know. Some words she tried to paraphrase in Portuguese, such as *palhaço* (“clown”). For others, she mixed Japanese or even English words into her sentences. She told me that her Japanese skills are not very good. However, I realized that she had problems explaining herself in any language. Suddenly, she asked if she could sing a song for me in English. She seemed very happy when I agreed and started singing about an elderflower. Then, she told me about her current situation and her concerns: She just graduated school and had a new boyfriend, her first one. He lives in Toyohashi and works in Shizuoka. He had told her that this is the reason why they cannot see each other very often. When I told her that he must come through Hamamatsu every day on his way to work, she was surprised. She explained that she came here to the job office “Hello Work” which was located close to our bench in order to find a job, so that she can earn money to pay the train to go to Toyohashi frequently and maybe move out from her mother’s apartment. She would like to move to his place, but her mother prohibited it and threatened her with kicking her out of their apartment in case she gets pregnant. Cora told me that she spends much time alone and often has to take care of the housekeeping. Her single mother is rarely at home, because she works a lot. However, from the money she earns not much remains, because she likes to play *pachinko*. When I asked Cora if she knows Força Jovem, the youth group of the Brazilian Neopentecostal church Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus, she said she goes there from time to time. Cora asked me to take a picture together and wrote down my name to search me on *facebook* (what she never did in the end). She explained that it takes a while to get home, uphill by bike, and pointed into the direction of Hamamatsu’s city ward Takaoka, where many Brazilian live. Then she left, in order not to come home too late.

These two impressions from my fieldwork show different aspects of life in an intercultural environment: On the one side, a big event that brings together many people from different cultures which are present in the city to display or enjoy many different cultures' aspects, such as food, handicraft, music, and dance. The event suggests that many different cultures live together in the city without trouble. On the other side, a young Brazilian girl who just finished school and has big dreams. She is, however, not prepared for a work life outside the factory. A contrast that shows that the day after a joyful event celebrating multiculturalism, when everyday life starts again, it becomes apparent that integration is more than fashion, food, and festival.

These vignettes set the stage for examining the situation of Brazilian residents in Japan and their integration with the host society, taking the city of Hamamatsu as an example. In this introductory chapter, the historical context as well as existing literature on Brazilians in Japan and their integration are presented. Subsequently, the third subchapter introduces the purpose of this dissertation and its research question. Lastly, methodology and structure are outlined.

1.1. Historical background: Japanese migration to Brazil and back

In 1908 the first Japanese migrants arrived in São Paulo. Due to a tense economic situation in Japan and increasingly intensifying racist immigration politics regarding Japanese immigrants in the USA, Canada, and Australia, South America became a reasonable choice for them (cf. Manzenreiter 2013: 656; Matsuo 2009: 150-151). The Brazilian government, in need of workers on its plantations due to the abolition of slavery in 1888 and difficulties in recruiting European workers, actively recruited Japanese contract laborers (cf. Adachi 2004: 54-55). Until the Second World War, the number of Japanese migrants living in Brazil rose to almost 200,000 people (cf. Lesser 2013: 160). Initially, most intended to stay short-term, save money, and then return to Japan (cf. Tsuda 2018: 107). Many managed to leave the coffee plantations and became independent farmers (cf. Adachi 2004: 57). They settled in ethnic colonies (*colônias*) in rural areas, especially in the states of São Paulo and Paraná, and eventually gave up the intention to return to Japan one day (cf. Lesser 2013: 157; Manzenreiter 2013: 656). After the war, a second Japanese immigration wave to Brazil took place, mostly motivated by a difficult economic situation in Japan (cf.

Manzenreiter 2013: 657), closed borders of the USA (cf. Lesser 2013: 181-182), family reunion, and marriage (cf. Manzenreiter 2013: 662). These postwar immigrants mostly intended to settle permanently (cf. Tsuda 2003: 57).²

Many Brazilian-born second-generation Nikkeijin (Japanese descendants born and raised outside of Japan; also: Nikkei) actively sought integration with the Brazilian society. They moved to the big cities in order to pursue higher education (cf. Tsuda 2003: 57-58). Intermarriages with non-Japanese Brazilians increased (cf. Manzenreiter 2013: 669), which had an impact on the identity of their descendants. Although official numbers regarding the Nikkei community in Brazil are outdated, it is estimated that nowadays approximately 1.8 million Japanese descendants live in Brazil (cf. Nakagawa 2018b: 23).³ Nowadays, Nikkeijin are “culturally assimilated and socioeconomically well-integrated in Brazilian society” (Tsuda 2018: 107) while at the same time identify with their Japaneseness (cf. Tsuda 2003: 82). Although they are still called “*japonês*” (cf. Adachi 2004: 62), this label is not a negative one. Nikkeijin have a good reputation as diligent, honest, reliable, responsible, polite, educated, and intelligent people which is rooted in the efforts of the early immigrants as well as in Japan’s position in the global order as First World country (cf. Sellek 2002: 187; Tsuda 2003: 67-69, 72-73, 75). The Nikkeijin reached a high educational, cultural, and economic level as well as social class (cf. Lesser 2013: 174; Nakagawa 2018b: 23; Sellek 2002: 187; Tsuda 2003: 66).⁴ Although few hold high positions as politicians, at the police, at the court, or at companies in the non-Japanese-Brazilian sector (cf. Adachi 2004: 64-65), Nikkeijin can be found in all areas of Brazilian society (cf. Lesser 2013: 174). Moreover, their culture is appreciated in Brazil, and they are shown high recognition and respect within the Brazilian society (cf. Nakagawa 2018b: 23; Tsuda 2003: 70-77).

When in the 1980s Brazil was struck by an economic downturn, hyperinflation, and rising unemployment, emigration rates rose significantly (cf. Margolis 2013: 8-9; Mita

² For a detailed history of Japanese immigration to Brazil, see BUNKYO 1992.

³ The last census was collected in 1988 by the Centro de Estudos Nipo-Brasileiros. The Center ascertained that 1.228.000 Japanese descendants (Nikkei) lived in Brazil at that time, most of them in the city (26.5%) and state (another 45.6%) of São Paulo (cf. BUNKYO 1992: 425). Since then, no other investigation on their number was made (cf. Nakagawa 2018b: 23).

⁴ For a detailed examination of the Nikkeijin’s achievements in Brazil, their contribution to and their participation in Brazilian society in the realms of agriculture, commerce, industry, education, culture, and religion, see BUNKYO (1992: 461-601).

2009: 9).⁵ At the same time, the situation in Japan was demanding for foreign labor: the Japanese economy was booming (cf. Mita 2009: 258) while the looming demographic change already appeared to bring about an aging population.⁶ Especially the manufacturing industry needed workers doing 3K-jobs: *kitsui* (demanding), *kitanai* (dirty), *kiken* (dangerous).⁷ As historically the number of foreigners living in Japan has been low, the Japanese government considers Japan as a non-immigration country and its society as largely homogeneous.⁸ The largest groups of foreigners residing in Japan at that time were oldcomer immigrants: Chinese and Korean nationals and their descendants. While continuing the closed-door policy toward unskilled immigrant workers and taking action against illegal immigration⁹, the 1990 revision of the immigration law opened loopholes in order to solve the labor shortage issue. One of these side-doors¹⁰ is the admission of Nikkeijin (cf. Tsuda 2018: 106), as Japanese government policymakers were “afraid of foreign influences on its [Japan’s] cherished cultural identity as a consequence of immigration” (cf. Liu-Farrer 2020: 201). They assumed that Nikkeijin are culturally close and therefore would assimilate smoothly (cf. Tsuda 2003: 91). Moreover, as Nikkeijin had predominantly middle-class backgrounds and were well-educated (cf. Tsuda 2009: 208), Japanese officials believed that they would stay only temporarily in Japan (cf. Takenaka 2009: 222). Thereupon, in the 1990s approximately 220,000 Latin American descendants of Japanese immigrants decided to ‘return’ to Japan (cf. MOJ [2023]) and by doing so created a flow of people that is called *dekassegui* movement. Most of them were Brazilians (followed by Peruvians), who came to

⁵ For main destinations of Brazilian emigrants, see chapter 4.2.

⁶ The Japanese population has been decreasing since 2011, but it had already begun stagnating in 2005 (MIC [2022]a).

⁷ The Brazilians later added two more K’s: *kibishii* (hard) and *kirai* (disliked) (cf. Nakagawa 2018b: 25).

⁸ After the Meiji restoration in 1868 and with an emerging nationalism, cultural and racial homogeneity was idealized as the nation state’s foundation (cf. Weiner 2009:1). In the 1970s and 1980s, the *nihonjinron* discourse emerged, which treats the uniqueness of the Japanese cultural and national identity and popularizes homogeneity of the Japanese nation (cf. Iida 2002: 8, 199; Kawai 2020: xii). Although *nihonjinron* lost its popularity, the idea of Japaneseness remained (cf. Kawai 2020: 17). Since the 1980s, many scholars started criticizing homogeneity as an illusion. In the 1990s, the idea of a multicultural Japan developed as a counter-narrative (cf. *ibid.*: xi). Still, the Japanese myth of homogeneity (*tan’itsu minzoku*) is rooted in the consciousness of many Japanese people and politicians until today (cf. Kawai 2020: 124; Weiner 2009). For a discussion of Japanese and Brazilian nationalist narratives, see Linger (2001: 275-289).

⁹ In the late 1970s and 1980s, waves of immigrant workers took place, many of which worked illegally, such as female migrant workers from East and South-east Asia as well as male newcomer immigrants from China, the Philippines, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Iran, South Korea, Malaysia, and Thailand (cf. interview Aichi prefectural office; Sellek 2002: 179-184).

¹⁰ Besides the long-term residency visa (*teijūsha* visa) for Japanese descendants, these are the Trainee and Technical Internship Program and the visa for foreign students and irregular labor migrants, including entertainers (cf. Liu-Farrer 2020: 44-49; Sellek2002: 184-185).

Japan with the goal to earn and save much money and then return to Brazil (cf. Tsuda 2003: 86). Soon, Brazilians constituted the third largest group of foreigners in Japan (cf. MOJ [2023]).

Brazilian migration to Japan was facilitated by recruiting agencies (*empreiteiras*) which began emerging in the late 1980s in Brazil. They include a loan system for travel expenses, provide housing in Japan, guarantee jobs, and help with the visa application process. At the same time, some recruiters abuse their position (cf. Higuchi and Tanno 2003: 37, 40-42, 44-45). Even after the bubble economy when Brazilian workers moved downward within the secondary labor market occupying further unstable jobs, the number of Brazilians migrating to Japan was rising, as the secondary labor market expanded and demanded for more Brazilian labor (cf. Higuchi and Tanno 2003: 39; Mita 2009: 261).

Despite the officially welcoming Japanese immigration policy towards ethnic Japanese, ethnic return migrants face marginalization and social exclusion in Japan (cf. Tsuda 2009: 209). While in Brazil, they are considered Japanese, after their arrival in Japan, they realized that the cultural attributes that let them seem to be Japanese in Brazil were not sufficient to be considered Japanese in Japan as well. Due to their Brazilian cultural differences and lack of Japanese language skills they were regarded as *gaijin* (foreigners), because they did not meet the expectations (linguistic and cultural proficiency, behaving and thinking like Japanese people) for acceptance as co-nationals (cf. Rocha 2014: 500; Tsuda 2009: 211-213; Tsuda 2018: 104, 108). Or, as Goodman *et al.* (2003: 14) put it, “even though they were brought in as descendants under the rhetoric of homogeneity, they are treated as foreigners because of the same rhetoric”. The good reputation they had in Brazil turned into ethnic discrimination in Japan, where they represent a new minority group. In other words, their positive minority status in Brazil became a negative one in Japan (cf. Tsuda 2003: 104). Furthermore, most Brazilian immigrants in Japan experience downward mobility and socio-economic marginalization as migrant laborers, as they swap their middle-class life in Brazil for unskilled jobs and indirect employment through employment brokers in Japan (cf. Mita 2009: 259; Tsuda 2009: 212; Tsuda 2018: 104).

Already before the Great Financial Crisis, a tendency of settlement could be observed among the Brazilians in Japan: An increasing number of Brazilians bought

real estate, started making sustained efforts to study Japanese, and sent their children to a Japanese school (cf. Ikeuchi 2017b: 770; Shoji 2008a: 49-50). Remittances sent to Brazil diminished and more definite community structures were established by Brazilians. Furthermore, around 80,000 Brazilians already held a permanent visa (cf. Shoji 2008a: 49-50).

The global financial crisis in 2008 became a rupture in the *dekassegui* movement. The crisis hit 60% of the Nikkei living in Japan (cf. Nakagawa 2018b: 35). As most Brazilians have temporary work contracts which depend on a booming economy, they were the first ones to be laid off or suffer from wage reduction (cf. Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi 2005: 74; Minami 2012: 228; Sharpe 2010: 361; Tsuda 2009: 217). As in many cases, houses or apartments were ceded to them by the *empreiteira*, they also lost their accommodation (cf. Nakagawa 2018b: 35). Many Brazilians faced months of unemployment and some had to return to Brazil. In April 2009, the Japanese Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare initiated a repatriation program (*Kikoku Shien Jigyō*) that subsidized flight fares for Nikkeijin going back to Brazil (cf. MHLW 2009; Sharpe 2010: 361-363). Subsequently, the number of Brazilians in Japan dropped from 316,967 in 2007 to 230,552 in 2010 (cf. MOJ [2023]) and kept falling to 173,437 people in 2015. Meanwhile, it was outstripped by the recently rising numbers of immigrants from the Philippines and Vietnam, making the Brazilians the fifth biggest foreign population in Japan.¹¹ Still, the number of Brazilians has been rising slightly since then and reached 209,430 people in December 2022, of which 114,266 have an *eijūsha* (permanent) visa and 70,906 have a *teijūsha* (long-term) visa (MOJ [2023]).

1.2. Literature review: Brazilians in Japan and their integration

Although the number of foreign nationals living in Japan is still low, since the revision of the Japanese Immigration Law in 1990 their ratio rose significantly, from 0.9% in 1990 to 2.3% in 2019 (MOJ [2023]; MIC [2022]a; MIC [2022]b).¹² One of the

¹¹ In December 2022, there have been 761,563 Chinese, 436,670 Koreans, 489,312 Vietnamese, 298,740 Filipinos, 209,430 Brazilians, and 48,914 Peruvians residing in Japan (cf. MOJ [2023]). Note that not all Brazilians and Peruvians are Nikkeijin.

¹² In 2021, the number decreased slightly and their ratio reached 2.2% (MIC [2022]a; MIC [2022]b). This might be related to the COVID-19 pandemic.

implications is an emerging discourse about a Japanese notion of multiculturalism (*tabunka kyōsei*).¹³

Much research has been done on the migration between Japan and Brazil (see among others: Baxter, Shūhei, and Ota 2009; BUNKYO 1992; Carvalho 2003a; Handa 1987; Hashimoto, Leiko Tanno, and Setuyo Okamoto 2008; Ishi 2003; Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi 2005; Le Baron von Baeyer 2020; Lesser 1999, 2003; Linger 2001; Maeyama 1979; Masterson 2004; Nakagawa 2018b, Nishida 2018; Roth 2002; Saito 1961; Tsuda 1999a, 1999b, 2003; Yamanaka 2000).

Among the literature on Brazilians and Nikkeijin in Japan, some researchers give an overview about their situation in general (de Carvalho 2003a; Sellek 2002) or examine specific topics concerning them, such as their work condition (Nakagawa 2018b; Roth 2002), their relationship to Japanese residents (Maeda 2012; Roth 2002), network formation, neighborhood, and community (Hayashi 2017; Kikuchi and Yabe 2003; Ogino, Sugita, and Dohi 2009; Onai 2001; Tsuzuki 2003; Ueta and Matsumura 2013), ethnic businesses (Kataoka 2004, 2005, 2013), their school education (Haino 2011; Iwamoto 2006; Watanabe 2010), their religious practices (Arakaki 2013; Ikeuchi 2017a; Murai 2018; Quero 201; Shirahase and Takahashi 2012; Shoji 2008a, 2014; Shoji and Quero 2014), ethnicity and identity (Ishi 2003, 2008; Lesser 2003; Linger 2001; Manning 2007; Nishida 2018; Tsuda 2000, 2003, 2009, 2010), transnational lifestyle and belonging (LeBaron von Baeyer 2020; Lesser 2003; Mita 2011; Yamanaka 2000), and Japanese policies and efforts of governmental and nongovernmental organizations (Shibata 2009; Suzuki 2013; Yamanaka 2012).

Most of the literature focuses on Japanese cities with big Brazilian communities, such as Hamamatsu (Itō 2003; Kataoka 2004, 2005; Komai 2006; Roth 2002; Shibata 2009; Shirahase and Takahashi 2012; Suzuki 2013; Yamanaka 2012), Toyota (Hayashi 2017; Linger 2001; Otani 2012; Tsuzuki 2003), or Ōizumi (Iwamoto 2006; Kataoka 2013; Kikuchi and Yabe 2003; Komai 2006; Manning 2007; Mizuno 2016; Ogino, Sugita and Dohi 2009; Onai 2001; Tsuda 2003; Ueta and Matsumura 2013). Smaller Japanese cities where research has been done about Brazilian residents are for example Kawasaki (Tsuda 2003), Atsugi City and Aikawa Town (Maeda 2012) in

¹³ For a definition of the term, see chapter 4.1.

Kanagawa prefecture¹⁴, Iga city in Mie prefecture (Murai 2018), Okazaki and Toyohashi in Aichi prefecture, and Minokamo in Gifu prefecture (LeBaron von Baeyer 2020). Although Toyohashi, a neighboring city of Hamamatsu, is the city with the second highest number of Brazilian residents, not much research has been done about the city's Brazilian community yet.

Major studies on which my research is based on are four ethnographies on Brazilians in Japan (LeBaron von Baeyer 2020, Linger 2001, Roth 2002, Tsuda 2003). Furthermore, my topic is connected to Maeda's study (2012) on social integration of Brazilians in Japan. Linger (2001) wrote his person-centered ethnography "No One Home" about the Brazilian residents in Toyota City (Aichi prefecture). He spent almost a year living at the apartment housing complex Homi Danchi¹⁵, researching on the Brazilian people's identity and the process of self-making in Japan. He shows that self-concepts of the Brazilians change constantly as reflective consciousness reworks them (cf. Linger 2001: 15).

For his ethnography "Brokered Homeland", Roth (2002) conducted his fieldwork in Hamamatsu. He focuses on workplaces and residential neighborhoods, taking a Brazilian culture center and Brazilian participation in the Hamamatsu Kite Festival as examples. His research is about identity building of Nikkeijin, community definition, and negotiation of membership within local contexts (cf. Roth 2002: 18). He concludes that instances of positive interaction between Japanese and Nikkeijin without government guidance, such as evolved at the kite festival, are rare. According to his study, mediating institutions, especially at the workplace, often determine cultural incompatibility of foreign workers. Instead of ameliorating tensions between the two groups, mediating institutions stimulate "oppositional florescence" (cf. *ibid.*: 141), that is the increasing emphasis on key cultural symbols which each group developed in opposition to the other (cf. *ibid.*: 140). As such institutions play a big role for a more positive multicultural future, they have to be reformed by government policy (cf. *ibid.*: 144-145).

Tsuda (2003) conducted fieldwork for his ethnography "Strangers in the Ethnic Homeland" in Ōta city / Ōizumi town (Gunma prefecture) and in Kawasaki city (Kanagawa prefecture). His study focuses on ethnic minority status, ethnic identity,

¹⁴ Kanagawa prefecture has only few Brazilian residents: 9,080 (MOJ [2023]).

¹⁵ Almost half of Homi's residents is Brazilian. For a detailed description, see chapter 4.3.2.

and behavioral and adaptational consequences of migrant identities. Examining Brazilian *samba* carnival and factory work, he found out that exclusionary ethnic identities have been produced by the encounter between Japanese and Brazilian residents, because the emphasis shifted from racial commonalities to cultural differences. However, he argues that future generations will eventually assimilate and disappear into the Japanese host society (cf. Tsuda 2003: 49).

Maeda (2012) conducted her research in Atsugi City and Aikawa Town (Kanagawa prefecture). She did observations, interviews with Japanese people and with eight Nikkei Brazilians as well as a survey in order to examine the influence of workplace, school, and community on social integration and to develop a formula of assessing its degree. She found out that the major barrier against integration is a strong expectation of the Japanese residents toward assimilation of Brazilians and that appreciation of differences – which is essential – remains a challenge (cf. Maeda 2012: 224-225).

In her multi-sited ethnography “Living Transnationally between Japan and Brazil” for which she conducted fieldwork in Japan (Aichi and Gifu prefectures) and Brazil, LeBaron von Baeyer (2020) analyzes the transnational lives of Brazilians through the lenses of gender, generation, and class. She examines how Brazilian labor migrants express belonging by looking at structures such as family, work, education, and religion. She found out that her interlocutors created a sense of transnational belonging that goes beyond assimilation and differentiation (cf. LeBaron von Baeyer 2020: 207).

Life of Brazilians in Japan is determined by transnational social networks (cf. Roth 2002: 8; Tsuda 1999b: 2, 19-22). At the same time, social integration into the host society barely takes place. As most Nikkei workers plan to return to Brazil one day, they live within their ethnic community and do not seek interaction with Japanese people. The host residents also consider the Nikkeijin as temporary residents and tend to keep their distance (cf. Onai 2001: 356). Until today, the ethnic community has a strong infrastructure and many Brazilian residents in Japan speak only basic Japanese. This circumstance led them to coexist in their daily lives in the Japanese society, which is expressed in cultural, political, legal, behavioral, and religious contrasts (cf. Nakagawa 2018b: 29). Roth (2002: 10) argues that interest groups, for example employers, politicians, journalists, and labor brokers, marginalize Nikkeijin

and that mediating institutions, such as the labor market and immigration policy, are hindering positive interaction.

Despite their plans to return to Brazil soon, many Brazilians end up staying in Japan longer than expected or even permanently. At the local level, the encounter between Nikkeijin and Japanese residents is continuously negotiated. Although de Carvalho (2003a: 136; 2003b: 199, 204, 206) admits that many Nikkeijin suffer from isolation from the host society and a lack of interaction with the local Japanese, who acknowledge their presence but largely ignore them, she refuses the idea that conflicts are inevitable. Some other scholars also describe the relationship between Japanese and international residents within neighborhood communities as including, welcoming, and based on solidarity (cf. Graburn and Ertl 2010: 22-23; Roth 2002: 120). However, there are counterexamples as well, characterizing the relationship as ambivalent and the process of understanding diversity as full of misunderstandings, confusions, and unrealistic mutual expectations (cf. Maeda 2012: 188, 224), or stating that international residents are excluded, for example from some neighborhood associations (*chōnaikai*) (cf. Robertson 1991: 157) and workplace communities (cf. Roth 2002: 9).

Although many scholars agree on the lack of interaction between Japanese and Nikkeijin, conflicting views regarding the future Nikkeijin generations in Japan do exist. Tsuda (2003: 380-396) assumes that although the first generation Nikkeijin immigrants will continue to assert their Brazilianness, from the second generation on full assimilation will take place, eventually leading to the loss of their minority status as well as of their Brazilian cultural background. However, Roth (2002: 140, 144) states that Japanese society is becoming more exclusive and thus multiculturalism is increasing. In other words, rather than broadening the notion of Japaneseness, Nikkeijin would constitute a minority among many others. Linger (2001: 313) also does not think that Japan will embrace multiethnicity. He argues that in contrast to Brazil, where immigrants can turn into ethnic citizens, in Japan “the dominant narrative of pure blood obstructs narratives of racial inclusion and ethnic pluralism” (ibid.). Therefore, it is unlikely that Brazilians in Japan will turn Japanese. However, they make themselves into new Brazilians or something else (cf. ibid.). LeBaron von Baeyer (2020: 207) found out that they make homes out of both countries.

In short, there is no consensus on the degree of integration of the Brazilians in the Japanese host society, their relationship with established residents, and their prospects. All these aspects are closely related to the *tabunka kyōsei* discourse and the role of mediating institutions, such as local governments, civil society actors, schools, and religious institutions.

1.3. Purpose and research question

Although only a minority made definitive plans to stay long-term (cf. Ikeuchi 2017b: 770), Brazilians in Japan tend not to think about returning as they did before, but seem to claim the condition of immigrants instead of temporary workers (cf. Nakagawa 2018b: 33). This might be an expression of the changing self-concepts that Linger (2001) showed and indicates that most of the Brazilians who stayed in Japan settled permanently. Despite their plans to return to Brazil one day and their efforts to cultivate a transnational lifestyle, it seems like their focus gradually shifts to a life in Japan. Accordingly, earning as much money as possible in a time as short as possible is not the main goal anymore (cf. Roth 2002: 16), but integration becomes an important issue. Activities acted out in their free time, their relationship with the host society, and the education of their children gained importance. By examining the role of mediating institutions – other than the ones analyzed by Roth (2002) – in shaping integration processes in the fields of everyday life, religion, and education, this dissertation contributes to the debate about the integration of Brazilian with Japanese residents.

Brazilians are the biggest non-Asian origin group of foreign residents in Japan, and at the same time, the fact that many of them are ethnic return migrants makes them a special case worth examining. The Brazilian immigrants' situation at their factory workplace is researched about in some ethnographies already (LeBaron von Baeyer 2020, Linger 2001, Roth 2002, Tsuda 2003). Social integration processes, however, happen mainly in their free time and can be observed at two levels: first, by analyzing the return migrants' everyday life and interaction with the host society; second, by analyzing their and especially their children's educational opportunities and prospects.

Maeda (2012) combines qualitative with quantitative methods in order to examine their social integration at both macro and micro levels (cf. Maeda 2012: 80-81). As Higuchi (2002) argues in taking Brazilian migration to Japan as an example, macro conditions are not directly recognized by micro agents, but through mediation of the immigration system which is situated on the meso level, macro structures produce micro actions. In social sciences, the meso level of organizations is often given less attention than the micro level of individuals, households, and families on the one side and the macro level of migration politics, regimes, and integration patterns on the other side (cf. Pries 2009: 7). O'Reilly (2012: 6) states that recently, ethnographic research has a tendency "to focus on people's opinions and feelings or on their cultures, while forgetting to look at the wider structures that frame their choices, or at least with very little theorising about how agency and structures interact". Agergaard (2018: 108) also stated that politicians and policymakers as well as researchers focused primarily on horizontal interaction, "while less attention has been given to vertical relations between groups and superordinate institutions" and to "processes of integration between ethnic groups united around shared interests [...] and the institutions involved in organizing" (ibid.). A meso mediation model which focuses on the institutional level is needed to explain variations in the outcome (cf. Higuchi 2002: 569). DiMaggio (1991: 93) argues that at the meso level, organizations serve "as a micro-macro link to revitalize dormant or exhausted research areas". That is why I want to connect micro and macro levels by focusing on mediating institutions that are situated on the meso level. The focus on mediating institutions brings about another important aspect: Instead of reinforcing the distinction between migrant and non-migrant populations by taking a specific migrant group as unit of analysis, taking places where the entire population meets as unit of analysis "de-migranticizes" migration research while at the same time investigation of the significance of migration and ethnicity is possible (cf. Dahinden 2016: 2217-2218). Within these mediating institutions, I still focus on the group of Brazilian residents in order to work out the characteristics of this group. Still, the focus on mediating institutions allows to examine their role not only for Brazilian, but also for Japanese residents and therefore to illuminate the integration process of Brazilian residents with (instead of: in) the host society.

Lamphere (1992) calls the interface that shapes the relationship between newcomer immigrants and established residents mediating institutions. These are institutional

settings that shape, structure and constrain the relationship between new immigrants and established residents, for example workplaces, school systems, rental housing complexes, community organizations, and local governments (cf. Lamphere 1992: 3, 6).¹⁶ Thus, they have a great impact on the process of the immigrant's integration into the host society. In my dissertation, instead of workplaces, I want to focus on mediating institutions like cultural centers, civil society organizations, local government institutions, churches, and educational institutions, because I think that they gained more importance in this process when many Brazilians decided to stay in Japan, reevaluated their goals and priorities, such as striving for safer work conditions and giving up overtime and nightshift work in order to have more free time (cf. Roth 2002: 97), and began to seek better integration. Moreover, I argue that as these institutions are places where immigrants and established residents have the chance to interact, they can implement opportunities for interaction and trust-building between the two groups and thereby affect the process of integration.

When discussing areas in Japan with a high population of Brazilians, the cities of Hamamatsu, Toyota, and Ōizumi / Ōta are always mentioned. These are also the three cities which are covered in ethnographies about Nikkei Brazilians' life in Japan already (Linger 2001; Roth 2002; Tsuda 2003). However, more than 20 years have passed since these ethnographies were published. Since then, few comprehensive research has been done regarding their situation, such as Maeda's work (2012) on social integration of Japanese Brazilians in Japan as well as the edited volume of Mita (2011) and the ethnography of LeBaron von Baeyer (2020) which examine their transnational belonging. What happened to the diaspora of Brazilians in these cities, which still have a big population, in terms of integration? How is their relationship with the established residents nowadays? What role does the meso level play for these processes? In my dissertation, I research about today's situation regarding their integration and interaction with the established residents by examining the role of mediating institutions in these processes. I take the city of Hamamatsu as an example, because it is the city with the highest number of Brazilian residents in Japan and, as pioneer city in Japan in terms of intercultural efforts, serves as a model for other Japanese cities with high numbers of foreign residents.

¹⁶ For a more detailed explanation, see chapter 2.3.2.

From these considerations, the following research question results: What role do mediating institutions play for the social integration of Brazilian residents with the host society in Hamamatsu? To what extent do they foster or hinder this process? My research stands out from the existing literature on Brazilians in Hamamatsu, not only because time has passed since other research was conducted and published, but also because I chose another perspective than scholars who studied the situation of Brazilians in Hamamatsu before: In taking the meso-level perspective by examining mediating institutions, new aspects become visible. Answering this question can give insights on the implementation of *tabunka kyōsei* efforts and their success regarding the Brazilian residents in Hamamatsu, which institutional actors play a role for the integration process and their strategies, the institutional networks in which the Brazilian residents are involved, and which parts of the Brazilian community cannot be reached easily.

1.4. Methodology and structure

In order to answer this question, I conducted an ethnographic fieldwork for nine months in Hamamatsu. I focused on the Brazilian community in the city, doing research on mediating institutions that play a role for the Brazilian residents' integration in Hamamatsu. I chose Hamamatsu's multicultural center (HICE) as my first access point to the field. Later, I joined a Brazilian dance school in order to access a different part of the field. In the course of the fieldwork, I participated in (cultural) events and observed everyday situations, while especially considering the role of mediating institutions. In order to gain more insights, I conducted semi-structured interviews with representatives of institutions of the Brazilian community and of the host society which play an active role in the everyday life of the Brazilian residents in Hamamatsu. This dissertation presents the process of my research and its findings. It is structured as follows:

Chapter 2 introduces the theoretical concepts that underly this thesis. Different migration and integration patterns are explained, such as the models developed by Berry (2011) and Esser (2001). After differentiating general concepts, such as multiculturalism, interculturalism, and the Japanese notion of multiculturalism (*tabunka kyōsei*), concepts regarding the Brazilians in Japan are introduced, such as

different ways of denominating them and their community as well as their relationship with the host society. Lastly, the role of the local government in the integration process and the concept of mediating institutions are explained.

Chapter 3 explains the methodology of data collection and analysis that underlies the empirical findings. After considering the identity of the researcher in the field, the chapter introduces fieldwork activities, interview data, and research participants. From coding the interview data and fieldnotes, relevant mediating institutions and two categories of analysis which build the basis for the structure of the empirical chapters result: everyday life and education.

Chapter 4 describes the fieldsite. First, basic information on the Japanese migration and integration regime as well as on the Brazilian migration movement to Japan is given. Then, cities with significant numbers of Brazilian residents are briefly introduced. Lastly, the chapter presents the city of Hamamatsu and its Brazilian community as fieldsite.

Chapters 5 to 7 are composed of three empirical chapters, each dealing with an important field of integration and analyzing the role of mediating institutions therein. Chapter 5 analyzes the local community and everyday life of Brazilian residents in Hamamatsu. First, I introduce the Brazilian community in Hamamatsu and everyday life aspects of Brazilian residents, including cultural and sports activities within the community as a means of integration. In taking a Brazilian dance school as an example, I show social ties within the Brazilian community and possible implications for integration. Second, I present the Brazilian residents' relation to the Japanese host society and the role of mediating institutions in shaping it. My analysis indicates that mediating institutions related to everyday and community life mainly aim at ensuring a smooth everyday life. Besides, they offer opportunities for exchange, interaction, and fostering mutual understanding, but also a place of belonging, network building, and support.

By taking the most frequented churches in Brazil as examples of mediating institutions, namely the evangelical church Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus, the Hamamatsu Catholic Church, and a Spiritist center, chapter 6 examines the role of their religious institutions in Hamamatsu for the integration of newcomer immigrants and their relation to the host society. For the analysis I take into consideration the

services as well as events and social projects. Results show that although opportunities of interaction exist, religious mediating institutions reinforce ethnic boundaries. By doing so, they help maintaining the Brazilians' heritage culture and support them with everyday life issues in Japan, but at the same time foster their segregation. However, with their function as place of belonging and supporter in times of need, they fill a gap that the host society institutions cannot close.

Chapter 7 analyzes the role of educational institutions for the integration of Brazilian immigrants in Hamamatsu. First, it introduces the options of educational paths for Brazilian children in Hamamatsu, from nursery school to higher education and job search, as well as the mediating institutions involved in this educational environment. Second, bilingual education of Brazilian children, its factors, consequences, and limitations are examined. Lastly, the chapter analyzes the variety of mediating institutions of both Brazilian community and host society which play a role for Brazilian adult's education and their access to information on everyday life issues. The most important resources that educational mediating institutions provide are language and cultural skills. Moreover, they offer information on education-related and other everyday life topics. Japanese schools also serve as places of interaction and prepare foreign children for a life in the host society regarding language proficiency and societal rules of living together.

Lastly, the conclusion in chapter 8 presents main findings and discusses them in the context of the relevant scholarly debates on Nikkeijin, migration, and integration in Japan. It also refers to the contribution and limitations of this research project as well as identifies promising topics for further research. Mediating institutions are very diverse and affect every field of life of Brazilian residents in Hamamatsu. At the same time, the success of some of their integration endeavors is limited. However, they will continue to play an important role in the integration process as promoters of interculturalism and providers of knowledge, support, and a place of belonging.

2. Concepts and theories

For my analysis of the integration of Brazilian immigrants with the Japanese host society and the role of mediating institutions in that process, various concepts are of importance. This chapter introduces their understanding in this dissertation: migration, integration, transnationalism, and multiculturalism / interculturalism / *tabunka kyōsei* (chapter 2.1.); Nikkeijin, community, diaspora, acceptance of ambivalence, three walls that hinder integration *kokusai rikai kyōiku*, and *kao no mienai teijūka* (chapter 2.2.); and mediating institutions (chapter 2.3.). Other (sub)concepts and models which are only relevant for a certain chapter, such as *saudade*, *semi-analfabeta*, and *ijime*, are introduced in the respective chapter.

2.1. Migration and integration

In recent years, a variety of theories and concepts developed in the fields of migration studies and integration, and many of them are of relevance for the Brazilians in Japan. Examples include return migration, circular migration, transnationalism (Vertovec 2009), transmigrant (Glick Schiller, Basch, and Szanton Blanc 1995), dimensions of integration (Esser 2001), and multiculturalism / interculturalism. Using these theories and concepts helps to picture the Brazilians' situation in Japan today and to understand the factors that play a role for their decision on migration and their integration with the host society.

2.1.1. Migration patterns and transnationalism

Three migration patterns are of relevance for the Brazilians in Japan: emigration, return migration, and circular migration (transnational migration) (see Gestring 2014a: 84-85). Contemporary migration patterns, however, are not necessarily bi-national. Mobility among more than two countries can also be observed among some Brazilian Japanese who come to Japan to travel elsewhere later (see Green 2010; Perroud 2007; Rocha 2014).

Return migration is a common pattern among international migrants. Return migrants are “those individuals who do go back to live in their sending communities” (Brettell 2003: 54). However, every migration experience has a different form. The return can be planned or unplanned, and sometimes only a part of the family returns (split return) (cf. Carling and Bivand Erdal 2014: 3, 6). Some migrants return to their home country, others even move on to another place. Many migrants, however, are neither temporary nor permanent, but remain in a liminal state in-between these options. They consider return migration “as a possibility in the future that is neither certain nor unthinkable” (ibid.: 3). In most cases, the collectively held return intentions remain unfulfilled, a phenomenon also designated as “myth of return” (cf. Carling and Pettersen 2014: 14). By not making a decision, return becomes an illusion. The Brazilians fantasize about it and store their future desires safely in this idea of return (cf. Ikeuchi 2017b: 766-768, 770). Return migration can also result in circular migration, when the migrants’ readaptation in their home country fails and they decide to remigrate to the destination country. Common migration patterns in the case of Brazilians in Japan are examined in chapter 4.2.3. Factors that play a role for a return decision of the Brazilians in Japan or for them becoming circular migrants are discussed in chapter 5.1.3.

Nowadays, migrants are not seen as uprooted anymore, but as transmigrants (Glick Schiller, Basch, and Szanton Blanc 1995). They settle and become incorporated into the host society, its institutions, and patterns of daily life, and at the same time maintain connections to their sending nation by engaging in institutions, transactions, and events in their country of origin (cf. ibid.: 48). The network of relationships and the resulting complex activities shape their actions, decisions, and identities (cf. Basch, Glick Schiller, and Szanton Blanc 1994: 7; Glick Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton 1992b: 4). This process of becoming embedded in both societies by maintaining various ties and interactions across the borders of nation-states, thus creating social fields that – crossing geographic, cultural, and political borders – link people and institutions in the receiving society with their sending country and hometown, can be called transnational migration or transnationalism (cf. Basch, Glick Schiller, and Szanton Blanc 1994: 7; Glick Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton 1992a: ix; Glick Schiller, Basch, and Szanton Blanc 1995: 48; Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt 1999: 217; Vertovec 1999: 447).

An increasing number of immigrants started living “dual lives: speaking two languages, having homes in two countries, and making a living through continuous regular contact across national borders” (Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt 1999: 217). While migrants have always maintained some sort of contact with their family and friends back home, mainly through correspondence and the sending of remittances, nowadays, some of these transnational relationships intensified through new technologies and take place in a real-time and global – but virtual – arena (cf. Vertovec 1999: 447; Vertovec 2009: 3, 13). Actors of transnationalism¹⁷ are mainly noninstitutional, such as organized groups, networks of individuals, movements, or business enterprises, and their transnational – mostly informal – activities encompass economic, political, and social initiatives (cf. Hannerz 1996: 6; Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt 1999: 217; Portes 2001: 186).

One particular transnational practice of immigrants are return visits to the country of origin. They can create awareness for a feeling of alienation from the community of origin and for the ties to the destination country, or arouse a desire for moving back. Return visits can also serve as a preparation for permanent return, making the process of moving back a gradual one or can become a substitute for a permanent return migration. In this case, they are often longed for and serve to reconnect with cultural practices as well as family and friends (cf. Carling and Bivand Erdal 2014: 4; Lulle 2014: 134-136).

However, not all migrants are engaging in transnational practices, but “modes or types of transnational contact and exchange may be selective, ebb and flow depending on a range of conditions, or develop differently through life cycles or settlement processes” (Vertovec 2009: 13). How transnational connections shape Brazilian residents’ everyday life in Japan, including their efforts to integrate, will be analyzed in chapter 5. An important aspect is the time that passes. Transnational ties as well as return intentions may change over time and are not only connected with each other, but also intertwined with integration processes (cf. Carling and Bivand Erdal 2014: 10). The following section presents different means of how this embeddedness in the host society can be reached.

¹⁷ Immigrant transnationalism is only one type of transnational practices (cf. Portes 2001: 186).

2.1.2. Means of integration

A variety of terms and concepts developed which describe the process of migrant integration, such as assimilation, acculturation, segmentation, separation, segregation, marginalization, exclusion, inclusion, and multiculturalism. Compared to the term integration itself, these alternatives do not seem suitable, as they overemphasize certain aspects, wrongly imply that societies remain culturally static, unilaterally burden single groups with integration obligations, or deny the necessity for integration at all (cf. Fachkommission Integrationsfähigkeit 2020: 203). I decided to use the term integration, as it is considered as “terminological neuter”, encompassing various connotations from assimilation to multiculturalism (cf. Aumüller 2009: 44). However, I am aware of the fact that the concept is ambiguous, used differently and according to the respective context by politicians, the public, and the scientific community, and might not be the explicit goal of all the actors involved. In this section, I introduce two models which offer an overview of the different integration strategies mentioned above. Subsequently, I focus on the concept of assimilation and then introduce Esser’s (2001) understanding of integration, showing the aspects which are useful for my study. Lastly, I develop my working definition of integration by taking into account the concepts’ characteristics that other scholars identified.

Models of integration strategies

An overview of the different concepts of integration provides Berry’s (2011) model on intercultural strategies (see figure 1). He argues that a national social framework of institutions that Berry calls “larger society” encompasses different ethnocultural groups (indigenous and immigrant, dominant and non-dominant) with their interests and needs (cf. Berry 2011: 2.3). The larger society “is constantly changing, through negotiation, compromise and mutual accommodations” (ibid.). In my dissertation, this larger society is represented in the concept of mediating institutions (see chapter 2.3.2.). Berry’s model comprises four different intercultural strategies that show the relationship that is sought between the groups and the degree of maintenance of heritage culture and identity. Depending on the viewpoint (ethnocultural groups / larger society), these strategies are termed differently: integration / multiculturalism,

assimilation / melting pot, separation / segregation, and marginalization / exclusion (cf. *ibid.*: 2.4-2.5). As in my study I examine the degree of integration, I will present its equivalent multiculturalism below (see chapter 2.1.3.).

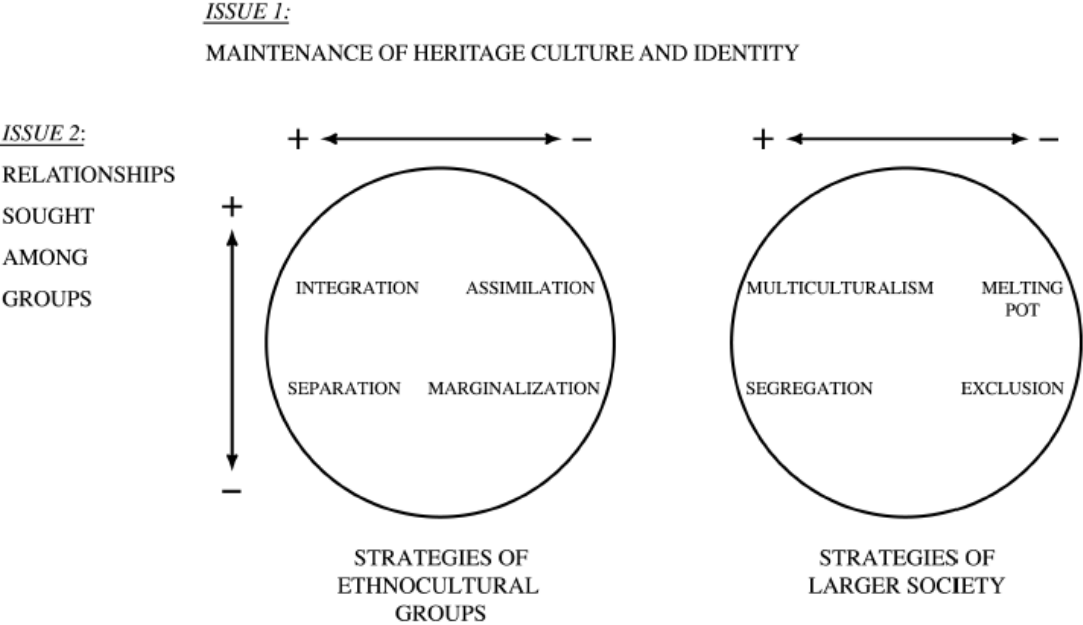


Figure 1: Intercultural Strategies of Ethnocultural Groups and the Larger Society (source: Berry 2011: 2.5)

Both groups need to adapt: non-dominant groups by adopting the basic values of the larger society, the dominant group by adjusting national institutions, such as education, health, and labor, in order to meet the needs of all groups of the plural society (cf. *ibid.*: 2.6-2.7). This dissertation examines this mutual adaptation in the case of Brazilian immigrants in Hamamatsu. Similar to Berry’s model, but using different terms, Esser (2001: 19) shows four different types of social integration that emerge, depending on the degree of social integration in the host society on the one hand and in the home country or ethnic community on the other hand (see figure 2).

		social integration in host society	
		yes	no
social integration in home society / ethnic community	yes	multiple integration	segmentation
	no	assimilation	marginalization

Figure 2: Types of social integration of migrants (translated from Esser 2001: 19)

Marginalization is typical for migrants of the first generation, as they are not socially integrated in the host country yet. Segmentation is especially observed in form of ethnic communities or “ghettos”. These serve as place of refuge for the first generation and relieve some of the stress of the migrant experience. Thus, they will persist as long as immigration continues. However, as ethnic communities offer an alternative life path also for later generations, they can lead to a state of permanent segmentation of the respective ethnic group (cf. Esser 2001: 20, 74). Multiple integration is a desirable, yet theoretically barely realistic and empirically very rare state. It would manifest itself in multilingualism, a mixture of social networks and a multiple identification or identity. This requires a high intensity of study and interaction activities. In reality, for most (especially labor) migrants, opportunities to do so are locked and as a result, social integration happens mainly in one of the contexts (cf. Esser 2001: 20-21).

As marginalization cannot be a political goal, and segmentation means consistent systematic differences between the groups, Esser (ibid.) concludes that social integration of immigrants into the host society is only possible in form of assimilation. He defines it as adaptation of the ethnic groups in the course of generations. While the political goal is an ethnic homogeneous society and the reduction of systemic differences between the groups, cultural diversity and economic inequality on the individual level are possible. The actors do not become culturally or economically equal, the more so as the host society as such is not homogeneous. Rather, no social inequalities and systematic differences in the distribution of certain characteristics, rights, and resources exist among the different groups of a society (cf. Esser 2001: 18, 20-23, 73-74).

Assimilation and Esser’s understanding of integration

The term *assimilation* became a paradigm with the Chicago School sociologists in the early twentieth century (cf. Alba and Nee 2005: 18-19). In some approaches (Park 1950, *melting pot*, *salad bowl*), it is considered a two-way process in which migrants and majority population are building social relationships (cf. Agergaard 2018: 19-20). In others (Esser 2001), it has been conceptualized as a one-way-process in which immigrants adapt to a society that is imagined being homogeneous, resulting in the

disappearance of their cultural peculiarities (cf. Fachkommission Integrationsfähigkeit 2020: 203; Gestring 2014a: 83, 88). Gans (1997: 877) defines assimilation as “the newcomers’ move out of formal and informal ethnic associations and other social institutions into the nonethnic equivalents accessible to them in that same host society”. Alba and Nee (1997: 864) leave open if the changes brought about by assimilation are one-sided or mutual. They define it “as the decline, and at its endpoint the disappearance, of an ethnic/racial distinction and the cultural and social differences that express it” (ibid.: 863).

Although assimilation was an unquestioned concept in ethnic relation studies, it has been seen in a mostly negative light since the 1960s. Flaws of the concept are that assimilation is presented as inevitable, equated with full incorporation, imposes ethnocentric demands on minority groups, and does not allow a positive role for ethnic minorities (cf. Alba and Nee 1997: 826-827; Alba and Nee 2005: 1, 3-5). Assimilation has also been critiqued for simplifying the integration process as stage models without considering backlashes that hinder integration or a permanent, peaceful coexistence of culturally not assimilated groups (cf. Gestring 2014a: 84). The racial/ethnic disadvantage stream of thought (Nathan Glazer, Patrick Moynihan, Alejandro Portes) argues that complete assimilation often remains blocked for many immigrant groups due to institutional barriers and lingering discrimination (cf. Brown and Bean 2006).

The critique led to a reformulation of theories of integration, such as *segmented assimilation* (Portes and Zhou 1993), or the development of alternative models, such as transnationalism (cf. Alba and Nee 2005: 6; Gestring 2014a: 83). Alba and Nee (2003) developed a neo-assimilation theory which argues that the institutional environment plays an important role for the assimilation process and that immigrant integration also involves acceptance by and change of the host society (cf. Alba and Nee 2005: 35-66, 278-282). Alba and Duyvendak (2019: 110-112) argue that the mainstream, that is the native majority, has institutional power, because it encompasses societal institutions, such as the education system, the economy, the polity, and the media, but also social and cultural settings, which are based on mainstream norms, standards, values, and practices. In other words, institutions possess a gatekeeping role. In taking them as my unit of analysis, I examine their role in the integration process.

Another scholar who still sticks to the concept of assimilation is Hartmut Esser (2001). Drawing on the British sociologist David Lockwood¹⁸, Esser divides integration into two types: systemic integration as the relationship between the parts of a social system, such as a society, and social integration as the relationship between its actors and their inclusion into an existing social system (see figure 3) (cf. *ibid.*: 3, 73).

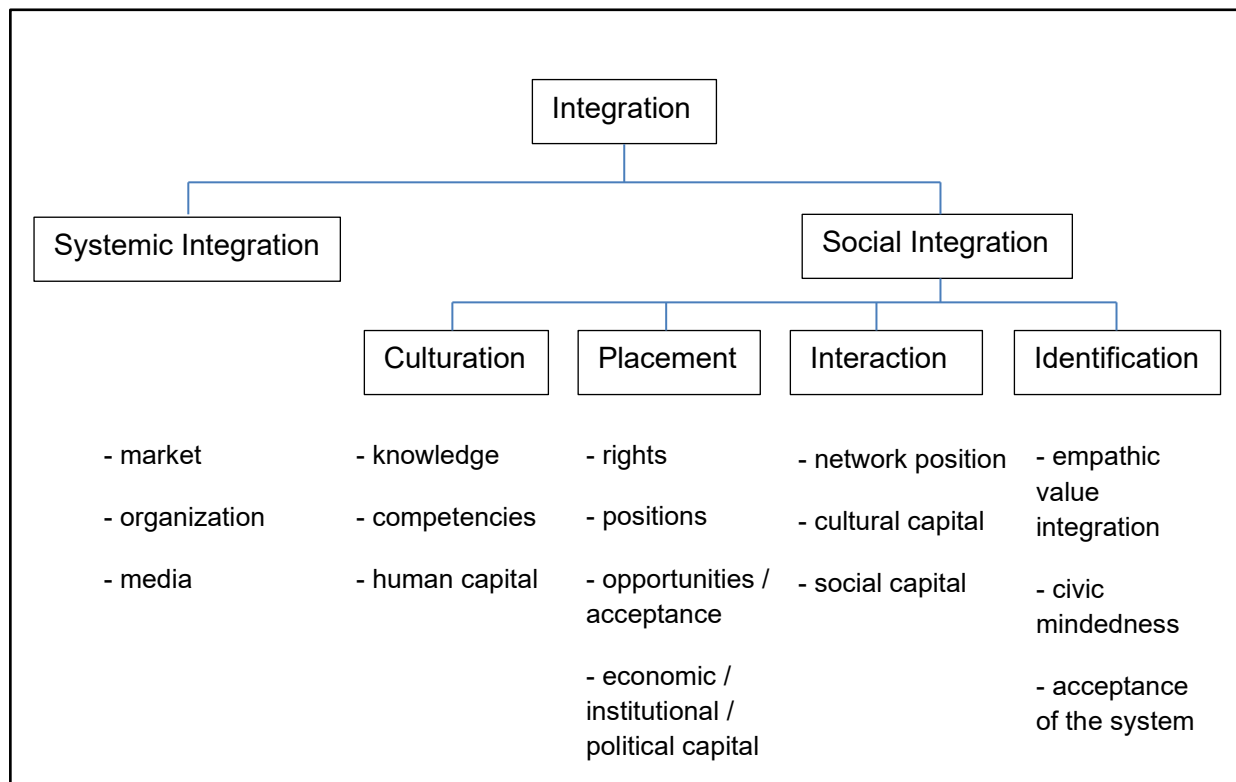


Figure 3: Systemic integration and social integration (translated from Esser 2001: 16)

Integration of immigrants is related to the second type. Social integration refers to the involvement of the actors in societal affairs, for example through granting of rights, acquisition of language skills, participation in the educational system and labor market, formation of social acceptance and of interethnic friendships, participation in public and political life, and emotional identification with the host country (cf. *ibid.*: 8). For these processes, the concept of mediating institutions (see chapter 2.3.2.) is relevant, as they set the frame therefore. Although for systemic integration, mediating institutions play a role as well by establishing rules and mediating between different

¹⁸ David Lockwood (1964): "Social Integration and System Integration". In: George K. Zollschan and Walter Hirsch (eds.) (1964): *Explorations in Social Change*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, pp. 244-257.

fields, my dissertation is set on the meso level, examining these institutions' roles for social integration processes of the actors.

In order to examine the degree of social integration, Esser (2001) proposes four dimensions: cultururation, placement, interaction, and identification. Cultururation means that the actors acquire the necessary knowledge and competences for successfully (inter)acting in society, including knowing the rules and having cultural skills, especially language proficiency. Placement refers to the occupation of a certain societal, professional, or other position and to the granting of certain rights. Interaction means that actors build social relations through mutual orientation in everyday life. Identification of an actor with a social system happens when the actor develops a mental and emotional relation to the system as a collective body (cf. *ibid.*: 8-12, 73). All four dimensions are interdependent. Structural assimilation is the most important precondition for social integration of migrants, including its cultural and social correlations and prerequisites (cf. *ibid.*: 17, 45, 66, 73),¹⁹ while emotional assimilation is the last step (cf. *ibid.*: 27).

Such models focus on the western, mainly US, society as host society. Moreover, "classic, racial/ethnic disadvantage, and segmented assimilation theories were constructed in the context of black-white models of racial/ethnic relations that apply much less forcefully to new arrivals from Latin America and Asia" (Brown and Bean 2006). In other words, the generalization of such models mostly does not match empirical reality. That is why one needs to be carefully when using these models to examine another context, such as the immigration to Japan. Moreover, Essers concept is partly outdated, as it considers assimilation as a one-way adaptation of the immigrants. Although mutual adaptation at the group level takes place, when focusing on individuals, it is difficult to speak of adaptation to the host society, as it becomes increasingly heterogeneous. Still, Essers four dimensions of social integration are a useful tool to examine the integration process of the Brazilian residents with the host society in Hamamatsu, as they shed light on the role of mediating institutions in that process. As mentioned above, instead of the term assimilation, this dissertation uses the term integration.

¹⁹ Structural assimilation and placement happen through access to central institutions. These, however, are tied to national, regional, or social cultural standards and to the national language of the host society. Thus, a certain cultural assimilation indirectly becomes a prerequisite (cf. Esser 2001: 23-24, 42, 65-66, 76).

Defining integration

According to the German expert commission on integration ability, integration is an enduring, open-ended, and conflict-ridden process. As it concerns all members of society and takes place in all subsystems of society and at all political levels, it is a task for society as a whole. Measures aim at equal participation in central parts of society and should focus on all people with limited opportunities of participation. In short, integration means accepting diversity while adhering to common rules (cf. Fachkommission Integrationsfähigkeit 2020: 201-205).

Gestring, Janßen and Polat (2006) define integration with four characteristics: It is (1) relative and has to be compared to the majority; (2) multidimensional and the different dimensions can tighten each other; (3) a process that spans generations; and (4) a mutual process that depends on both the migrants' resources and behavior as well as gatekeepers' course of action and societal, economic, and political conditions (cf. Gestring, Janßen and Polat 2006: 16-18; Gestring 2014a 87-88; Gestring 2014b: 313). The second point shows that integration does not happen into society, but into certain parts / subsystems which regulate access and participation in different ways (cf. Gestring 2014a 87-88; Gestring 2014b: 313). Examining the integration in the dimensions work, living, and social networks of second-generation Turkish immigrants in Germany, Gestring *et al.* (2006: 195) found out that few are integrated or excluded in all three dimensions, but most are somewhere in-between. Gestring, Janßen, and Polat (2006: 14) consider immigrant integration as successful if their ethnicity does not play a role for their structural integration, that is, if equal opportunities are given, while at the same time, ethnicity is a part of the identity and can affect the way of living and everyday life. Bommers (2004: 33-34, cited in Gestring 2014a: 87) advocates an idea of integration that is limited to access of migrants to core areas of society: work, education, income, living, and health.

Aggergaard (2018: 24-26) also has a multidimensional understanding of integration. She conceptualizes it as "multidimensional social relational processes that are bound up in power asymmetries, and evolve as changing trajectories" (Aggergaard 2018: 25). Inspired from her definition, in this dissertation, immigrant integration is understood as two-way interaction process between newcomer immigrants, their descendants, and established residents in a variety of dimensions (social, cultural, economic,

political, spatial, subjective) which can take different forms, trajectories, and outcomes (adaptation, assimilation, segregation, interculturalism, among others) and, by involving individuals, institutions, and political and socio-economic structures, takes place on all levels (micro, meso, and macro level). That is why in my dissertation, I examine the integration process by studying the situation of Brazilian immigrants and their children in different dimensions (social networks, religion, and education), focusing on the meso level, that is analyzing the role of institutions which are gatekeepers for the immigrants' integration process in these three dimensions.

2.1.3. Multiculturalism or interculturalism?

Integration is closely related to the discourse on living together in the respective society. Japan's migrant policy regarding living together (*tabunka kyōsei*) is based on the concept of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism emerged at the end of the 19th century in opposition to monocultural nation-states (cf. Hamel 2008: 94-95; Kawai 2020: xv-xvi). According to the Council of Europe's (Yamawaki and Ueno 2021: 10) understanding of multiculturalism,

Migrants and minorities are integrated as permanent residents. Differences from the cultural norms of the host community are encouraged and protected by laws and institutions and supported through anti-discrimination measures. Such policies aim to guarantee the economic, social, and civil rights of migrants, as well as the cultural rights of migrants. Yet, an overemphasis on differences could make citizens evolve in parallel groups whose identities cannot intersect.

The idea of multiculturalism led to positive developments such as a progressive antidiscrimination legislation and attempts to create more equal opportunities (cf. Cantle 2011: 35). At the same time, it is criticized for the immanent ethnic attributions and the disguise of ethnic hierarchies (cf. Gestring 2014a: 89). Cultures and languages of minorities are seen "both as a problem and as a right, and their existence is seen as a barrier to national unity" (Hamel 2008: 95). However, increasingly, cultural diversity is not only tolerated, but seen as opportunity (cf. Gestring 2014a: 89). While for a long time, multicultural coexistence was considered as a transitional stage only on the way of assimilation, nowadays, many countries aim at a multicultural or multiethnic society in which the groups coexist peacefully,

enrich each other culturally, and leave open the option to go the long way of assimilation nevertheless (cf. Esser 2001: 32-33). The dominant mainstream orientation in many countries, including the USA, many Latin American as well as many European countries, is founded on this concept (cf. Hamel 2008: 95).

However, multiculturalism is a contested term that is used and conceptualized in many different ways (cf. Cattle 2011: 34; Kawai 2020: xiv). Besides the socio-economic disadvantage of immigrants and their alienation from the mainstream society, multiculturalism was considered “to cause the segregation of immigrants from the rest of the population and hinder social integration” (Yamawaki and Ueno 2021: 10), as can be seen in the discourse on the failure of multiculturalism which spread in Western countries at the beginning of the 21st century (cf. Kawai 2020: xiv-xv). Cattle (2016: 133, 136, 144) argues that multiculturalism focuses on inequalities, but failed to adapt to the changing reality, that is difference and identity becoming multifaceted and dynamic and thus going beyond the binary opposition of minority / majority, resulting in the emergence of superdiversity. Due to its focus on race, ethnicity, nationality, culture, roots, and heritage, multiculturalism does not acknowledge heterogeneity of groups and identities (cf. Cattle 2016: 134, 144; Kawai 2020: xv-xvii), but focuses on the relation between the state and its cultural minorities with the purpose of accommodating diversity and creating a more just society (cf. Loobuyck 2016: 232). Although diversity was considered a value, cultural encounter, interaction, and exchange were not (cf. Cattle 2016: 143). As a result, multicultural policies failed to eliminate separation and inequalities caused by structural and institutional barriers (cf. *ibid.*: 136). Instead of fostering commonality and belonging (cf. *ibid.*: 145), multiculturalism promoted the idea that minorities had to be protected against assimilation and their heritage and identity had to be preserved (cf. *ibid.*: 141, 144).

In order to overcome shortcomings of the concept of multiculturalism, other terms developed that define the characteristics of a society in terms of integration more specifically, such as ‘superdiversity’ (Vertovec 2007), conviviality (see Mecila 2017: 6-8), unity (also used in the Japanese context, for example by Toyota International Association; see chapter 4.1.2.), and inter- or pluriculturalism. Pluriculturalism interprets diversity not as a problem anymore, but as “an asset and potential cultural

capital for the nation as a whole” (Hamel 2008: 96). What Hamel (2008) calls ‘pluriculturalism’, is often designated as ‘interculturalism’.

The term ‘interculturalism’ appeared in the 1970s in different parts of the world (cf. Meer, Modood, and Zapata-Barrero 2016: 3). Although the concept of interculturality is not new, little academic agreement exist over this term (cf. Cantle 2011: 34). Some acceptance was reached, however, on its key features: “a sense of openness, dialogue and interaction” (Cantle 2011: 34). According to the Council of Europe, features of interculturalism are equal opportunities and economic, social, civil, and cultural rights of migrants and other local residents, a guaranteed right to difference, an interactive process of integration into the multifaceted fabric of society based on mutual willingness to adapt, promotion of meaningful interaction, and appreciation of institutions, policies, and activities which foster mutual understanding, shared viewpoints, and empathy (Yamawaki and Ueno 2021: 10). It sees difference as dynamic, fluid, and multifaceted. Identities of both minority and majority are heterogeneous and constantly being remade, not only due to their interrelation, but also due to external influences. Personal identity is discovered through openness and exchange. Having plural, hybrid, heterogeneous, and cosmopolitan identities is possible (cf. Cantle 2016: 144).

Interculturalism’s three basis premises are: positive interaction and education in order to disconfirm stereotypes and reduce prejudices, anti-discrimination in order to support intercultural relations, and diversity advantage, that is regarding diversity as a resource and redesigning institutions in order to establish equal opportunities (cf. Cantle 2016: 144-145; Zapata-Barrero 2016: 63-64). In this way, belonging and a multifaceted collective identity are proactively developed (cf. Cantle 2016: 145). Interculturalism especially focuses on cultural exchange at the meso and micro level. Intercultural policies aim at creating opportunities for participating, meeting, and exchange (cf. Loobuyck 2016: 234). Rather than “co-presence of different people in particular ‘places’” (ibid.: 235), the purpose is “(informal) contact, interaction and exchange as a result of engagement in shared activities based on common interests” (ibid.). However, it neglects the problem of nationhood and the resulting marginalization of minorities (cf. Kawai 2020: xv-xvi).

Multiculturalism and interculturalism have a different viewpoint. While multiculturalism is concerned with the issues of minority groups, interculturalism focuses more on the

concerns of majority groups (cf. Kawai 2020: xvi), or rather on the society as a whole by emphasizing social relations between citizens and the creation of a sense of belonging and social cohesion (cf. Loobuyck 2016: 232; Meer and Modood 2016: 28; Zapata-Barrero 2016: 63). Loobuyck (2016: 232-233, 237-239, 241) considers the two concepts as dialectical but compatible, complementing and reinforcing each other fruitfully.

Some scholars see interculturalism not as an alternative, but as a modification of multiculturalism (Kawai 2020: xvi; Kymlicka 2016; Meer and Modood 2016), which is needed as a rhetorical tool to serve political purposes. By relabeling multicultural policy recommendations, it becomes a new narrative or myth which can enable progressive and inclusive politics (cf. Kymlicka 2016: 158-159, 162-164). Others consider interculturalism as advancement and promote the substitution of failed multiculturalism by interculturalism (Cantle 2011, 2016; CoE 2008: 9-10; UNESCO 2009: 45-46, 235-237), long before the three European politicians Merkel, Cameron, and Sarkozy claimed the end of multiculturalism in 2011 (cf. Kawai 2020: xv; Kymlicka 2016: 161; Meer and Modood 2016: 27). According to Hamel (2008), the question today is how to move from a multicultural to a pluricultural orientation. Although identity politics resist this new interconnected world (cf. Cantle 2011: 5), the process of change already started, triggered by internal pressure, like civil society, and external conditions, such as globalizing trends (cf. Hamel 2008: 96). Kymlicka (2016: 174) even thinks that interculturalism as a concept will fail as well, as it did not address the narrative of nationhood and left too much space for narratives of populism to grow. Thus, the “search for new narratives of diversity will have to continue” (ibid.).

Although today, the concept of multiculturalism and its success is seen critically worldwide, Japan picked it as its model in order to achieve social integration of foreigners (cf. Vogt 2016: 4). By adapting multiculturalism to the Japanese context, the concept of *tabunka kyōsei* emerged, which literally means multicultural coexistence or multicultural co-living and is still used as the base for creating a multicultural society.²⁰ As the myth of homogeneity in Japan is still strong, criticisms against the monocultural nation-state which could have further fostered the idea of

²⁰ For considerations about the Japanese understanding of multiculturalism and its development, see chapter 4.1.2.

multiculturalism have been weak. Despite much engagement at the local level, multiculturalism did not become an important agenda on the national level and as a result, the discussion about exchanging the concept with interculturalism or a concept alike, as it happened in other countries, did not arise yet (cf. Kawai 2020: xvii). Recently, however, a tendency of intercultural efforts at the local level and – in the case of Hamamatsu – even a change in terminology from multi- to interculturalism can be observed (see chapters 4.1.2. and 4.3.2.). Throughout my dissertation, I translate *tabunka kyōsei* with the term interculturalism, as this is the translation also used by the Hamamatsu local government (see chapter 4.1.2.). Furthermore, measured by the already existing efforts of the Hamamatsu local government and civil society, the above-mentioned definitions by Cattle (2011) and the Council of Europe (Yamawaki and Ueno 2021: 10) seem to be their goal as well. In order to grasp the situation of the Brazilians living in Japan and their encounter with the host society, the following subchapter presents concepts related to them.

2.2. Brazilians in Japan

Besides these broad theories, more specific concepts that are related to the Brazilians living in Japan are of importance. This subchapter discusses the possibilities to name the Brazilians as well as the group they build and introduces concepts that play a role when Brazilians and host society encounter each other.

2.2.1. Nikkei, Japanese Brazilians, and Brazilians

The term Nikkeijin or Nikkei is a Japanese expression that refers to people of Japanese descent who were born and raised outside of Japan. This group of people can be subdivided further into its various generations. In the case of Latin American return migrants and their descendants, four generations can be distinguished: *issei* (first generation), *nisei* (second generation), *sansei* (third generation), and *yonse* (fourth generation). The term Japanese Brazilian stresses the hyphenated identity of having roots in Japan and Brazil.

In my dissertation, I mostly refer to “Brazilians” instead of “Nikkeijin” or “Japanese-Brazilians” for several reasons. First, not all Brazilian residents are return migrants. Some do not have Japanese ancestry, but are spouse of a Nikkeijin, or – in rare cases – have no family ties to Japan at all. Second, most children of Brazilian Nikkeijin were born in Japan or came to Japan in a young age. Although they are technically still Nikkeijin, they are already in the third or fourth generation and many are *mestiços*, that is, they are of ‘racially’ mixed (instead of Japanese only) ancestry. Lastly, some Brazilians who are Japanese descendants do not identify with their Japanese ancestry, but feel more Brazilian. Linger (2003: 212) cautions that the category of “Nikkei” or “Japanese Brazilian” does not have the same meaning for those who consider themselves as such and is not necessarily even of importance for their identity. During my fieldwork, “Brazilian” was the encompassing term with which all my Brazilian interlocutors could be identified.

Taking an ethnic group as unit of analysis ethnicizes its members and reduces them to a one-dimensional attribution, although other aspects of identity might be more important (cf. Linger 2003: 212). According to sociologist Ishi (2008: 120) the relevance of ethnicity should not be overrated. Rather than with an ‘ethnic’ identity crisis, the Nikkeijin are more concerned with their ‘professional’ and ‘class’ identity crises. Roth (2002: 128) also suggests that relations within the same class but across cultures can be more significant than ethnic ones across class lines. Therefore, this categorization is a mere device and cannot be considered as absolute identity marker.

2.2.2. Diaspora or ethnic community?

The term ‘diaspora’ originally referred to the three ‘classic diasporas’: Jewish, Greek, and Armenian. It was especially associated with the Jewish historical experience of displacement and “being a dispersed people sharing a common religious and cultural heritage” (Vertovec 2009: 129). In other words, ‘diaspora’ “implies forced exile, a shared group identity shaped by common experiences of hardship, and a longing for a homeland in need of construction” (Dongen and Liu 2018: 33). Besides this original meaning which can still be found in diaspora literature, the term developed new meanings with its proliferation since the 1990s (cf. *ibid.*: 33-34). Since then, the number of communities being called and calling themselves diaspora increased.

Resisting the nation-state, they advocate hybrid identities (cf. Vertovec 2009: 129-130, 132).

The 1990 Japanese immigration law considers Japanese Brazilians as Japanese diaspora, as it presupposes that their identity is tied by blood to their ancestors, creates a historical narrative which frames the migration from Japan to Brazil as an exodus from the homeland, and assumes that their descendants long for returning to their primordial land and have the right to do so (cf. Linger 2003: 209-210). However, Linger (2003: 212) believes that Japanese who consider themselves as diasporic are a rarity, as most do not “see themselves as displaced from an ethnic home, or they may not care very much one way or the other” (ibid.: 211).

Community might be a better term to describe the group of Brazilian residents in Japan and the huge network that emerged among them. Still, due to the diversity of my object of research (see Timmerarens 2018: 55-56), conceptual difficulties arise: Defining who “the Brazilians” in Hamamatsu actually are, is complicated. Brazilian migrants in Hamamatsu are not a homogeneous group and do not necessarily understand themselves as part of “the community” (see chapter 5.1.1.). Not all Brazilian migrants are of Japanese descent, and even among the Nikkeijin there are huge differences, not only in terms of generations and different degrees of Japanese descent, but also regarding efforts to become more integrated into the Japanese host society. While some Brazilians intentionally avoid having contact with their compatriots and seek interaction with Japanese people, learn the Japanese language, and follow Japanese cultural and social rules, other Brazilians spend almost all their time among themselves, barely speak Japanese, and have limited knowledge about the host society’s expectations regarding conviviality. Green (2010: 517) also negates “the assumption that the Brazilian community in Japan represent a homogeneous social grouping whose sense of being and identity is shaped and defined by the presence of a discriminatory, Japanese Other”. He stresses that also intra-generational differences in lifestyle, social class, and experiences exist (cf. ibid.: 517, 520).

At the same time, ethnic communities play a big role for the everyday life of the respective migrant group, even if residential segregation of the Brazilians in Japan is limited. They serve as a secure space, which allows them to maintain their lifestyle and at the same time have a socializing function and therefore facilitates the process

of becoming accustomed to the host society (cf. Gestring 2014a: 80). On the other side, ethnic communities can lead the migrants to spend their whole social life within them. They possibly develop own economic structures and often reach an institutional completeness which do give little reason to leave the ethnic community. The individuals who are embedded in it experience a competitive disadvantage at the markets of the host society (cf. Esser 2001: 11). In Hamamatsu, the infrastructure of Brazilian institutions and the cohesion of its individuals is strongly developed. Moreover, the Brazilian immigrants themselves frequently use the term *comunidade* when talking about their group. That is why I still use the term community to refer to Brazilian residents in Hamamatsu. To what extent this group can be designated as “community” will be examined in chapter 5.1.1.

The host society, as well, is not homogeneous. Immigrants in Japan are often labelled as oldcomers and newcomers. The former refers to immigrants who arrived before 1945 (mainly Koreans and Chinese), the latter designates immigrants who arrived since the second half of the 1970s (mainly from Vietnam, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Iran, Brazil, and Peru). From the viewpoint of the newcomer immigrants, the oldcomer immigrants are part of the host society. Besides, Japanese people are also a heterogeneous group.

2.2.3. Encountering the host society

I use the terms home country and host society to refer to the sending and receiving societies, although I am aware of the connotations they imply, as Basch, Glick Schiller, and Szanton Blanc (1994: 7) already mentioned: Immigrants refer to their society of origin as “home”, even when their country of settlement became a home for them as well. The term “host” implies that the immigrants are visitors who are welcome, which both in practice often is not the case. The encounter of Brazilian residents and the Japanese host society at the local level is shaped by the discourse on *tabunka kyōsei* (see chapter 4.1.3.). Other important concepts are acceptance of ambivalence, three walls that hinder integration, *kokusai rikai kyōiku*, and *kao no mienai teijūka*. Their significance for the Brazilian residents is analyzed in the empirical chapters.

Acceptance of ambivalence

Drawing on Zygmunt Bauman's work *Modernity and Ambivalence* (1991), Frauke Kempka developed the theoretical concept "acceptance of ambivalence". It contains the tension between cultural, ethnic, or sociopractical distant strangers and their social closeness through their presence in the society. This ambivalence becomes manifest in multilateral loyalties, hybrid identities, or geographic and social detachment. "Acceptance of ambivalence" succeeds when individuals accept otherness as well as equality of access and participation. However, it does not require the dissolution of social distance (cf. Kempka 2012: 91-93). For the Brazilian residents in Hamamatsu, this concept is of importance, as it facilitates equality without full assimilation.

Three walls that hinder integration

According to a representative of the Aichi prefectural office, three walls exist which between Japanese and foreign residents: a language barrier, an emotional barrier, and a systemic barrier. The emotional barrier refers especially to the Japanese residents' feelings which form a barrier to interaction. As long as many Japanese people consider foreign people as different and treat them accordingly, this barrier still exists. Some companies, for example, prefer hiring Japanese people and avoid hiring foreign people. Systemic barrier means that still a system exists in which certain things apply to Japanese but not to foreign people. Many of these systems are changing due to the efforts by oldcomer immigrants, such as Korean residents. However, some differences remain (cf. interview Aichi prefectural office). These three walls affect the Brazilian residents' integration process.

Kokusai rikai kyōiku

What globally is often referred to as 'global education', is called '*kokusai rikai kyōiku*' (education for international understanding) in Japan, China, and Korea (cf. interview Hamamatsu Kokusai Rikai Kyōiku Netto). It stands for engagement with foreign

countries, especially with the West (cf. Okano 2018: 36). The concept developed out of *ibunka rikai* (understanding of other cultures) which came up when in the first half of the 20th century, foreign nationals settled in Japan and the question of how foreign and Japanese people can live well together arose. *Ibunka rikai* became the slogan for teaching people in developed countries about the situation of people in developing countries. Topics were shared tasks of humanity, such as human rights and environment issues (cf. interview Hamamatsu Kokusai Rikai Kyōiku Netto).

In the beginning, *kokusai rikai kyōiku* was based on the understanding of *ibunka rikai*, which was 3F: fashion, festival, and food. Nowadays, it became clear that these three things only are not enough for a real understanding of other cultures. For around 30 years now, *kokusai rikai kyōiku* is part of Japanese school²¹ as well as social (adult) education. However, among the teachers, the know-how on how to teach *kokusai rikai kyōiku* is still insufficient. As a result, until today, the 3F understanding is still widespread (cf. Hatano 2011: 69; interview Hamamatsu Kokusai Rikai Kyōiku Netto). Hatano (2011: 65-69) criticizes the tendency to organize 3F events for promoting international understanding. This thinking, although compatible with the literal *tabunka kyōsei* idea of multicultural coexistence, limits intercultural integration efforts.

Kao no mienai teijūka

In their study on Brazilian Nikkeijin in Japan, Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi (2005) coined the expression “*kao no mienai teijūka*” (invisible permanent settlement process). Even though foreign workers try to become established in the growing employment market, their existence is not noticed by the regional community, because they are absent from social life (cf. Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi 2005: 72). Two factors lead to the Brazilian residents staying invisible. First, due to their long working hours and overtime work, they leave their house early and from there – as it is already late – go directly home. In this way they lose contact with Japanese residents in the region. Especially if they do not have family and children, interaction opportunities are rare. Second, their contract work leads to them being deployed at various production sites which often leads to a change of residence. From the viewpoint of their Japanese neighbors, contract workers live in the apartment always

²¹ For a description of the internationalization of schooling, starting in the 1970s, see: Okano 2018.

for a short time only and the inhabitants change without being noticed (cf. *ibid.*: 72-73). Although the Brazilians increasingly settle in Japan permanently, they are still “invisible residents”. Mediating institutions can help to make them more visible.

2.3. Local level institutions

The encounter of Brazilian and Japanese residents happens in the context of the city they live in and its institutions. This subchapter presents the role of local governments (in this case, the municipality of Hamamatsu), its measures, and its institutions for the integration process and subsequently introduces the concept of mediating institutions.

2.3.1. The local government and its *tabunka kyōsei* efforts

Like in Germany, where at a national level, immigration policies were not considered yet because the reality of an immigration country was still denied while the integration of migrant residents at a local level already had become everyday routine (cf. Gestring 2014b: 315), in Japan as well, local governments increasingly play an important role for the integration of migrants. As Hamamatsu is a designated city, it has similar powers to prefectural governments in 17 areas, including social welfare, public health, and compulsory education (cf. CLAIR [2013]: 7-8).²² In absence of a national *tabunka kyōsei* policy, it is the local governments’ initiatives of implementing *tabunka kyōsei* endeavors which turn a municipality into an intercultural city. The Council of Europe identified three inter-linked values which determine an intercultural city: equality, diversity, and interaction. In an intercultural city, equality is pursued “by preventing discrimination and adapting the city’s governance, institutions and services to the needs of a diverse population” (CoE 2023). Diversity is understood as a resource while the citizens are united by shared values and visions. Interaction between different groups is fostered by “public policies that promote greater mixing, active citizenship and participation” (CoE 2023).²³

²² For an explanation of local autonomy in Japan, see CLAIR [2013].

²³ For a discussion about the significance of these values in Hamamatsu, see chapter 5.3.1.

Gestring (2014a) also considers local governments as supporters of the integration process. Conditions of a successful social integration are (1) receptive markets that enable immigrants to position themselves regarding work and living, (2) equal access to social welfare services, such as education, health, and social transfer, and (3) opportunities of political participation and an appropriate access to citizenship (cf. Gestring 2014a: 88). Municipalities cannot change the three conditions as they do not have an impact on structural systems, such as the job market which depends on decisions of international companies or on economic cycles, and education which is determined by supra-regional or national legislation. However, every dimension of integration has its responsible institutions, for example companies for the job market, schools for education, or housing enterprises for the housing market (cf. Gestring 2014a: 88; Gestring 2014b: 314, 322). Municipalities are moderators of integration (cf. Bommers 2009: 102). Local governments and other institutions can mediate in these three dimensions by developing own local level projects (cf. *ibid.*; Gestring 2014a: 88) which offer additional educational services, influence the housing market, offer consultation services, strengthen ethnic economies, reduce discrimination, or establish a basis for increasing educational opportunities for migrant children and adolescents (cf. Gestring 2014b: 314, 322). Although municipal multicultural efforts have their contradictions and ambivalences (Gestring 2014b), they are the background on which efforts of (governmental and non-governmental) mediating institutions regarding integration of Brazilians in Hamamatsu are based.

2.3.2. The concept of mediating institutions

The French diplomat and political philosopher Alexis de Tocqueville traveled across the USA in 1831 and published his observations in his book *Democracy in America*. One chapter was dedicated to public associations: non-governmental organizations of all types which are referred to today as "mediating institutions". He considered them as essential to democracy and to a functioning society, because citizens could voluntarily form associations in order to participate, network, and help each other (cf. Boyack 2009; Dodson 2019).

The concept of mediating institutions gained popularity especially in the 1990s and is used by a variety of authors in different disciplines and fields, such as public policy

research (Boyte 2000; Dehart-Davis and Guensler 2005; Lieberman 1980; Tenbenschel 2002), politics (Calabresi 1994), business (Flynn and Farrant 1997; Fort 1996; Fort and Noone 1999), education (Campbell 2014; Kathi, Cooper and Meek 2007), law (El Ghoul, Guedhami and Pittman 2016; McGinnis 2002), and religious studies (Ahoua 2008; Torry 2016). Some scholars focus on the role of mediating institutions for society (Berger and Neuhaus 1977; Harris and Milofsky 2019; Mendel 2003) or, more specifically, immigrant integration (Lamphere 1992; Martone *et al.* 2014).

According to the field of research, mediating institutions are defined differently. In fields such as sociology, anthropology, history, and cultural studies, “institutions have always been regarded as the basic building blocks of social and political life” (DiMaggio and Powell 1991: 3) as they shape “individual preferences and such basic categories of thought as the self, social action, the state, and citizenship” (ibid.). Berger and Neuhaus (1977: 2) define mediating structures as “those institutions standing between the individual in his private life and the large institutions of public life”. As such, they are a useful concept to study the role of meso-level structures for integration.

Over the last fifty years, mediating institutions struggle with decreased participation, government overreach, individualism, and the collapse of social ties (cf. Dodson 2019) and unnoticed, are weakening still today (cf. Yom 2018). Berger and Neuhaus (1977) anticipated the renewal of civil society in the 1990’s and stressed the importance of mediating structures, such as neighborhood, family, church, and voluntary associations, for providing people with a place and purpose in society, a safety net, and a place to turn to in times of need (cf. Berger and Neuhaus 1977: 44-45; Yom 2018). As such, they play a big role for migrants’ adaptation and integration and also serve as a place of encounter with the host society.

My dissertation is based on Louise Lamphere and her research team’s (1992) understanding of the concept. They use it to examine interrelations between new immigrants and established residents in the U.S. within what they call ‘mediating institutions’: workplaces within industrial and construction firms, school systems, rental housing complexes, community organizations, and local governments (cf. Lamphere 1992: 3, 6). These institutions shape, structure, and constrain the relationship between the two groups by mediating their interaction and by channeling “larger political and economic forces into settings that have impact on the lives of

individuals” (ibid.: 4). Mediating institutions are situated “where macro-level forces are brought to bear on micro-level relationships” (ibid.), or in other words, at the meso level. Their six case studies examine particular sites within mediating institutions and uncover “whether and how new immigrants are being integrated into the major structures of urban life” (ibid.: 5) and if these “institutions within cities [...] [are] changing, or [...] merely reproducing older patterns of class, power, and segregation” (ibid.). Lamphere’s research team suggests that “exclusion, distance, and isolation may be more common experiences for new immigrants than either conflict with established residents or instances of frequent interaction and integration” (ibid.: 4-5). They argue that these experiences have “more to do with the structure [...] [of the respective mediating institution] than with cultural and racial barriers per se” (ibid.: 4).

Among ethnographic research on Brazilians in Japan, Roth’s study (2002) on Nikkeijin in Hamamatsu refers to mediating institutions based on Lamphere’s understanding. By examining workplaces, a Brazilian Cultural Center, and the Hamamatsu Kite Festival, Roth attributes a big role to mediating institutions in hindering integration of migrants (cf. Roth 2002: 140). Especially the system of employment brokers “has operated to segment and to differentiate Nikkeijin and Japanese from each other” (ibid.). He explains that both Nikkeijin and Japanese emphasize consciously and strategically selected key cultural symbols²⁴ that oppose to the other group, a process he calls ‘oppositional florescence’ (cf. ibid.: 140). Roth found out that mediating institutions stimulate oppositional florescence between the two groups (cf. ibid.: 141). In other words, regarding the Nikkeijin, Roth sees mediating institutions as entities hindering integration. He sees a solution in government policy reforming such institutions (cf. ibid.: 145) and in fostering mutual understanding to reconcile these emerging differences (cf. ibid.: 140).

With the decision of many Brazilians to stay in Japan, other institutions than the ones Roth examined have assumed a mediating role, either hindering or fostering Brazilian residents’ integration. Examples of such mediating institutions which I examine are government institutions like international exchange associations and cultural centers, civil society organizations providing everyday life support, institutions related to free time, such as religious and cultural institutions, and educational institutions, such as

²⁴ According to Roth (2002: 140), examples of cultural symbols which the Nikkeijin in Hamamatsu use are *samba*, soccer, and the Brazilian flag.

schools and libraries. While relevant mediating institutions are identified in the respective chapter of the area where they are effective, *tabunka kyōsei* itself can be considered as a mediating institution which affects all fields of the Brazilian residents' lives.

This dissertation seeks to show how integration of Brazilian residents is progressing in Japan by examining Hamamatsu through the lens of mediating institutions. Combining the concept with Esser's four dimensions of integration enables to understand the role of mediating institutions for the relation between Brazilian newcomers and established (mainly Japanese) residents as well as for the process of integration of the former, and to examine if these mediating institutions also marginalize the Brazilian residents and stimulate tensions between them and Japanese residents, or if they play a positive role promoting mutual understanding and thus furthering integration. The following chapter presents the methodology that is used to examine these questions.

3. Methodology

This chapter deals with methodological considerations. First, it introduces the approach and its limitations. Second, it considers the positionality of the researcher in the field. Subsequently, it presents the fieldwork activities, including access to the field, participant observation, and interview procedure. Lastly, it explains the methods that led to the categories of data analysis from which the empirical chapters are derived.

3.1. Approach and its limitations

Anthropology is an empirical science (cf. Bernard 2011: 20). In order to study the integration of Brazilian residents in Hamamatsu and the role of mediating institutions in this process, I conducted an ethnographic study. In ethnographic research, a mixed-methods approach is common, including both qualitative and quantitative data (cf. LeCompte and Schensul 2013: 12). This applies to this dissertation as well. An analysis of official documents, such as policy plans and reports, can give answers to the question on the role of mediating institutions and on integration measures and initiatives in theory, but in order to display the actual situation, the successes and failures, problems, and consequences, as well as the opinions and feelings of the people involved, ethnographic fieldwork is more suitable. It enables the researcher to approximate to the people and listen to their individual stories and everyday life experiences. In this way, it is possible to find out not only what they did, but also why they decided to do what they did, how they feel and what they think about certain issues. In other words, ethnography studies both the wider structures and the thoughts and feelings of the people (cf. O'Reilly 2012: 10). Including a family of methods, such as participant observation, interviews, and conversations, ethnography aims at understanding the complexity of the social world by getting involved with the daily practice of human beings. This requires time, as the researcher needs to immerse in the field and build trust and rapport with the agents to obtain an insider view. Furthermore, the research design evolves in the course of the study (cf. *ibid.*: 3, 11, 23). Therefore, ethnography “tells rich, sensitive and credible stories” (*ibid.*: 3).

That is why I used the methodology of cultural anthropology and conducted a nine months ethnographic fieldwork in Hamamatsu. I only briefly visited other cities with a high population of Brazilian Nikkeijin, namely Ōizumi and Toyota²⁵, as well as Nagoya and Toyohashi. Insights gained on these trips regarding the role of mediating institutions in these cities are included in the empirical chapters to contextualize my findings from Hamamatsu. My fieldwork activities included participation in (cultural) events as well as observation of everyday situations, while especially considering the role of mediating institutions for the Brazilian community in Japan. I kept records of my observations by taking handwritten notes in a notebook and writing a fieldwork diary. In addition, I conducted 43 semi-structured interviews with Brazilian residents, staff members of mediating institutions, as well as members of civil society organizations, international associations, or other institutions that play an active role in the life of the Brazilians in Japan. The interview data helps to grasp the process of integration into the Japanese host society and reveals the interviewees' experiences, opinions, and wishes.

However, ethnographic methods also have their limitations, such as its reflexivity that arises when humans study other human lives (cf. O'Reilly 2012: 17). Another limitation is the availability of interview partners and events. While with quantitative methods, such as a survey, it is possible to reach people more randomly, the choice of individual Brazilian interview partners depended on the people I met during my fieldwork. Many Brazilian residents in Hamamatsu work much. Moreover, they often prefer spending the little free time they have at home which makes it difficult to get to know them. Accordingly, I only got insights in the integration process of the Brazilians who are somehow related to institutions and events of the Brazilian community or Japanese civil society institutions which support Brazilian residents. These are mainly people who seek interaction with Japanese citizens, are interested in integration, or strive for their own and their children's education. When visiting civil society organizations that offered Japanese and Portuguese classes on the weekends, for example, I met mostly mothers concerned with their children's language education who were aware of the advantages of bilingual education and who were intending to offer their children better conditions than they themselves had.

²⁵ For a short introduction of Ōizumi and Toyota and their Brazilian communities as well as for the reasons for selecting Hamamatsu as fieldsite, see chapter 4.3.

Moreover, I intended to conduct a follow-up fieldwork in spring 2020. At this occasion, I planned to visit more places, such as the Brazilian school E.A.S., to participate in activities of Força Jovem, and to conduct more interviews, for example with representatives from Hamamatsu City Hall's International Affairs Division (Kokusaika), as well as with Brazilian residents, for example the owner of a Brazilian restaurant, a Brazilian university professor, students of a Brazilian dance school as well as members of Pentecostal church and Spiritism. However, my research stay was adjourned indefinitely due to the covid-19 pandemic and its travel restrictions, and in the end, I could not realize it at all. Before presenting my fieldwork activities, in the following subchapter, I reflect on my identity as a researcher in the field.

3.2. Identity and position of the researcher in the field

Every fieldwork is influenced by the researcher and his or her personality, characteristics, and skills. Every researcher brings ideas and assumptions to the field and impacts the daily life practices of the people (s)he is interested in. That is why, it is of utmost importance to reflect upon one's own role in the field (cf. O'Reilly 2012: 11; Tagsold and Ullmann 2020: 218-220). This reflection has to be done continually throughout the research process. Researchers can only become fully aware of their position in the field during data analysis, and this is how issues of power and bias can be detected (cf. Chiavacci 2020: 307).

Although being authentic is important, the researcher can choose which aspect of his or her personality he or she wants to involve during fieldwork (cf. Tagsold and Ullmann 2020: 220). In the introduction of his ethnography on Brazilian Nikkeijin in Japan, Tsuda (2003: 5-44) describes very well how he dealt with his multiple identities and loyalties at his multiethnic fieldsite, giving helpful hints on what to consider. For my fieldwork, I identified three important aspects: language, identity, and social position. Other factors, such as gender, only had a minor impact on my fieldwork. My religious affiliation as a Protestant did not play a role, as I examined only other types of Christianity-based churches.

Additional to language and culture of the society where one conducts the fieldwork, a multicultural field requires gaining proficiency in the language of the migrants. As

many of my Brazilian interlocutors did not speak Japanese or English, without Portuguese language skills, I would have been dependent on an interpreter when getting into touch with them, conducting interviews, and attending events of the Brazilian community and could not have explored the field on my own (cf. Timmerarens 2018: 57-58). Some researchers solve this issue by collaborating with other researchers from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds (cf. Fitzgerald 2006: 6; Lamphere 1992: 6) or adjust their research topic to their existing language skills (cf. Linger 2001: 16; Roberts 2003: 305). However, having knowledge of both languages and cultures, I could establish contacts and trust to both parts of the society as well as get to know both perspectives. Furthermore, in this way I could offer my interlocutors to express their thoughts in the language that they command best. Although Portuguese proficiency was more important for my fieldwork, Japanese language skills were also crucial as they enabled me to do an internship at the local cultural center and to interview Japanese stakeholders. In some bilingual situations, it was useful to understand both languages and compare the information that was expressed respectively (cf. Timmerarens 2018: 57).

During fieldwork in multicultural contexts, identities are negotiated constantly as the researchers tries to be accepted by at least two groups (cf. Tsuda 2003: 11). (S)he adapts to the respective situation and people by switching between different roles and identities. Anthropologists researching Brazilians in Japan have shown that being an ethnic insider can be an advantage, as the shared identity can help overcoming differences and leading to acceptance and trust (cf. Linger 2001; Roth 2002, 2003; Timmerarens 2018: 60; Tsuda 2003, 2016). However, it is important to keep a balance between the insider and outsider roles to get fieldwork results as insightful as possible (cf. Klien 2020: 225). As ethnicity is not the only identity marker, Tsuda (2016: 32-33) argues that “anthropologists are both partial outsiders and partial insiders and experience various degrees of acceptance and cultural insight”. Besides my role as a doctoral student in Japanese Studies from Germany which made me an outsider, it was useful to construct a shared identity. Among Japanese people, I always considered myself as an (ethnic) outsider while at the same time creating a sense of commonalities through Japanese language and cultural skills as well as my Nikkei *sansei* identity. Among Brazilian people, on the contrary, I soon felt as an insider. That is not so much because I am a Nikkeijin, but relates to most Brazilians being very welcoming and treating me as if I was Brazilian. In this way,

they created a common category based on being foreigner in Japan. It was my social position that at the same time made me keep the outsider role.

Social differences can create barriers that complicate the access to interlocutors, because – in the case of studying down – they might feel inferior or have prejudices. When among Brazilians, I avoided mentioning our differences and tried to be a part of their group by behaving like them. Most of the time I was downplaying my Japanese skills and my educational background, like Tsuda did in order not to risk trust and acceptance of Brazilian Nikkeijin due to behaving more “Japanese” than them (cf. Tsuda 2003: 35). However, differences are also productive and necessary for the fieldwork, as they may lead to new insights (cf. Tsuda 2016: 33). Some Brazilians sometimes stressed our social class differences by saying: “You are from a First World Country and you are educated. We are from a Third World Country²⁶, only have poor education and come from impoverished conditions”. Although they did mean no harm, this made me feel excluded from their group. However, curiosity and the things we had in common were stronger than our differences and thus I was welcomed cordially by all Brazilians I got to know and my interviewees were very open and frank with me (cf. Timmerarens 2018: 61-62).

In summary, in a multicultural field, different identities have to be negotiated and adapted. For my fieldwork, my ethnic identity as Nikkeijin and my language skills in Portuguese and Japanese played a big role in establishing contacts and rapport with my interlocutors. It is these two aspects which facilitated my observations and interviews with both Japanese and Brazilian people.

3.3. Fieldwork activities and data acquisition

In August 2017, I conducted ten days of exploratory fieldwork in the three cities of Ōizumi (Gunma prefecture), Hamamatsu (Shizuoka prefecture), and Toyota (Aichi prefecture) in order to get a first impression of these three cities and the Brazilian

²⁶ Although many Brazilians I met during my fieldwork used this term, it is considered as inaccurate and derogatory nowadays (cf. World Population Review 2023). The United Nations base their country development ranking on the Human Development Index (HDI), which considers various factors. With the highest possible score being 1.0, countries scoring less than 0.80 are considered as developing countries. Brazil has an HDI of 0.754. Brazil is also considered a Newly Industrialized Country. This category encompasses countries with economic development between developed and developing countries (cf. *ibid.*; as of 2021).

presence within them and to establish contacts. From February to November 2018, I lived in Hamamatsu, conducting a three months internship at the intercultural center HICE and participating in (cultural) events and other activities related to Brazil and the Brazilians as well as socializing with them and taking part in their everyday life. From March to May 2019, I did a follow-up fieldwork by revisiting the field and conducting one more interview.

As it is recommended, I conducted my research overtly (cf. AAA 2012, ISA 2001; McLaughlin 2020: 167; Reiher and Wagner 2020: 433). I told the people I got to know about my person and my research topic. The data I collected during my fieldwork consists of own data, namely the interviews I conducted, fieldnotes from my participant observation, a fieldwork diary, and documents. The latter include everyday life documents, such as flyers, booklets, local gazettes, and newspaper articles, as well as official documents, for example journal articles and documents issued by the local government or the intercultural center HICE regarding implementation strategies and evaluations of the *tabunka kyōsei* policy. In the following paragraphs I describe the activities of my fieldwork in Hamamatsu and the data I collected.

3.3.1. Access to the field

Bestor (2003: 319-320) emphasizes the importance of multiple access points in order to not be dependent on only one source of information. Due to the diversity of my community of investigation, it was especially necessary to access the field from different points in order to gain various perspectives. Initially, I chose the access to the field via an organization, as other migration researchers recommend (Baca Zinn 2001: 161, 163; Kempka 2012: 169-170; Tsuda 2016: 28). I decided to take as starting point the *Hamamatsu Foundation for International Communication and Exchange* (*Hamamatsu kokusai kōryū kyōkai*, abbr.: HICE), which is the major institution in Hamamatsu assigned with the support of foreign residents and plays a big role for the implementation of the local government's intercultural policy.²⁷ Thus, I assumed that HICE was an important mediating institution in Hamamatsu, linking local government's intercultural policy measures with foreign residents and their process of integration (cf. Timmerarens 2018: 53). Moreover, I expected that as the

²⁷ For a detailed presentation of HICE, see chapter 4.3.2.

process of settlement progressed, the Brazilian residents would increasingly focus on those institutions that provided orientation in everyday life in the Japanese society.

That is why I started my fieldwork with a three-month internship at HICE, through which I gained insights in the everyday life and difficulties of the Brazilians in Hamamatsu and their community. I joined one of the Brazilian employees for community events and meetings with community institutions. At these occasions, she introduced me to representatives of institutions related to my research field, such as the Brazilian consul general, directors of NPOs, and Brazilians teaching Brazilian culture. This helped me to identify the relevant actors in my research field and to establish contacts with them. Furthermore, I got to know the work and efforts of HICE.

At the same time, my perspective was limited due to my dependency on HICE employees to introduce me to other actors of my field (cf. Timmerarens 2018: 58). Moreover, a bias arose because my internship gave me access only to a certain part of my field, namely people that I got to know through my internship because they take advantage of the support offered by HICE and related institutions. This bias can be evaded by starting the search for contacts from different places (Kempka 2012: 169-170; Roth 2003: 343-344; Tsuda 2016: 28-29). I adjusted my field access according to emic relevance and searched for a second access point, this time through a Brazilian community institution. By doing so, I could reach Brazilian residents who do not get in touch with HICE in their everyday life and find out how other institutions deal with problematic situations and misunderstandings between Japanese and foreign residents (see Timmerarens 2018: 59-60).

I joined the Brazilian Forró dance school Brasil A2 in Hamamatsu where I got to know many Brazilians, but also other Latin Americans and Japanese people. Besides taking part in dance lessons, trainings, workshops, dance parties, performances, and Forró Festivals, I was invited by these people to private events like *churrasco* (Brazilian barbecue) and gladly accepted the opportunity to socialize with them. Through these contacts I got better insights into the everyday life of the Brazilian residents in Hamamatsu. However, I met only people who had the financial conditions as well as time and motivation to take dance lessons besides the tough work life. In other words, these Brazilians also represent only a small part of their community. Still, as the experiences I made at HICE and the contacts I made in the

dance school were quite different, I got insights into two very different parts of the Brazilian community.

3.3.2. Participant observation

Participant observation is foundational in cultural anthropology and has been a constitutive element of ethnographic research since the beginning of the twentieth century (cf. Musante 2015: [238-239, 241, 270]). It is “a process of learning through exposure to or involvement in the day-to-day or routine activities of participants in the research setting” (Schensul and LeCompte 2013: 83). In this method, “a researcher takes part in the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events of a group of people as one of the means of learning both the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines and culture” (Musante 2015: [238]). It is a strategic method which “turns field workers into instruments of data collection and data analysis” (Bernard 2011: 258). They immerse themselves in a culture, experience the life of their research subjects, learn their language, establish rapport, and by doing so collect data. Every day, they remove themselves from that immersion in order to intellectualize what they observed (cf. *ibid.*: 257-258). Participant observation is an essential part of fieldwork, as it can reveal information which the interlocutors are not aware of themselves and thus only can be gained by observing (cf. Tagsold and Ullmann 2020: 213).

I participated in a variety of host society and Brazilian community events where I conducted participant observation. Most of these opportunities arose out of my internship at HICE. Participation in some of the events was made possible by members of the Brazilian community or other interview contacts. Table 1 provides an overview of relevant events²⁸ in which I took part and activities I observed during my fieldwork.

Event / Activity	Frequency / Duration	Description
internship HICE	three months	helping with tasks at the counter, translations, and other desk work; participating in events
<i>Global Fair</i> 02-11-2018	annually	lectures, exhibitions, and presentations about other cultures

²⁸ Some relevant events did not take place, such as the annual Samba Cup in Hamamatsu which was cancelled due to a typhoon.

<i>tabunka kyōsei</i> classes for nurses and midwives	annually	HICE employees teaches about <i>tabunka kyōsei</i> in order to raise awareness
Portuguese classes at U-ToC	weekly for a few months	for supporters of foreign residents
COLORS presentations	a few times a year	group of young people with foreign roots, talking at Japanese schools about their own experiences
cooking event NPO FRECTIVE 05-27-2018	a few times a year	teaching to cook a German dish using only German and English
storytelling (at IIEC or HICE) 06-03-2018 and 04-13-2019	once in a while	Storytelling for Brazilian children, at the same time meeting of their parents to discuss issues regarding the children (mainly at school)
meeting Resident Council of Brazilian Consulate General	monthly	meeting of community representatives to discuss joint activities
<i>Festa do Brasil Nagoya</i> (12/13-05-2018)	annually	dance and music performances on a stage, Brazilian food, and information booths
<i>Festa Junina</i> of the Hamamatsu Catholic Church 06-24-2018	annually	dance and music performances on a stage, Brazilian food, and information booths
<i>Arraial Lápis de Cor</i>	annually	<i>Festa Junina</i> of the Brazilian nursery school
service at Catholic Church	weekly	Once a month international service; the other weeks separated service (Japanese, Portuguese, Spanish, English)
service at Igreja Universal	daily	service in Portuguese (headphones with interpretation in Japanese and English available)
encounter of Spiritists 04-06-2019	weekly	encounter of spiritists in Portuguese
dance school Brasil A2	twice a week	Forró dance lessons and training
Brazil Study Trip Sharing Session in Nagoya 04-29-2018	once	presentation of a group who went to Brazil to study the Japanese community in São Paulo
I. Symposium of Portuguese as a Heritage Language (PLH) 05-26-2018	annually	one day symposium with representatives talking about their experiences and strategies regarding PLH

<i>Tabunka kyōsei</i> course for practitioners in education (at U-ToC) 08-01-2018	annually	One-day seminar for teachers at Japanese schools, including a Portuguese lesson, lecture about the difference of Japanese and Brazilian schools, tour of the Brazilian school Mundo de Alegria, and lectures about <i>tabunka kyōsei</i>
Symposium on <i>tabunka kyōsei</i> (at U-ToC) 03-15-2019	once	One-day symposium where representatives of local government and civil society organizations presented their experiences regarding <i>tabunka kyōsei</i>
Publicity campaign of Jair Bolsonaro in Hamamatsu 02-25-2018	once	Jair Bolsonaro (one of the candidates for the presidential election in Brazil on October 7 th , 2018) presenting himself to the Brazilian community in Japan in Hamamatsu and Ōizumi

Table 1: Fieldwork events and activities

One of my focuses for participant observation was on multiculturalism events organized by host society institutions. They provided opportunities for encountering different nationalities or learning about other cultures. These events include the annual *Global Fair* (see chapter 5.2.2.), multiculturalism classes for prospective midwives and nurses at a vocational school (see chapter 5.2.4.), meetings of a group of young people with foreign roots (COLORS) (see chapter 7.1.3. Pursuing higher education), and the *hanami* (cherry blossom viewing) event of U-ToC for foreign students (see chapter 5.2.2.). Moreover, I visited NPOs teaching Japanese and / or Portuguese to children and adults (see chapter 7.2.1. and 7.3.1.). Furthermore, I participated in academic events, as they are an expression of an ongoing intellectual debate and practitioner's exchange on topics related to interculturalism and integration. Such events include a Brazil Study Trip Sharing Session at Nagoya University (see chapter 5.2.4.), the I. Symposium of Portuguese as a Heritage Language (see chapter 7.2.1.), and a *tabunka kyōsei* course for teachers at Japanese schools (see chapter 5.2.2.).

Another of my areas of interest was the Brazilian community itself. I joined events to examine what part of their culture Brazilian residents preserve, who participates in such events, and what role these events play for their everyday life and integration. I went to Brazilian cultural events with booths, food stalls and a stage, such as the *Festa do Brasil Nagoya* and the *Festa Junina* of the Hamamatsu Catholic Church

(see chapter 5.1.4. and 6.3.2.). Besides, I participated in the Brazilian Consulate General's Resident Council (see chapter 5.2.2.), joined storytelling events for Brazilian children (see chapter 7.1.1. and 7.2.1.), and accompanied an HICE employee to the presidential election campaign of the then candidate Jair Bolsonaro (see chapter 5.1.2.). I also observed everyday life and leisure time situations in order to gain insights in the Brazilians' everyday life and their cultural expressions. These include religious services (see chapter 6), Brazilian sports and culture events (see chapter 5.1.4.), and *churrasco* parties (see chapter 5.1.2. Everyday practices and ties to Brazil). At all these occasions as well as generally during my fieldwork, I took fieldnotes and gathered other material, such as newsletters, Brazilian community journals, flyers, and local government publications, in order to get an impression of the activities and measures related to the Brazilian community in Hamamatsu.

3.3.3. Interviews and research participants

Besides participating in various events, I conducted 43 semi-structured interviews with people who I consider experts for the Brazilian residents' integration process at the local level in Japan. Qualitative interviewing enables the researcher to find out people's perspective on a certain topic, that is how they view their situation, what is important to them, and how they perceive and interpret the topic (cf. Kottmann and Reiher 2020: 185). From that, study domains can be confirmed and factors, variables, items, and attributes of variables for analysis can be identified (cf. Schensul and LeCompte 2013: 174). Semi-structured interviews allow to follow the interviewee's thought process by which knowledge is produced and at the same time not lose sight of the issues on which the interviewer intends to focus (cf. Brinkmann 2022: 18).

My interviewees are representatives of civil society and government institutions or individuals both from the host society as well as the Brazilian community, mainly in Hamamatsu. In this way, I can approach the topic from two perspectives: institutions which fulfill a certain function for the community and people who are part of the Brazilian community or host society and feel the outcome. Most conversations and interviews that I had with individuals came about through my two access points to the field and related events in which I participated. The following table 2 provides an

overview of the conducted interviews. They are ordered by city, and within by type of institution.

Interview date, city, and duration	Institution	Name (*pseudonym) / function	Lan- guage	Topics
08-07-2018 Ōizumi without audio	Kokusai Kyōdōka, Tabunka Kyōsei Komyuniti Sentā	two employees	Jap.	Brazilians in Ōizumi, role of local government / Tabunka Kyōsei Komyuniti Sentā
08-11-2017 Toyota 1 h	Toyota International Association (TIA)	employee	Jap.	Brazilians in Toyota, role of TIA
03-27-2018 Nagoya 55 min	Aichi-ken Tabunka Kyōsei Suishinshitsu	director's assistant and office staff	Jap.	Tabunka kyōsei policy in Aichi prefecture
03-27-2018 Nagoya 50 min	NPO SOS Mamães no Japão (SMJ)	director	Port.	problems among Brazilians in Japan, role of NPO SMJ
04-09-2018 Hamamatsu 35 min	City Hall, Kokusaika	James* / CIR JET	Engl.	Tabunka kyōsei policy in Hamamatsu
08-09-2017 Hamamatsu 1 h 30 min	HICE	employee	Port.	Brazilians in Hamamatsu, role of HICE
04-04-2018 Hamamatsu 40 min	HICE	Vitor* / psychologist	Port.	Brazilians in Hamamatsu, psychological problems
04-06-2018 Hamamatsu 23 min	HICE	Mikako* / psychologist	Port.	Brazilians in Hamamatsu, psychological problems
04-11-2018 Hamamatsu 51 min	HICE	Yōko* / counter volunteer	Jap.	experiences as a counter volunteer at HICE, personal experiences with foreigners
04-24-2018 Hamamatsu 21 min	HICE	Akiko* / counter volunteer	Jap.	experiences as a counter volunteer at HICE, personal experiences with foreigners
04-26-2018 Hamamatsu 33 min	U-ToC	employee	Jap.	activities U-ToC, projects

03-16-2018 Hamamatsu 1 h	Central Library (Chūō Toshokan)	two librarians	Jap.	activities of library, services for foreign residents
04-17-2018 Hamamatsu 1 h 15 min	Catholic Church	priest	Jap.	activities of church regarding Brazilians
2018.05.08 Hamamatsu 9 min	Força Jovem	leader for Japan	Port.	Role of Força Jovem for children and adolescents
05-24-2019 Hamamatsu 45 min	Brazilian Consulate General Hamamatsu	consul general	Port.	role of the Consulate for Brazilians in Hamamatsu
03-31-2018 Hamamatsu 1 h 33 min	International Institute of Education and Culture (IIEC)	director of IIEC	Port.	activities of IIEC
04-14-2018 Hamamatsu 1 h 05 min	NPO Arace	director of Arace	Port.	activities of NPO Arace
03-13 -2018 Hamamatsu without audio, joint interview with another PhD student	Board of Education	consultant, supervisor of teachers	Jap. and Port.	activities and role of Board of Education for foreign residents
(interview not possible) Hamamatsu	Brazilian School Mundo de Alegria			
04-12-2018 Hamamatsu 13 min	Brazilian School Escola Alegria de Saber (E.A.S)	director of E.A.S Hamamatsu	Port.	problems and progress at the school
05-21-2018 Hamamatsu 45 min	Brazilian School Alcance	secretary	Port.	problems and progress at the school
05-18-2018 Hamamatsu 23 min	Brazilian nursery school Lápis de Cor	director	Port.	problems and progress at the nursery school

05-17-2018 Hamamatsu 1 h	ABRAH (Associação Brasileira de Hamamatsu)	representative	Port.	activities of ABRAH, problems of Brazilians in Japan
05-27-2018 Hamamatsu 33 min	Hamamatsu Kokusai Rikai Kyōiku Netto	representative	Jap.	<i>tabunka kyōiku</i> and <i>tabunka kyōsei</i>
05-14-2018 Hamamatsu 9 min	Aliança de Intercâmbio Brasil Japão	representative	Port.	activities of Aliança de Intercâmbio Brasil Japão (sports and culture)
05-18-2018 Hamamatsu 40 min	Yamaguchi International Heart Clinic	doctor	Jap.	health problems of foreign residents
03-22-2018 Hamamatsu 18 min	Radio station FM Haro!	moderator program Amizade	Jap.	role of program Amizade for Japanese and Brazilian residents
05-10-2018 Hamamatsu 38 min	FRECTIVE	representative of board of directors	Jap.	activities of FRECTIVE
05-10-2018 Hamamatsu 21 min	JiuJitsu teacher	Diego* / Brazilian teacher	Port.	role of JiuJitsu
04-16-2018 Hamamatsu 21 min	COLORS	Yuriko* / Brazilian university student	Jap.	experiences in Japan
04-17-2018 Hamamatsu 18 min	COLORS	Akane* / Brazilian university student	Jap.	experiences in Japan
04-17-2018 Hamamatsu 19 min	COLORS	Keiko* / Brazilian university student	Jap.	experiences in Japan
04-08-2018 Hamamatsu 44 min		Aaron* / Brazilian father	Port.	life and adaptation in Japan
04-30-2018 Hamamatsu 1 h 30 min		Thamara* / dance teacher	Port.	life and adaptation in Japan

04-24-2018 Hamamatsu 1 h 15 min	[municipal institution]	Roxana* / former employee	Port.	experiences, life, and adaptation in Japan
04-12-2018 Hamamatsu 22 min	[Brazilian school]	Gabriela* / former teacher	Port.	adaptation in Japan, integration of Brazilians in Japan
05-21-2018 Hamamatsu 53 min	NPO Semente para o Futuro	Caroline* / Brazilian mother, Portuguese teacher at HICE	Port.	life and adaptation in Japan
04-22-2018 Kakegawa 2 h		Amanda* / Brazilian mother, factory worker, storyteller	Port.	experiences, life and adaptation in Japan, activities of Janelas do Mundo (storytelling)
04-14-2018 Hamamatsu 16 min		Yara* / Brazilian mother, factory worker	Port.	life and adaptation in Japan
04-14-2018 Hamamatsu 35 min		Yumi* / Brazilian mother, factory worker	Port.	life and adaptation in Japan
05-08-2018 Hamamatsu 1 h 27 min		Rafaela* / Brazilian mother	Port.	life and adaptation in Japan
04-25-2018 Hamamatsu 36 min		Fernanda* / Brazilian mother, interpreter, psychological consultant	Port.	life and adaptation in Japan
06-01-2018 Hamamatsu 35 min		Shiori* / Japanese woman	Jap.	Experiences with Brazilians in Hamamatsu
12-12-2019 Teltow 41 min	[junior high school in Iwata]	Megumi* / former English teacher	Jap.	Brazilians at school and personal experiences

Table 2: Interviews

The representatives from different institutions comprise on the side of the Brazilian community directors of NPOs and other groups which aim at supporting the Brazilian community by offering language classes for immigrant children (IIEC, Arace),

assisting Brazilian mothers in a variety of difficulties (SOS Mamães no Japão in Nagoya), or offering legal counseling (ABRAH), groups fostering exchange and interaction with the host society by organizing sport and cultural activities (Aliança de Intercâmbio Brasil Japão), representatives of two Brazilian schools and a Brazilian nursery school, the consul general of the Brazilian Consulate General Hamamatsu, and representatives of the Hamamatsu Catholic Church and Força Jovem. On the host society's side, I interviewed local government employees in charge of *tabunka kyōsei* in Ōizumi, Nagoya, and Hamamatsu, an employee of the Toyota Intercultural Association (TIA), employees, psychologists, and counter volunteers of HICE and U-ToC, librarians of the Hamamatsu Central Library, employees of the Hamamatsu Board of Education, representatives of a Japanese NPO and other groups aiming at raising awareness for foreign residents and their situation among Japanese residents in Hamamatsu (FRECTiVE, Hamamatsu Kokusai Rikai Kyōiku Netto), a Japanese doctor of the Yamaguchi International Heart Clinic, and a moderator of a local radio station. The interviews with representatives of institutions gave me insights into local level interculturalism and integration measures as well as efforts of the Brazilian community regarding support for Brazilian residents.

Additionally, I interviewed 15 private individuals to see how effective the measures are and to get a better impression of the viewpoint of both Japanese and Brazilian residents on the integration process in everyday life. The Brazilians interviewees already had lived in Japan for a while: three university students, a father (Aaron), a married woman with children in Brazil (Gabriela), a single woman (Thamara), a married woman without children (Roxana), and six mothers (Amanda, Caroline, Yara, Yumi, Rafaela, and Fernanda). All my interviewees were of age. Besides the students, my Brazilian interviewees were between their 30's and 50's. Although their educational background is quite different, in Japan, they all seem to live a middle-class life. In order to get an impression of the viewpoint of Japanese residents, beyond the realm of HICE where I interviewed two counter volunteers, I also interviewed two Japanese women about their experiences with Brazilian residents (Shiori, Megumi). Some of the representatives from institutions also told me about their personal experiences. As after around 15 interviews with individuals no new themes or relevant mediating institutions emerged, thematic saturation was reached.

Interview preparation

As McLaughlin (2010: 8-9) recommends, I identified gathering points of activity that were relevant to my topic and that included both elite and non-elite participants. At these nodes, which in my case were especially my two access points to the field, I met and interacted with a broad spectrum of people. Personal contacts and advocacy are helpful for finding interview partners (cf. Kempka 2012: 170; Reiher 2014: 23; Roberts 2003: 299). In Japan, it is especially important to be introduced to potential interviewees instead of entering in contact directly (cf. Roberts 2003: 296). Through my internship at HICE, I met many potential interviewees related to the Brazilian community and Japanese civil society. Helpful for finding interview partners was also the then newly published 35-years-HICE anniversary book, which included short portraits of Brazilian community representatives and other people involved with interculturalism and foreign residents. I asked HICE employees to introduce me to people who had a close relation to HICE and who seemed to be relevant for my research. As in some cases, this procedure took much time, I decided to enter in contact with potential Brazilian interviewees directly via e-mail or even WhatsApp (cf. Timmerarens 2018: 58). Although this straightforward approach seemed very personal and nonprofessional to me, among the Brazilian residents it seemed to be usual. This uncomplicated procedure went very smoothly. Sometimes I found more interviewees by using the snowball technique. This is a good way to get to know more people quickly. However, a bias can emerge when only one gatekeeper provides the contacts (cf. Kottmann and Reiher 2020: 187). That is why I used it sparingly. Only two Brazilian acquaintances presented me to a total of three Brazilians for an interview.

For the interviews, I let the interviewees decide on the time, as many have a hectic working life (cf. Roberts 2003: 301–302; Roth 2003: 336–338; Tsuda 2003: 15). I mostly let them also decide on the location to give them the possibility to “choose a place that is convenient and comfortable for them” (Kottmann and Reiher 2020: 188). Many interviews I conducted at HICE. When doing interviews with representatives of institutions I went to their workplace. A few interviewees wanted to meet me at a fast-food or family restaurant.

Conducting the interviews

It is recommended that interviews be conducted in the language the interlocutors feel most comfortable with (cf. Kottmann and Reiher 2020: 189). In all interviews, I adjusted the language to the mother tongue of the respective interviewee. Only in one case it did not make a difference for the interview partner (representative of ABRAH) if we used Japanese or Portuguese. We decided together on using Portuguese.

Before the interview, my interviewees signed a form of consent (see appendix B). It said that the person agrees to participate in the study, understands that participation is voluntary, agrees with the interview being audio recorded, and approves the usage of quotes in publications. In one case, the interview partner explicitly only wanted to sign the form after the interview. None of my interviewees explicitly wished to become anonymized. However, I used pseudonyms for all individuals in order to avoid them being identified and to protect their privacy (cf. AAA 2012; McLaughlin 2020: 167). Only then, they are encouraged to speak frankly (cf. Reiher and Wagner 2020: 433). For representatives of institutions, I used their function within the institution and, if a name was necessary, a pseudonym as well. Thus, all names of interlocutors in this dissertation are pseudonyms.

I audio recorded all interviews, except two interviews. Even when recording it is important to take notes as soon as possible after the interview (cf. Kottmann and Reiher 2020: 193). Right after every interview, I took notes about the setting, things the person said before or after the recorded interview, and my impression. When recording was not possible, I took notes during the interview as well. Later, I transcribed all interviews in order to analyze them.

Based on existing literature and my observations during preliminary fieldwork, I developed two interview guides: one for private individuals and one for representatives of institutions (see table 3). As I conducted semi-structured interviews, the interview guide gave me orientation without obliging me to stick to it (cf. Kottmann and Reiher 2020: 186), so I could ask additional questions or omit irrelevant ones. In this way, it was possible to “explore ideas with the participants but also to get fixed responses for some criteria” (O’Reilly 2012: 120).

Interview guide private individuals	Interview guide institutions
1. Please introduce yourself.	
2. What was your reason to come to Japan?	2. Please introduce your institution.
3. How was your adaptation here?	
4. Was Japan how you imagined? What experiences did you make after your arrival?	
5. Do you feel integrated here? Why (not)?	3. What role does multiculturalism play in your institution's activities?
6. Which institution, people, or places helped you after your arrival in Japan?	4. What role does your institution play for foreigners in Japan, especially for the Brazilian community?
7. In your opinion, how is the relationship between Brazilian and Japanese residents in Hamamatsu?	5. Does your institution cooperate with other institutions? Which ones?
8. In your opinion, what role do organizations, personal networks, or the Brazilian community play for the Brazilians who live in Hamamatsu?	6. In your opinion, which other institutions are / what else plays a role for the Brazilians' integration in Japanese society?
9. What do you hope for your future?	
10. (7.) What do you hope for the future of the Brazilians in Japan?	
11. (8.) Do you want to say something more?	

Table 3: Interview guides

The questions for individuals focus mainly on their experiences after arriving in Japan. Questions 2, 3, 4, and 6 aim only at the immigrants themselves, not their children's generation who was born in Japan or came in a young age and has no memories of the migration process. The questions for representatives of an institution focus more on the respective institution's activities and their role for interculturalism and integration of foreign residents. At the end of the interview, these interviewees had the opportunity to talk about their personal view.

Although voluntary consent and active cooperation with research participants is the deal of ethnographic research (cf. Sluka und Robben 2012), reciprocity is an important factor of ethnographic fieldwork. It means sharing goods and providing services, but also sharing information (cf. Musante 2015: [254]). Especially my Brazilian acquaintances from the dance school sometimes asked me for favors, and as I considered them mainly as a matter of course, I complied with them out of a sense of gratitude and *ongaeshi* (requit of a favor). These favors included

spontaneous interpreting (Japanese – Portuguese), putting out flyers at HICE and at the Brazilian Consulate General, and liking and sharing events on Facebook.²⁹ HICE asked me to present the German culture to a (Japanese) audience. I held a presentation about German culture and taught cooking a German dish. Reciprocity in the context of conducting interviews means that researchers thank their interviewees for their time, effort, and shared information with an adequate consideration (cf. McLaughlin 2010: 7, 14). In Japan, “social protocol demands [...] [the researcher to] bring an *omiyage*” (ibid.: 14). A small gift helps building trust and can affect the further progress of the fieldwork positively (cf. Baca Zinn 2001: 164). I gave chocolate and other sweets from Germany as a thank-you gift to my interviewees. A few times I was asked directly or indirectly for a quid pro quo, such as to give a short interview in the Brazilian culture program Amizade of the local radio station FM Haro! about my experiences with Brazil and Japan or to share my publication once it is published (cf. Timmerarens 2018: 59-60). With one of the Brazilian schools, I could not conduct an interview, because a payment of 10.000 JPY was demanded. I decided to refrain from the interview, as the principle of voluntary and independent information exchange was not given. Instead, I participated in a U-ToC event, in which a tour of the school was included.

Other research participants

Besides my interviewees, other research participants also played a role. It is helpful to establish one privileged contact (cf. Tagsold and Ullmann 2020: 217). Pedro whom I met at the dance school was my key interlocutor, not because he introduced me to other people, but because we had many informal conversations. By doing so, I learned a lot about his family and friends, his everyday life in Japan, and his plans for the future. Although he did not want to participate in an interview, I could ask him everything about his experiences and opinion regarding life in Japan and the Brazilian community. Besides Pedro, I had many informal conversations, especially with people I met at one of my two access points to the field. With both my interview partners and other interlocutors, establishing rapport was uncomplicated, although

²⁹ In some cases, reciprocity also means that researchers are committed to the interests of their interlocutors, for example through political recommendations or representation of their interlocutors' viewpoint toward other groups (cf. Lamphere 1992: 18-19; Linger 2001: 17). In my case, this did not happen.

most I had not or barely met before the interview. Still, mutual trust was established immediately. This process was also affected by the identity of the researcher, especially having experiences of living in Brazil and being a (Nikkei) foreigners in Japan (see chapter 3.2.).

3.4. Data analysis

The acquired data has to be analyzed in order to produce findings. This subchapter describes the process of identifying categories of analysis and of categorizing and interpreting the data.

3.4.1. Identifying relevant research areas as categories of analysis

The first step in qualitative data analysis is transcribing the recorded interviews (cf. Chiavacci 2020: 304). I did verbatim transcriptions (included in appendix B) and subsequently explored the data by reading and rereading it. The second step followed: summarizing and identifying themes (cf. Chiavacci 2020: 304). Some were already identified when doing literature review and developing the interview guideline, others appeared in the process of becoming acquainted with the data. By ordering and assembling them, facts can be abstracted into units, patterns, and structures (cf. LeCompte and Schensul 2013: 19). In order to organize the data, it has to be formally analyzed by using some kind of coding or categorizing, which is the third step (cf. Chiavacci 2020: 304-305; LeCompte and Schensul 1999: 45).

Inductive research is done in the exploratory and discovery phase, while deductive research is part of the confirmatory stage of any research project (cf. Bernard 2011: 430). Ethnographers develop their concepts inductively, by examining the data in order to identify concepts that explain it, and at the same time apply their conceptual frameworks deductively, by choosing concepts and assorting the data accordingly (cf. LeCompte and Schensul 1999: 46). The analysis is “tangled up with every stage of the research process” (O’Reilly 2012: 180) and interlinked with data collection (cf. *ibid.*: 183). LeCompte and Schensul (2013: 65) call this cyclical process of collecting, analyzing, and interpreting data “recursive” process. In my research, these processes

were interwoven as well, making the fieldwork a nonlinear process in which I always related the analyzed fieldwork data to my questions and to the existing literature and vice versa. The advantage of a deductive-inductive coding procedure is bearing in mind the research question while reducing the influence of own expectations in the coding process (cf. Wiemann 2020: 365).

To begin with, I identified broad concepts and reoccurring topics that seemed relevant to my research by reviewing the existing literature and, in an inductive thought process, transformed them into codes (concept-driven coding) (cf. Brinkmann 2022: 75). Theoretical concepts that appeared were for example migration, integration, transnationalism, Nikkeijin, community, diaspora, mediating institutions, *tabunka kyōsei*, and *mienai teijūka*.³⁰ Relevant topics emerging from the literature review on Brazilians in Japan were for example the rising importance of free time activities; performing the own culture as a means to preserve identity and make their culture visible for the host society, thus fostering mutual understanding as well as interaction; the role of religious institutions and cultural or sports groups as places of belonging, building of networks, and integration support for newcomers; and language as well as educational decisions in respect to the second generation of migrants.

As ethnographers mainly collect words, the majority of ethnographies is not based on preexisting codes (cf. LeCompte and Schensul 1999: 67). Furthermore, preexisting concepts are often derived from theories which developed in Western contexts. Applying them deductively may not suit the Japanese context (cf. Arrington 2020: 357). That is why I also derived concepts inductively by sorting my interview data, fieldnotes, and other material collected during my fieldwork (data-driven coding) (cf. Brinkmann 2022: 75-76). When data seemed to naturally fall into chunks, I chose explaining concepts accordingly and reduced them to a term that represented the code (cf. LeCompte and Schensul 1999: 46). During this process, a variety of concepts and topics emerged, such as decisions (stay or return, school decision, language decision) depending on future plans and on the aspect time, being ashamed of the own country, non-participation / willingness of interaction, Japanese as cold, (ethnic) sports and dance clubs as a means to combat depression and loneliness and place of encounter of different nationalities, religious activities to

³⁰ They are explained in chapter 2.

improve language skills and to encounter different nationalities, lack of information, lack of Japanese language skills, and continue education vs. start working. In some cases, I used *in vivo* coding to retain the concept's original meaning and not to impose my own interpretation (cf. Meagher 2020: 330). Examples are interculturalism, *semi-analfabeta*, *saudade*, PLH, 3F, *gaijin*, and *ijime*. During this inductive coding, two promising research areas evolved: first, the way the Brazilian residents spend their leisure time; second, educational opportunities and prospects, especially for their children.

Then, I applied the codes deductively to my fieldwork data. For doing so, I did not use a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software, such as MAXQDA, but did it handwritten, as its potential advantages of managing and analyzing the material – in my case – did not countervail the effort of working with the software and the risk of it taking the lead and becoming a filter between the researcher and the data (see Chiavacci 2020: 305-307). By coding the interview transcripts and fieldnotes based on this code list, I found instances of the known codes in the remaining fieldwork data and discovered the range of contexts in which they appear. Subsequently, I advanced from initial to focused coding. Refining the codes leads to elaborated concepts which at some point reach theoretical saturation (cf. Meagher 2020: 324-325, 331).

By deductively coding the fieldwork data, the two promising research areas that were already identified through the inductive coding process could be specified more precisely, developed into categories of analysis, and undergirded with sub-categories. I subdivided the area concerning leisure time into community life and religion. The former contains everyday life situations, culture and sports activities of the Brazilian immigrants, and the relationship with the host society. The latter involves their religious activities. As a result, three empirical chapters developed in which the integration process is analyzed: community life, religion, and education. The area of educational opportunities was identified mainly through my fieldwork data, as it reoccurred in most of my interviews. I decided to split it in two parts: education and prospects of the migrants' children and education of the parents' generation. As language acquisition is a topic which touches every area of life and therefore all three of the identified research areas, it is examined in each of the three empirical chapters.

This whole process of substantive coding helped me to identify and name central ideas and concepts in the data (cf. Meagher 2020: 324-325). Subsequently, in the fourth and last step, I identified conceptual patterns by linking these codes, concepts, and categories together (cf. Chiavacci 2020: 304-305, Meagher 2020: 324-325). I interpreted the findings of the analysis by correlating them with the theories explained in chapter 2. The results are presented in the empirical chapters 5 to 7 and in chapter 8. In order to collect relevant data to answer my research question, I identified mediating institutions as units of analysis within these research areas. The following section describes this process.

3.4.2. Identifying mediating institutions

Theoretical concepts developed elsewhere do often only fit imperfectly or not at all to the Japanese case and therefore, the sociocultural context should be the base for analysis (cf. Meagher 2020: 328). That is why, instead of using multiculturalism as a concept, I opted to analyze my data through the lens of the *tabunka kyōsei* concept which I encountered frequently throughout my fieldwork. I tried to grasp the difference in this Japanese notion of multiculturalism and thus to take an emic stance. As *tabunka kyōsei* is a discourse, I searched for a unit of analysis where this discourse manifests itself and found that the concept of mediating institutions, one of which is *tabunka kyōsei* itself, is suitable to analyze the *tabunka kyōsei* endeavors and their outcome.

Through literature review, participant observation, and interviewing, I identified the main actors that are related to the Brazilian community and the integration process of Brazilian immigrants in Hamamatsu by focusing on the research areas identified above. In a second step, I examined which of these actors have a mediating role in the integration process between the Brazilian migrants and some part of the host society. The following table 4 provides an overview of these mediating institutions.

Actor	Tasks	Activities	Contact
City Hall / Kokusaika	international relations to other countries	efforts to become an intercultural city	superordinate of HICE
HICE / U-ToC / COLORS	support for foreign residents in Hamamatsu	events, providing information, consultation services, language classes	internship / participant observation

Central Library	providing reading material and information	bookstart project, ebook-portal in different languages	interview
Brazilian Consulate General	support of Brazilian residents residing in Japan	hosts Resident Council, financial support for community events	meeting with the consul, interview, participation: Resident Council
NPO SOS Mamães no Japão	support for Brazilian families in trouble	events, counseling, support	interview
ABRAH	legal consultation	initiated foundation of Brazilian Consulate General in Hamamatsu	interview
Hamamatsu Kokusai Rikai Kyōiku Netto	raising awareness of majority	events	interview
Aliança de Intercâmbio Brasil Japão	intercultural exchange	events (sports, culture)	interview
Sports (JiuJitsu, Karate, ...) and dances (Forró, Samba, Salsa, ...)	teaching sports, dance, and culture while fostering integration	classes, trainings, workshops, presentations	interviews / participant observation
Ethnic media (e.g. radio program Amizade, journal Alternativa)	providing information on news in Portuguese, fostering mutual understanding	news reporting with a focus on the Brazilian community in Japan	interview
Brazilian (nursery) schools	education in Portuguese		interviews
Japanese schools and Board of Education	education in Japanese		interview
IIEC and NPO Arace	teaching Portuguese and Japanese	complementary classes in Portuguese and Japanese on Saturdays	interviews / participant observation
Nihongo NPO	teaching Japanese	classes at HICE on Thursdays	participant observation

Catholic Church	religious services	services in different languages, support for homeless people, organizing events	interview / participant observation
Spiritist center	religious services	service in Portuguese	participant observation
Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus / Força Jovem	religious services / support of children and adolescents in trouble	service in Portuguese / events and youth groups (sports, culture)	participant observation / interview

Table 4: Relevant actors regarding the Brazilian community in Hamamatsu

The area of community life is affected by mediating institutions such as the local government and its institutions, the Brazilian Consulate General, and civil society institutions which aim at cultural practice and exchange, fostering mutual understanding, as well as at everyday life support. Mediating institutions which play a role in the field of education are Japanese and Brazilian (nursery) schools as well as civil society institutions which aim at fostering language and cultural knowledge, but also local government institutions which host educational events or offer consultation in this area. Main mediating institutions in the field of religion are churches.

Some mediating institutions, such as governmental mediating institutions, are active in diverse areas. However, as the structure of this dissertation is based on the research areas (community life, religion, and education) and not on the typology of mediating institutions, they are not treated in a separate chapter, but are examined within these three empirical chapters. The same goes for *tabunka kyōsei*, which is a norm and discourse that affects integration processes of foreign residents in Hamamatsu and as such also is a mediating institution.

Before presenting the empirical findings, the following chapter introduces the *tabunka kyōsei* discourse and the resulting multicultural efforts at the local level, the migration process of Brazilians to Japan and their situation today, as well as municipalities with big Brazilian communities, especially the fieldsite Hamamatsu.

4. The Brazilians in Japan

What I want to call attention to is that this movement goes in circles. There was already a circle that went there, in the direction of Brazil, and more recently the circle in the direction of Japan. But they are part of the same phenomenon; they are not separate things.

(Brazilian consul general in Hamamatsu)

In this quote, the Brazilian consul general in Hamamatsu stresses the historical background in which the *dekassegui* movement is embedded. It is this legacy through which it becomes a phenomenon called 'return migration' and which affects the everyday life and migration decisions of Brazilians in Japan. This chapter introduces the Brazilian diaspora and the environment of intercultural efforts in which they are living in Japan. First, the chapter introduces the Japanese migration and integration system as well as the Japanese way of multiculturalism (*tabunka kyōsei*) and its local efforts. Subsequently, it presents Brazilian migration to Japan, their migration patterns, and the actual condition of the Brazilian residents in Japan. Lastly, the chapter focuses on the local level situation of Japanese cities with significant Brazilian communities, namely Ōizumi, Toyota, and Hamamatsu. The choice of the latter as fieldsite is explained and the city is introduced in detail.

4.1. The Japanese migration and integration regime

The integration process is also affected by the legal immigration framework as well as the local understanding of living together. This subchapter sheds light on the Japanese immigration law, the Japanese understanding of living together (*tabunka kyōsei*), and its local efforts.

4.1.1. Japanese immigration law

Until the end of the 1980s, the stay of second generation Nikkeijin was limited to three years (cf. Mita 2009: 154), but with the revision of the Japanese immigration law (Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act) in 1990, descendants of Japanese nationals up to the third generation were eligible for a long-term residence visa (*teijūsha* visa). Countries like Japan and Korea preferred allowing diasporic

return to immigration of other foreigners, as these governments assumed that ethnic return migrants would culturally and socially be close to the native population and thus integrate better and not endanger their ethnic homogeneity. Instead of being granted citizenship, like it is the case for descendants of some European countries, these return migrants in East Asia only receive preferential visas based on their ethnicity (cf. Tsuda 2018: 104, 106).³¹ Moreover, in Japan, citizenship is based on descent (*ius sanguinis*) (cf. BUNKYO 1992: 454; Creighton 2014).

However, migration of the Brazilians to Japan is not so much ethnically driven, but more economically. Instead of returning to reconnect to their ancestral homeland, they migrate from a less-developed to a more prosperous country. For the Japanese government, as well, the drivers to enable the ethnic return migration by adopting according immigration policies were not only recognition of diasporic descendants, but also economic motivations, such as combatting labor shortage (cf. Sellek 2002: 203-204; Tsuda 2018: 103, 105).

Nikkeijin up to the third generation and their spouses can obtain renewable special permanent residency visas which do not restrict the activities they can do (cf. Nakagawa 2018b: 26; Tsuda 2009: 207-208).³² Thus, they have the possibility of working legally in Japan and the option to apply for permanent residence (cf. Rocha 2014: 508).³³ As a result, an immigration wave of Nikkeijin and their spouses to Japan started, mainly coming from Brazil and other Latin American countries.

The duration of the visas issued differed by the immigrants' generation of Japanese descent: *Nisei* were granted three-year visas, *sansei* received one-year visas, and non-Nikkei spouses were issued visas of six months or one year. Since then, small changes in the law led to relaxations for the *sansei* visa and the emission of reentry permissions (cf. Nakagawa 2018b: 26). Since July 1st of 2018, a *yonsei* visa is available. Its conditions differ much from the *nisei* and *sansei* visa: Applicants have to be in the age between 18 and 30, need to have some basic knowledge of the

³¹ For more information on ethnic return migration, including to Korea, see: Tsuda (2009: 1-3).

³² After ten years of consecutive residence in Japan, it is possible to apply for a permanent residency. Holders of a long-term resident visa can already apply for a permanent residency visa after having lived five consecutive years in Japan (cf. June Advisors Group 2022).

³³ While Brazilian migrants in other countries, such as Canada, the United States, and Great Britain, have problems with their immigration status, including visa irregularity and living undocumented, and need to regularize their legal status by finding employment and obtaining a valid visa (cf. Evans et al. 2011: 240; Goza 1994: 143-144), few Brazilians stay in Japan illegally (cf. Mita 2009: 259-260).

Japanese language (level of JLPT N4)³⁴, cannot bring their family members, are only allowed to engage in certain activities, and can only stay in Japan up to a maximum of five years (cf. MOJ [2021]). Visa are issued for two years. Extension is possible, if JLPT N3 is reached by then (cf. BUNKYO 2021).³⁵

As the Japanese population keeps ageing and shrinks every year since 2011 (MIC [2022]a), the labor shortage recently intensified in a way that it could not be solved by the until then main sources of low-skilled foreign labor anymore. Highly-skilled migration to Japan was attracted by a point-based system, implemented in 2012 (cf. Oishi 2012b: 1096). The 2018 revision of the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act implemented a new politics of visa concessions for foreign nationals which came into effect in April 2019.³⁶ These new visa categories do rarely affect the Brazilian immigrants, as their option of obtaining a long-term residency visa provides them with better conditions.

Although Japan has become an immigration country de facto, the government is still reluctant to adopt an immigration policy. Nakagawa (2018b: 37-38) states that like in 1990, this time again, the government prioritized the importance of labor instead of the reception of the immigrants. The new law does not aim at potential citizens, but rather at admitting foreign workers for a limited duration who are not allowed to bring family members (cf. Strausz 2021: 259, 269). This shows that the national government still does not consider Japan as an immigration country. Thus, *dekassegui* and other foreigners are not considered as immigrants, but as temporary workforce. As a result, integration is not considered an urgent matter (cf. Kim and Streich 2020: 177). Liu-Farrer (2020) argues that it is Japan's ethno-nationalist identity which allows this "discursive denial of immigration" (ibid.: 9) and is "at the root of Japan's many institutional and social dilemmas in dealing with immigration" (ibid.: 6). Right before adopting the changes, prime minister Abe kept stressing that he considers the revised law not as immigration policy, because of the limited duration of the foreign workers' stay in Japan and the fact that they would not be allowed to bring

³⁴ The Japanese Language Proficiency Test (JLPT) has five levels, N1 being the highest.

³⁵ Although the limit has been set to 4,000 people annually, only 128 people had entered Japan as of the end of 2022. The immigration agency now intends to revise the program by relaxing some of the restrictions and offering permanent residency if certain language requirements (level of JLPT N2) are met (cf. BUNKYO 2021; Kyodo News 2023).

³⁶ The Act established new visa categories in 14 industries with the goal of increasing the number of foreign workers in these industries to 500.000 people until 2025 (cf. Nakagawa 2018b: 37; Nihon Keizai Shimbun 2018; Strausz 2021: 269).

their family (cf. Strausz 2021: 269). This view is also expressed in the regulations of the new visa for the Nikkei *yonsei* generation (see above).

However, the consequences of an increasing number of foreign nationals living in Japan might bring about changes, at least at the grassroots level. In December 2018, the Japanese government decided on “Comprehensive Measures for Acceptance and Coexistence of Foreign Nationals” which are revised frequently (cf. Ministerial Conference 2022: 1). These measures focus on Japanese language education, disseminating information and consultation services, support, as well as initiatives of acceptance and harmonious living together (see Ministerial Conference 2022). This shows an increasing effort to implement measures regarding living together with foreign residents and a raising awareness of their needs.

4.1.2. *Tabunka kyōsei*: The Japanese notion of multiculturalism

Although Japan resisted international norms of multiculturalism, state actors imported Western legal models and adapted already existent Japanese statutes to them. In this way, Japan ratified the main international conventions protecting human rights, most without reservations (cf. Sambuc Bloise 2010: 18-19).³⁷

In the 1980s, Japanese municipalities initiated many local initiatives targeting the Japanese majority (cf. Gildenhard 2022: 203). Under the slogan *kokusaika* (internationalization), they organized exchange events (*kōryūkai*), offered Japanese classes for foreign residents, and provided information in different languages. When it became clear that increasingly, foreign residents would stay, participation in governance (*gyōsei sankā*) was added (cf. Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi 2005: 292-294).

From that, the Japanese concept of multiculturalism, called *tabunka kyōsei* (multicultural coexistence), emerged. Starting point was the Great Hanshin Earthquake (January 17, 1995) in the Ōsaka-Kōbe region. At the evacuation shelter, Japanese residents for the first time realized how many foreign residents live in their

³⁷ For an overview of Japan’s ratification status of human right treaties see: United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner: *UN Treaty Body Database*. https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/15/TreatyBodyExternal/Treaty.aspx?CountryID=87&Lang=EN (last access: November 10, 2023).

neighborhood. They also noticed the foreign residents' issues, such as the difficulty of communication in Japanese, not only at the evacuation shelter, but also in their everyday life in Japan (cf. interview Aichi prefectural office; Tamura 2011: 176). After the earthquake, *tabunka kyōsei* spread as a slogan for local measures which – contrary to *kokusaika* – were regarding foreign nationals' as well as Japan's ethnic minorities' needs (cf. Gildenhard 2022: 203; Kawai 2020: xvii; Kim and Streich 2020: 192; Kondō 2011: 7). By autonomously starting incorporation activities, local governments pushed the national government to react (cf. Kim and Streich 2020: 177-178, 192).

In March 2006, the term *tabunka kyōsei* was officially used for the first time in the 'Report of the Working Group on Multicultural Coexistence Promotion' (*Tabunka Kyōsei no Suishin ni kansuru Kenkyūkai Hōkokusho*; hereafter: *Tabunka Kyōsei Report*), published by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (MIC). At that time, the foreign population achieved a new record high of more than 2 million people (cf. MIC 2006; MOJ 2006: 2).³⁸ With the report, MIC responded to the foreign nationals' increasing needs. It designates *tabunka kyōsei* as the third pillar of the promotion of regional communities' internationalization. The other two pillars, international exchange and international cooperation, had been implemented in the 1980s. Divided into the three areas communication support, daily life support, and development of a local *tabunka kyōsei* society, the report analyses issues and necessary measures that local governments should implement (cf. MIC 2006: 2).³⁹ In addition, the importance of the development of a local promotion system for multicultural coexistence policies is stressed, which defines the responsibilities and roles of local civil society actors, the state, and business actors as well as the modes of cooperation between these actors (cf. MIC 2006: 38).⁴⁰ In 2006, MIC also published the 'Plan for the promotion of multicultural coexistence in local

³⁸ In 2006, 2,084,919 foreigners have been residing in Japan, 312,979 of which were Brazilians (cf. MOJ [2023]).

³⁹ Measures of communication support are providing local information in different languages and support of Japanese language learning. Daily life support encompasses housing, education, employment, health, and disaster management. The creation of a local multicultural coexistence society requires a rise of awareness among all residents for the meaning of *tabunka kyōsei*, independence of foreign residents through opportunities of participation and acquisition of knowledge on Japanese language and society, and a municipality that is easy to live in for both Japanese and foreign residents (cf. MIC 2006: 11, 16-31, 34). For an analysis of how it is implemented in Hamamatsu, see chapter 5.3.1.

⁴⁰ An overview of a general allocation of tasks of prefectures, municipalities, and international associations can be found in the report (see MIC 2006: 43).

communities' (*Chiiki ni okeru tabunka kyōsei suishin puran*), which was revised in 2020 (see MIC 2020). Compared to the 2006 version, the revision considers foreign residents “not only as members, but stressing the possibility and the necessity of them becoming keypersons in the local community” (Gildenhard 2022: 204; cf. MIC 2020: 6, 15).

MIC defines *tabunka kyōsei* as living together of people with different national and ethnic background as members of the local society who acknowledge each other's cultural differences and strive to build equal relationships (cf. MIC 2006: 6). In other words, the three key points of the *tabunka kyōsei* idea as promoted by MIC are that members of a minority have the freedom to decide to which extent to preserve their cultural and linguistic heritage identity, that they have equal opportunities, rights, and duties, and that all residents, Japanese and foreign, cooperate in developing the local society as partners (cf. Kondō 2011: 8-9; MIC 2006: 6). In order to accommodate foreign residents at the local level, many municipalities showed efforts through their pre-existing associations for international exchange (*kokusai kōryū kyōkai*)⁴¹, which up to that point were in charge of internationalization initiatives (cf. Kim and Streich 2020: 175). Nowadays, many of them serve both *kokusaika* and *tabunka kyōsei* initiatives (cf. Gildenhard 2022: 204).

In Japan, the search for an adequate concept of living together is done at the grassroots level and in intellectual debates among practitioners⁴², especially at places where many foreigners live. The national consensus is to translate *tabunka kyōsei* as multiculturalism. However, recently this changed. The Toyota International Association (TIA), being situated in a city with a high number of Brazilian residents, adapted Berry's model for the case of Japan (see figure 4). They translate *kyōsei* not only as “coexistence”, but also as “unity” (cf. interview TIA; TIA 2016: 18). It occurs when the host society as well as the immigrants change their attitude and adapt to each other.

⁴¹ Three types of centers for international exchange exist: municipal, prefectural, and non-profit (cf. Kim and Streich 2020: 182).

⁴² Hatano (2011: 55-56) stresses that the notion of *tabunka kyōsei* did not emerge on the minority's side, but on the majority's side.

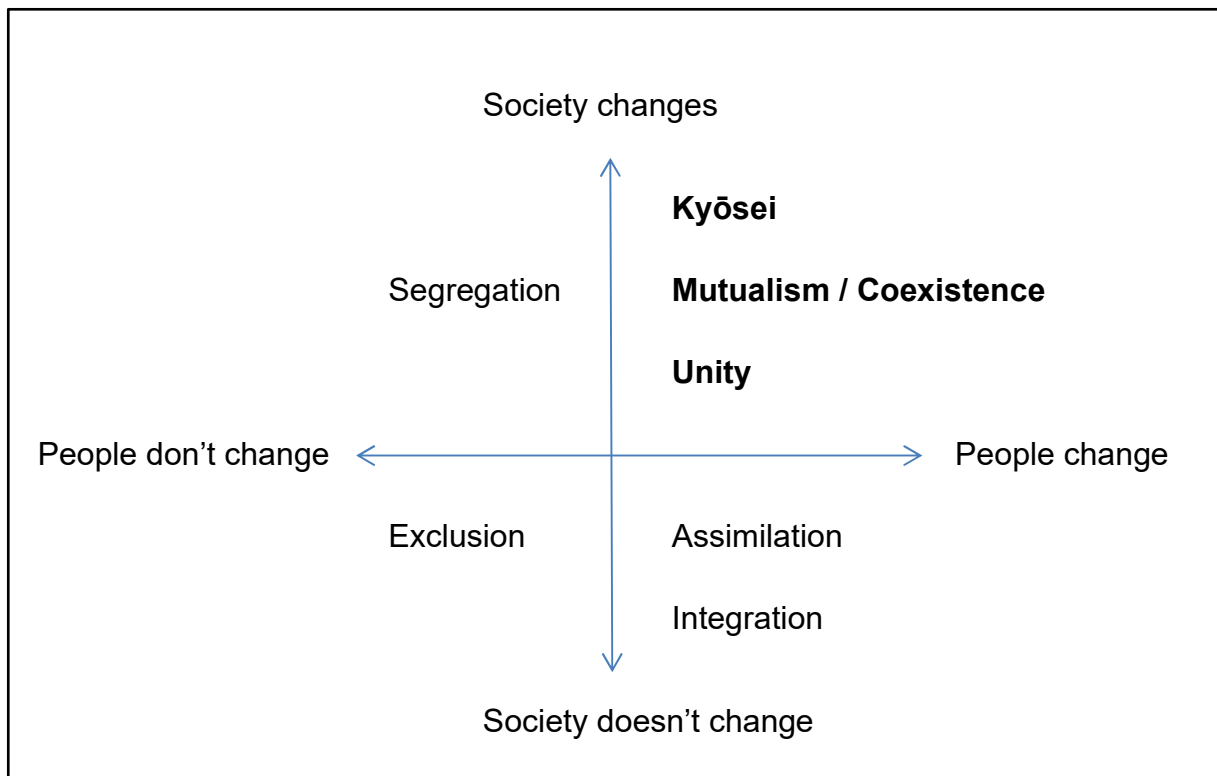


Figure 4: Social reaction to difference (source: adapted from TIA 2016: 18)

Tabunka kyōsei could mean assimilationism, multiculturalism, or interculturalism (cf. Yamawaki, Ueno 2021: 10). In Hamamatsu, the official translation of *tabunka kyōsei* changed from multi- to interculturalism (cf. interview CIR). For example, the “Hamamatsu Intercultural City Vision” of 2013 indicates that the “Multicultural Center” had been renamed to “Intercultural Center” recently (cf. Hamamatsu City [2012]: 25). This might be related to the terminology of the Council of Europe and its Intercultural Cities Network of which Hamamatsu became part in 2017 (see chapter 4.3.2.). While the meaning of the *tabunka kyōsei* concept changed from absorbing foreign residents into the community without friction in the 1990s to guaranteeing the effective rights of foreign residents, especially in the field of educational measures, in the 2000s (cf. Shibata 2009: 110), a further “evolution of *tabunka kyōsei* from a means of local internationalisation to community development” (Yamawaki, Ueno 2021: 10) can be observed. Like the search for suitable concepts and terminologies, the search for appropriate measures is done at the grassroots level.

4.1.3. Local *tabunka kyōsei* efforts

As the national government was delayed in developing a consistent national approach regarding the integration of the increasing number of foreign residents, the local governments compensated for it by developing measures on their own (cf. Flowers 2012: 523; Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi 2005: 11, 46, 285; Tegtmeyer Pak 2000: 244). As early as in 2001, the mayors of thirteen municipalities⁴³ with a high foreign population gathered in the city of Hamamatsu and built the Committee for Localities with a Concentrated Foreigner Population (*Gaikokujin Shūjū Toshi Kaigi*, CLCF, or G-13). Their goals were to share problems, to discuss views, to find solutions, and to seek (financial) help of the national government (cf. Ishi 2008: 127). They decided on the Hamamatsu Declaration (*Hamamatsu sengen*), which covers measures in the fields of education, social security, and foreigner registration as well as other procedures. With this declaration, the Committee aimed at ensuring mutual appreciation of Japanese and foreign residents and at the acknowledgment of the same rights and duties for all residents (cf. G-13: 2001).

Subsequently, partly by drawing upon global norms of multiculturalism, many local initiatives developed in order to support and integrate foreign residents (cf. Flowers 2012; Maeda 2012) and the idea of *kyōsei* spread at the local level (cf. Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi 2005: 46-47). A collection of best practice examples of local level strategies from throughout Japan, published by MIC ten years after the *tabunka kyōsei* promotion plan (see MIC 2017, 2021), is evidence for this diffusion process that started with the Hamamatsu Declaration (cf. Mondwurf 2021: 281-282). At the national level, however, still no *tabunka kyōsei* policy evolved from MIC's *tabunka kyōsei* promotion plan. Like interculturalism (see 2.1.3.), *tabunka kyōsei* seems to be used as a pragmatic rhetorical tool that can be used as an argument in discourses and for promoting or opposing social change (cf. Sambuc Bloise 2010: 40).

As a result, local governments and communities still develop *tabunka kyōsei* and integration measures on their own (cf. Kim and Streich 2020: 178). Especially larger cities with a growing foreign population, a large elderly population, and a booming economy adopted intercultural plans, as they are directly confronted with economic

⁴³ In 2016, the number the number of members had risen to 25 cities from eight prefectures. Nowadays, 11 cities from six prefectures are members (as of April 2023). For a list of current member cities see: CLCF [2023]a and [2023]b.

pressure due to labor shortage (cf. Green 2021: 402, 419-420) and with contrasts of everyday life habits of Japanese and foreign residents (cf. Nakagawa 2018b: 29).⁴⁴ With their ambition to implement *tabunka kyōsei* measures, the local governments are not on their own, but they cooperate with other actors at the grassroots level, such as residents, NGOs, NPOs, international exchange associations, (local) businesses, and scholars. The local governments also collaborate with each other: directly, like they did for the Hamamatsu Declaration, by sharing of best practices, or by policy dispersion through NGOs (cf. Aiden 2011: 226-227; Kibe 2014: 73; Vogt 2016: 14).

The effects of *tabunka kyōsei* measures are judged differently by scholars. Some scholars, such as Nakamatsu (2013: 137-138), argue that they show a “shift in the management of cultural diversity from assimilation to multiculturalism” and thus represent a more inclusive and open approach. Flowers (2012: 540) states that the local efforts “challenge the national discourses of a homogeneous Japan”. Most scholars, however, criticize the local policies for their ambiguity, limited effects, and their inherent danger of othering, as they further institutionalize the Japanese-foreigner dichotomy of the *nihonjinron* and *kokusaika* discourses (cf. Ishiwata 2011; Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi 2005: 285; Kashiwazaki 2013; Kawai 2020: xvii; Kibe 2014; Nagayoshi 2011: 574; Oishi 2012a; Shiobara 2020; Tsuneyoshi 2011).

Scholars also disagree about the conceptualization of *tabunka kyōsei*. As the official *tabunka kyōsei* definition in the 2006 MIC report acknowledges cultural differences and aims at establishing equal relationships, it resembles multiculturalism. As *kyōsei* is based on culture, customs, and ethnicity, it acknowledges that differences in customs can indeed be a source of conflict and emphasizes the importance of cultural rights (cf. Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi 2005: 297). However, Shiobara (2020: 34) argues that due to its immanent logic of paternalism and binary opposition between Japanese and foreigners, *kyōsei* failed to propose policy programs which ensure foreign residents’ human rights and cultural recognition and instead has become closer to assimilationism. Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi (2005: 285) claim that like assimilation, *kyōsei* led to a discourse of exclusion.

In fact, Japanese society is becoming more multicultural while at the same time, criteria for membership have become increasingly exclusive (cf. Roth 2002: 140, 144).

⁴⁴ For an analysis of the degree of these problems in Hamamatsu nowadays, see chapter 5.

Difference is still “largely constructed as a threat that comes from the outside” (Flowers 2012: 523). *Tabunka kyōsei* policies reassert the Japanese notion of homogeneity (cf. Liu-Farrer 2020: 5; Nagayoshi 2011: 574). Instead of broadening it to include other factors, it excludes “foreigners and other minorities as (not more than) residents” (Bradley 2014: 31). In other words, immigrants are not regarded as future national citizens, but “denizenship” is becoming the norm (cf. Kibe 2014: 76-79; Komine 2014: 209-210, 216).

Moreover, differences in culture and ethnicity are considered as the source of problems which actually result from political or economic arrangements (cf. Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi 2005: 297). Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi (2005: 286, 297-298) prefer the notion of *tōgō* (integration, unity), because in its goals it comprises both political and economic equality as well as maintenance of social and cultural difference of ethnic groups. However, according to Kondō (2011: 7), the term *tōgō* is rejected by foreign nationals and NGOs due to its assimilative and controlling connotation, while *kyōsei* is not limited to equal societal participation of different nationalities and minorities, but also of people with other different characteristics, such as gender, age, handicap, or sexual orientation. Furthermore, the term *tabunka kyōsei* developed at the grassroots level and can be filled with meaning depending on the development of the respective measures (cf. *ibid.*).

The *tabunka kyōsei* discourse shaped the role of local level institutions in helping foreign residents to integrate and determines much of their integration endeavors (cf. Mondwurf 2021: 282). This shows that the *tabunka kyōsei* discourse as such is a mediating institution which limits or facilitates institutions’ endeavors, for example by affecting the allocation of subsidies for integration measures. From the viewpoint of many immigrants, however, the *tabunka kyōsei* endeavors are not useful. Some feel oppressed by the attending attempts to structure their lives and by the identity that is imposed on them (cf. Flowers 2012: 540). Some react by creating their own identities, such as the Nikkeijin who developed their Brazilian counter-identities (cf. Tsuda 2000: 56; Tsuda 2003: 216-219, 263-287; Tsuda 2010: 130; see chapter 5.2.3. Brazilian toward Japanese people). In order to understand the environment in which the Brazilian immigrants are living in Japan, the following subchapter presents their migration flow to Japan and their actual situation.

4.2. Brazilian migration to Japan

Significant populations of Brazilians living outside Brazil exist in many countries. Especially in the 1980s and 1990s, when Brazil faced severe economic difficulties, many Brazilians migrated to other countries (cf. Margolis 2013: 8). The Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs estimates that around 4.5 million Brazilians live abroad, almost half of them (1.9 million) in the United States. The country with the second highest number of Brazilians is Portugal (360,000)⁴⁵, followed by Paraguay (254,000), the United Kingdom (220,000), and Japan (206,990). As 222,053 Brazilians live in Asia, the numbers of Japan are far ahead of the ones of other countries in the region (cf. MRE 2023b; as of 2022).

The characteristics of every migration stream of Brazilians to other countries differ from each other. Some migration streams are return migration movements to the countries of ethnic origin, such as the migration of an estimated 3,000 to 8,000 Afro-Brazilians from Brazil to the West African coast during the 19th century (cf. Amos an Ayesu 2002: [36]), the migration of Brazilians of European descent to Europe (see, for example, Evans *et al.* 2011: 238-240; Margolis 2013: 103-120), or the *dekassegui* movement of Japanese Brazilians to Japan (see chapter 4.2.1.). While migration to some countries is mainly legally based (such as to Japan), a significant number of Brazilians in other countries (Portugal, for example) is not authorized to work. However, while Brazilians in countries like Portugal and Australia, also due to linguistic advantages, can work in jobs they were originally trained for, in other countries, like Japan, they are mainly employed in low-skilled jobs (cf. Margolis 2013: 6-7). In contrast to Brazilian migrants to Germany and other European countries, among which Brazilian woman largely outnumber Brazilian men and are often married to Germans (cf. *ibid.*: 119), the migration flow to Japan initially consisted mainly of Brazilian men and later of families (cf. *ibid.*: 53-55; Mita 2009: 186).

In this subchapter, I contextualize the situation of the Brazilians living in Japan against the background of the Brazilian diaspora and their characteristics in other

⁴⁵ Note that these numbers do not include return migrants which remain invisible in the official statistics although their numbers are significant (cf. IOM 2004: 34, 36). Especially in Italy, where Brazilians of Italian ancestry are permitted to apply for Italian citizenship, a high number of return migrants from Brazil would be assumed. Moreover, estimates are difficult to make, as in many countries like in the United States and in various European countries, Brazilian migrants reside illegally (cf. Margolis 2013: 5-6, 65-66, 103).

parts of the world, as the literature deals with important topics which also play a role for the examination of the Brazilian residents in Japan. In this way, this chapter clarifies to what extent the situation in Japan is special.

4.2.1. The beginning of the *dekassegui* movement

At the beginning of the *dekassegui* movement, which started in 1985 and gained momentum after the revision of the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act in 1990 (cf. Mita 2009: 9; see figure 5), most Brazilians – mainly *issei* and *nisei* men – migrated alone and with the intention to save money and return after one to three years. After the revision, increasingly young *nisei* and *sansei* of Brazilian nationality came with or summoned their family (cf. Mita 2009: 186; Nakagawa 2018b: 27-28). The time of their intended stay expanded to five or six years (cf. Mita 2009: 186; Sellek 2002: 192). Moreover, the number of young Nikkeijin who came alone in order to enjoy consumption in Japan increased (cf. Sellek 2002: 192). However, high amounts of remittances show the migrants’ plans of returning to Brazil one day (cf. Mita 2009: 260).

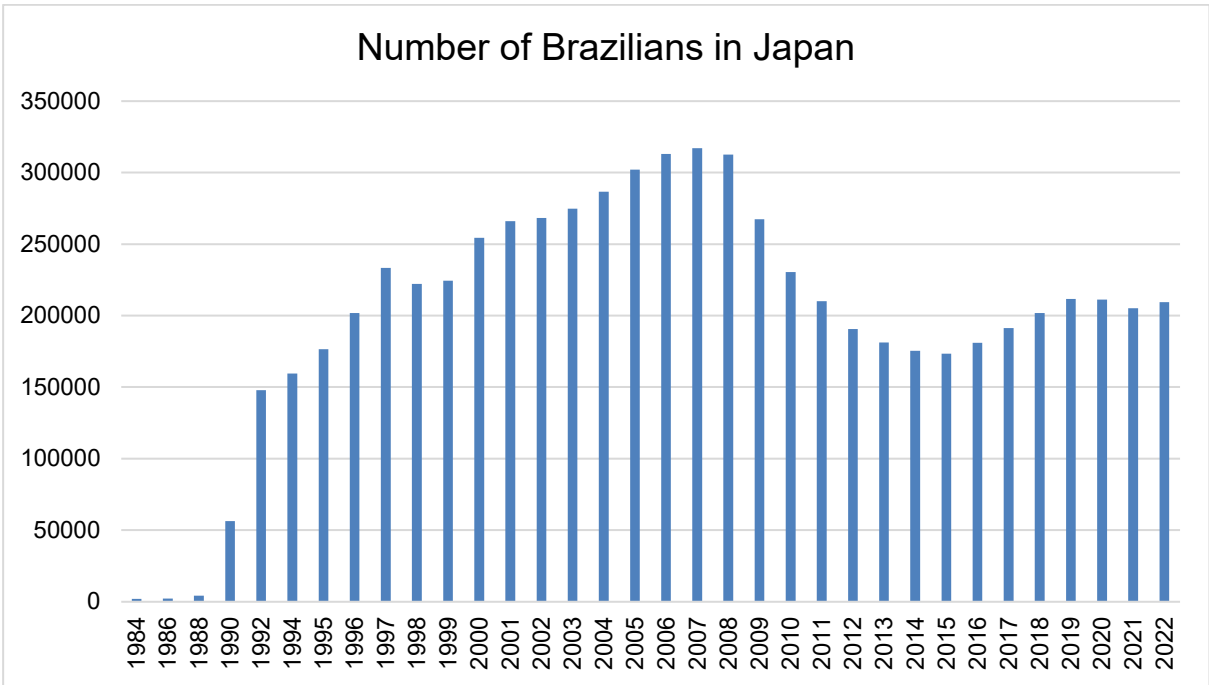


Figure 5: Number of Brazilians in Japan (data source: MOJ [2023]; diagram by author)

Contrary to other migrant destinations for Brazilians, such as Canada and the United States where most Brazilians migrated as a family or had a preexisting social network consisting of friends and / or relatives at the destination country already (cf. Goza 1994: 144; Margolis 2013: 123) or the United Kingdom where the majority of Brazilians lives in London (cf. Evans *et al.* 2011: 235), migrant destination in Japan was not determined by kinship or city size, but by the location of manufacturing industry (cf. Carvalho 2003a: 91; Mita 2009: 196). They were mostly employed by *empreiteiras* (employment brokers) and worked at subcontractors of big industries, such as cars and electronics, which were mainly situated in Aichi (especially Toyota and Toyohashi), Shizuoka (especially Hamamatsu and Shizuoka), Gunma (especially Ōta and Ōizumi), Kanagawa, and Tōkyō (cf. Carvalho 2003a: 91; Nakagawa 2018b: 27-30).

Many summoned their family members due to loneliness and to the end of the bubble economy which resulted in a decline of salary, thus requiring a longer stay in Japan to save the amount of money they aimed for. Many families came to Japan without preparation regarding language and culture, hence after arriving they faced many difficulties at work and in everyday life (cf. Nakagawa 2018b: 27-28, 30-31). Adjusting to the new environment and to long working hours caused stress that often resulted in physical and / or mental imbalance (cf. Carvalho 2003a: 91; Nakagawa 2018b: 28). Not having access to the National Health Insurance, experiencing discrimination and infringements of human rights, and being exposed to the *empreiteiras*⁴⁶ made them vulnerable (cf. Mita 2009: 155; Nakagawa 2018b: 28, 33; Sellek 2002: 196).

Not only the Brazilians arrived in Japan with few preparations, but also the Japanese host society was not prepared to have them. Focusing only on attracting labor force, local governments as well as the affected industrial sectors did not consider that the workers also need other resources, such as housing, access to medical care and welfare, Japanese language courses, integration measures, conditions for a good living together with the community members, and, when constituting a family, also (nursery) schools for their children (cf. Nakagawa 2018b: 28-29; Sellek 2002: 195-196).

⁴⁶ Irregularities include false promises, excessive fees, and the withholding of passports (cf. Nakagawa 2018b: 26).

4.2.2. The actual condition of the Brazilian diaspora in Japan

Nowadays, 201,865 Brazilians live in Japan (MOJ [2023]). They spread all over Japan (cf. Carvalho 2003a: 91). Still, most settled in the industrial belt between Nagoya and Tōkyō (cf. Mita 2009: 199-200; Roth 2002: 11). The prefectures with the highest numbers of Brazilian residents are Aichi (60,397), Shizuoka (31,777), Mie (13,669), Gunma (13,242), and Gifu (12,078) (MOJ [2023]). Many cities and towns around Nagoya and around Hamamatsu have significant numbers of Brazilian residents. It is in these areas where large Brazilian communities developed. Figure 6 shows a ranking of the Japanese cities with the highest numbers of Brazilian residents.

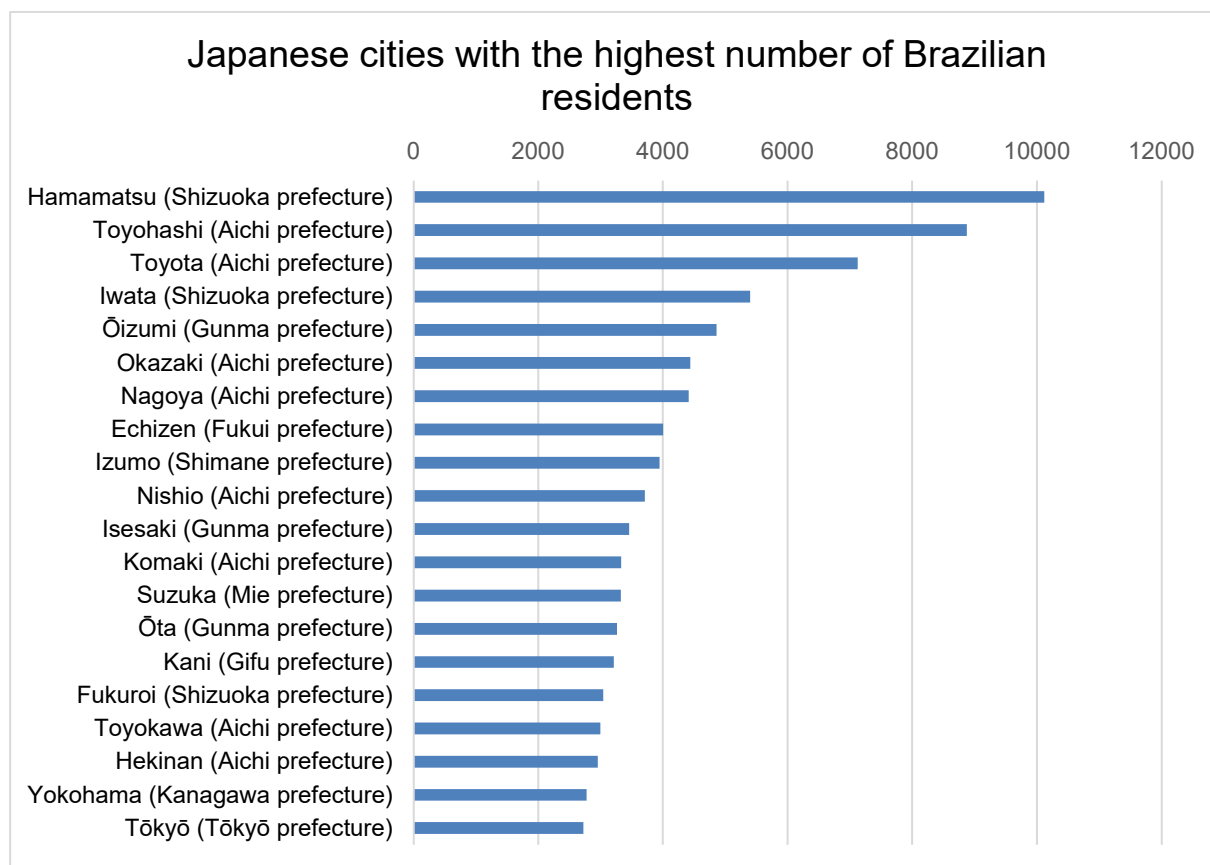


Figure 6: Japanese cities with the highest numbers of Brazilian residents (as of December 2022; data source: MOJ [2023]; diagram by author)

With the recent increase of the Brazilian population in Japan, new communities developed in Echizen (Fukui prefecture) and Izumo (Shimane prefecture). They did not exist before the crisis and are situated far away from the big communities of Aichi, Shizuoka, and Gunma (cf. MOJ [2023]).

While in the beginning of the *dekassegui* movement, mainly Brazilian men migrated to Japan (cf. Nakagawa 2018b: 27-28), increasingly, they brought their families with them to Japan (cf. Margolis 2013: 125). The ones who arrived right after the revision of the immigration law in 1990 and were in their 20's then, are now in their 50's. The children of these first immigrants are now in their 20's. According to the director of the Brazilian civil society institution IIEC (International Institute of Education and Culture; for a description of its activities see chapter 7.2.1), around 40% of Brazilian residents in the Hamamatsu region are children and adolescents (cf. interview IIEC).

Only few Brazilian exchange students study in Japan (807 in December 2022) (MOJ [2023]). Most of the Brazilians in Japan are workers who aim at saving money. However, not all come from a low social class and have low education. Some had a middle-class status in Brazil and more than half of the ones arriving at the beginning of the *dekassegui* movement had completed high school (cf. Margolis 2013: 45, 124). Most were hired through an *empreiteira* and few are *seishain* (regular employees) (cf. Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi 2005: 164-165; Margolis 2013: 124).

Japanese language skills of Brazilian immigrants in Japan are still weak (see chapter 5.1.2. Language aspects). This problem is common among Brazilians abroad. However, while most Brazilians in Canada and the UK improved their poor English language skills they had upon arrival within a short time period, as for many jobs good English skills are required, and some could progress in the labor market after staying longer in the country (cf. Evans *et al.* 2011: 242; Goza 1994: 147-148), in Japan, this tendency cannot be observed to this extent. Their situation in Japan can be compared to many Brazilians in the United States, who do not invest in English training, as they consider their stay as temporary (cf. Goza 1994: 148). This can also be seen from the fact that most Brazilians maintain social ties to other Brazilians. In Canada and the US, although adjustment to host society on a linguistic level takes place rapidly, over 80% of the respondents in both countries indicated that the majority of their friends was Brazilian (cf. Goza 1994: 149). In Japan, that is mainly also the case (see chapter 5).

In practice, Brazilian families increasingly become permanent residents (cf. Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi 2005: 259; Mita 2009: 262). The number of Brazilian residents buying a house in Japan and obtaining a permanent-residence visa (*eijūsha*) rises (cf. Hatano 2011: 75). However, this does not mean that they decided to stay forever.

Their plans just changed from staying for a few years to undecided and the majority still plans to return to Brazil one day (cf. Hatano 2011: 75; Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi 2005: 260, 267; Mita 2009: 263).

With an increasing number of Brazilians deciding to stay and live in Japan, at least for now, the Brazilian residents' attitude towards earning as much money as possible in a short time as possible changed. Instead of aiming at working many extra hours, they started enjoying their life. Moreover, constructing their future in Japan gained importance. New factors became fundamental concerns: consumption, constitution of a family, integration with the Japanese host society, free time activities, and education of their children (cf. Ishi 2003: 93; Roth 2002: 16; Shoji 2008a: 76). With integration gaining importance, so did the relation to Japanese residents as well as studying the Japanese language and culture.

Some Brazilians started entering the service sector or opened ethnic businesses, such as Brazilian restaurants, supermarkets, hairdresser's shops, car repair shops, or other small shops.⁴⁷ This establishment of a social network among the Brazilians in Japan facilitated the life for them (cf. Nakagawa 2018b: 29; Onai 2001: 354) and also led to changes in the profile of the people coming to Japan. Not only *dekassegui* came, but also university students without big expectations for work opportunities in Brazil or adolescents who saw the migration experience as adventure. They were curious to see the ancestors' country and to search for one's identity and roots. As they did not need to send remittances to their families back home, they used the money they earned to travel, to buy objects of desire, and to experience life in a developed country (cf. Nakagawa 2018b: 31).

Compared to the situation when the first *dekassegui* arrived in Japan at the end of the 1980s, the work and life environments for Brazilians living in Japan improved much. According to the "Japanese and Foreign Citizens Social Awareness Survey" (2021), the number of foreign residents who joined *shakai hoken* (social insurance) and *nenkin* (employee pension), who owns a house, and who participates in residents' associations increased (cf. Hamamatsu City 2023a: 8). Moreover, a

⁴⁷ Ethnic businesses were mostly opened by the ones who have a good command of the Japanese language. While transnational ethnic businesses (between Japan and Brazil) and national ethnic businesses (in whole Japan) also developed, the most common type is local ethnic businesses (cf. Onai 2001: 354). Although exact numbers do not exist, Onai (2001: 356) assumes that compared to the number of Brazilian workers and circle migrants, few run ethnic businesses.

Brazilian lifestyle in terms of language, food, clothes, and freetime activities became possible. Much information is available in Portuguese, movements aiming at improving work conditions developed, religious services are available in Portuguese, and children's education offers options in Japanese as well as Portuguese. However, some problems remain (cf. Mita 2009: 155-156).

While the Japanese immigration laws facilitate the Nikkei's coming to Japan and their permanent stay, economic recession and exclusion of foreign nationals from the formal labor market led to the formation of a distinct class at the bottom of Japanese society that consists of unskilled foreign workers with difficulty to insert themselves. They are often seen as blamable for crime and social disorder, and their class is seen as necessary, but not appreciated (cf. Nakagawa 2018b: 31-32).

The social alienation they experience in their ethnic homeland, the fact that they are considered Brazilian, and their disappointment with material and living conditions in a Westernized Japan led to them segregating in immigrant communities and resisting toward the host society's social incorporation efforts. Although they felt as minorities in their country of birth due to their foreign descent, through the migration experience, many Brazilians develop a nostalgic longing for Brazil, romanticize it, and become increasingly nationalistic. They reconsidered their ethnic identity and sense of homeland, discovering and acting out their Brazilianness (cf. Nishida 2018: 229; Tsuda 2009: 215-216; Tsuda 2018: 104-105, 108).

4.2.3. Brazilian migration patterns

Many descendants of Japanese immigrants in Brazil return to their ancestral homeland, often taking their (non-Nikkei) spouses with them. While for the individual, this is an initial emigration, in the context of family migration history, it is a return migration. Another type of return is the one from Japan to Brazil. Although returning to the country of origin in most cases is a possible option, only some migrants make definite plans for return while others do not consider it in their future plans (cf. Carling and Bivand Erdal 2014: 3). Most Brazilians working in Japan originally planned on saving as much money as possible and returning to Brazil within a few years (cf. Tsuda 2003: 86). According to Liu-Farrer (2020: 203), most migrants initially perceive their migration as temporary, because they are influenced by Japan not being a

traditional immigrant country. Although some Brazilians in Japan managed to save much money and returned to Brazil as they had planned, time showed that most ended up extending their stays, staying in Japan for an undetermined time, and some eventually settle permanently (cf. Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi 2005: 279; Tsuda 1999a: 692). This discrepancy arises from connections between return migration, transnationalism, and change over time (cf. Carling and Bivand Erdal 2014: 9). They have it in common with many other migrants around the world, such as Brazilians in the United States of which most also planned to return, but in the end stayed (cf. Margolis 1995: 31-32). The decision process “is not always a simple linear and irreversible progression from temporary to permanent” (Tsuda 1999a: 692), but rather a gradual one. Many could not attain the financial means they wanted, because they spent too much (see chapter 7.3.2. Financial Education) and because they earned less due to the end of the bubble economy. Others got used to the life in Japan and do not want to go back anymore. Some Brazilians managed to save enough money and bought a house in Brazil, but kept staying in Japan nevertheless.⁴⁸

Some Brazilians stay in Japan, but move frequently within the country (cf. Mita 2009: 198-199). One of the reasons is the ‘*dekassegui* mentality’ of earning, saving, and returning. Rather than feeling attached to their workplace⁴⁹, many change their job for one that is better paid or has more extra hours (cf. Mita 2009: 259; Takenaka 2010: 225, 227). Another reason is the intention of the *empreiteiras* to ensure the just-in-time production of the companies by supplying workforce according to the demand, which results in frequently changing the work location of the *dekassegui* (cf. Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi 2005: 72-73, 178-179).

The return from Japan to Brazil is often intended. Unplanned return in large scale happened due to the Great Financial Crisis in 2008. Tsuda (1999a: 691-692) found out that an increasing number of the Brazilians who return to Brazil end up remigrating to Japan. Some do so because they did not manage to reintegrate in Brazil (see chapter 5.1.3.), others due to economic reasons (cf. Tsuda 2018: 111). Margolis (2013) calls this migration pattern of Brazilians whose business in Brazil failed and who re-migrated to Japan “yo-yo migration” (cf. Margolis 2013: 131, 204). Among Polish migrants in the UK, a similar phenomenon of “double return” exists:

⁴⁸ For factors shaping the decision of staying or returning, see chapter 5.1.3.

⁴⁹ As foreigners’ pay did not increase as they stayed longer in one job, they felt little attachment to their workplace (cf. Takenaka 2010: 225, 227).

After an unsuccessful return to Poland, some return back to the UK. This second return was considered a final decision of permanent settlement, as they felt like “returning home” (cf. White 2014: 77).

For many Brazilians, however, the double return is not a decision of permanent settlement. Some Brazilians became ‘repeater’: They started a circular migration pattern by moving back and forth between Japan and Brazil, not knowing any more where they belong (cf. Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi 2005: 279; Margolis 2013: 131; Nakagawa 2018b: 28). This leads to them being “economically marginalised in Brazil and socially marginalised in Japan” (Tsuda 2018: 111). Tsuda (1999a) states that “such extended, indefinite, or repeated stays by migrant workers is becoming the norm in many industrialized countries with significant immigrant populations” (Tsuda 1999a: 692). In Canada, re-immigrants arrive from a variety of countries (cf. King and Newbold 2007: 97-98). Around half of Brazilians who return from New York to Brazil re-immigrate to the USA (cf. Margolis 1994: 263; Margolis 1995: 32-33). Even the ones that have definite plans for returning or staying and perceive themselves as either temporary or permanent immigrants might change their mind later, because “[m]uch as migration decisions are open to future change, so are both considerations and decisions about return migration” (Carling and Bivand Erdal 2014: 2-3).

Instead of considering this transnational lifestyle as liberating, many Brazilian migrants see this repeated migration as critical, because “it signifies the inability to establish a stable middle-class life in either country. In other words, the number of crossings between the two nations equals the number of failures to arrive at a better future, which was the purpose of migration in the first place” (Ikeuchi 2017b: 768). Many feel suspended between a future in Japan and a future in Brazil (cf. *ibid.*: 770).⁵⁰

On the other side, for some Brazilians, returning to Brazil was never an option. Especially young people want to escape the parental control and familial obligations, live on their own, and fulfill individualistic dreams, such as exploring a sense of self, freedom, and identity. Instead of saving money, they spend it (cf. Green 2010: 520-524; Manzenreiter 2013: 669). Return to Brazil as well can be used by young

⁵⁰ For details on the decision process, see chapter 5.1.3.

Brazilians for freeing themselves from family obligations (cf. LeBaron von Baeyer 2020: 201).

In summary, migration patterns of Brazilians in Japan are manifold. The host society side did only consider two strategies that the Brazilian migrants would choose from: return to Brazil or assimilate into Japanese society. However, most are choosing a third option. They remained in Japan, but continued to be a distinct and visible ethnic minority by retaining their strong sense of Brazilianness (cf. Roth 2002: 117). Besides these options, more migration patterns exist. Some are moving back and forth between Japan and Brazil, and others move frequently within Japan. Although the process of changing objectives from focus on work to taking root can be observed, it is only a tendency of the whole group of Brazilian residents and can be individually different (cf. Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi 2005: 268). The variety of patterns shows that the Brazilian diaspora is a heterogeneous group regarding their future plans and integration intentions, despite their status as mainly factory workers which leads to them concentrating in industrial regions. The following subchapter sheds light on municipalities with a high number of Brazilian residents.

4.3. Choice and description of fieldsite

As Brazilians do not have a voting right in Japan, they consider living in municipalities where they are acknowledged (cf. Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi 2005: 249). Some local governments in areas with big concentrations of manufacturing companies and their subcontractors provide various services and facilities for immigrants in order to attract legal migrant workers and as a result, stabilize the local labor market (cf. Sellek 2002: 197). Another factor for their settlement is an infrastructure that allows them to live a life like they were used to in Brazil (cf. Mita 2009: 263). In cities where many Brazilians live, such a social system developed that can be called “Little Brazil” and encompasses ethnic businesses and schools, Portuguese-language newspapers and radio programs, religions, sports, and culture clubs (cf. Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi 2005: 232; Sellek 2002: 199-200). These social networks in turn encourage other Brazilians to move to the region (cf. Sellek 2002: 197, 199-200). Brazilian communities in Japan which are often mentioned in the literature do exist in Hamamatsu (Shizuoka prefecture), Toyota (Aichi prefecture), and Ōizumi (Gunma

prefecture). Figure 7 shows the location of the three cities. In all of them, Brazilian resident numbers are far ahead of other foreign nationals' resident numbers (MOJ [2023]).



Figure 7: Location of Japanese cities with significant Brazilian populations (Source of map: Hist-geo.co.uk n.d.; cities marked by the author)

Local characteristics as well as efforts of local governments and civil society differ significantly. In order to contextualize my empirical findings in a larger context, I first give an overview of Ōizumi and Toyota and their Brazilian communities, before introducing my fieldsite Hamamatsu and its Brazilian community.

4.3.1. Municipalities with big Brazilian communities

Ōizumi is a small town located in the southeast of Gunma prefecture and about 90 km northwest of Tōkyō. Although with 4,862 people, their absolute number is small, Brazilians account for 56.9% of the foreign residents and for about 11.7% of all

habitants of Ōizumi (MOJ [2023]; as of December 2022).⁵¹ The reason for this high proportion of Brazilians lies in the fact that Ōizumi is an industrial town⁵² which from the revision of the immigration law in 1990 on, actively supported the recruitment of Nikkei Brazilians as non-skilled workers in order to reduce the risk for the many companies which illegally employed workers from Iran, Pakistan, and Bangladesh (cf. Onai 2001: 351-352). Thereupon, a big Brazilian community developed, giving Ōizumi and the neighboring city Ōta the nickname “Brazilian town” (cf. Mita 2009: 197). In a district close to Nishi-koizumi station, Brazilians residentially concentrated. Many ethnic businesses shape the townscape and a Brazilian school exists. Local government institutions, such as the multicultural community center (*Tabunka kyōsei komyuniti sentā*), provide support and consultation for foreign residents. Multicultural events and language classes taught by volunteers are organized by the Ōizumi International Association (*Ōizumi kokusai kōryū kyōkai*) (cf. OIA 2023). Together with the Brazilian residents, the Ōizumi Tourist Association (*Ōizumi-machi kankō kyōkai*) organizes an annual Brazilian samba-carnival event in Ōizumi since the beginning of the 1990s (cf. Global Peace Foundation Japan 2014).⁵³

Although interaction between Brazilian and Japanese residents is still limited, de Carvalho (2003b: 136, 199) designates Ōizumi as the best example for coexistence and integration of Nikkeijin. She states that “there have been efforts on the part of the officials and business people to ‘integrate’ them whilst recognising their cultural ‘differences’” (ibid.: 136), because the Nikkeijin are needed at the local labor market. This indicates that in Ōizumi, interculturalism is based on acceptance of ambivalence. As Ōizumi is the Japanese city with the highest percentage of Brazilian residents, many scholars have done research about the city in different scientific disciplines (Iwamoto 2006; Kataoka 2013; Kikuchi and Yabe 2003; Komai 2006; Manning 2007; Mizuno 2016; Ogino, Sugita and Dohi 2009; Onai 2001; Tsuda 2003; Ueta and Matsumura 2013).

Toyota is a town in Aichi prefecture, about 320 km southwest of Tōkyō. Known as car city, Toyota has a huge automobile industry. More than 40% of the city’s factories are

⁵¹ As the census statistics divided by municipalities is only published every five years (last in 2020), the current number of habitants (41,729) is taken from the town’s website (Ōizumi Town [2023], as of December 2022). Therefore, the current percentage of Brazilians is an estimated number.

⁵² The neighboring city Ōta as well as other surrounding cities host many factories as well.

⁵³ Due to the economic downturn in Japan and the absence of sponsors the carnival event did not take place after 1996/1997 and only resumed in 2007 (cf. Global Peace Foundation Japan 2014).

related to the automobile industry and 85.4% of the factory workers are employed in this sector (cf. Toyota City 2023). Of the city's 422,330 habitants (MIC 2022c; as of October 2020), 19,270 are foreign residents, of which 7,125 have Brazilian nationality. Thus, Brazilians account for 37.0% of the foreign residents and for about 1.7% of all habitants of Toyota (MOJ [2023]; as of December 2022). Toyota has the third highest absolute number of Brazilian residents (after Hamamatsu and Toyohashi).

Toyota has three Brazilian schools (cf. interview TIA) and an active civil society developed in order to cope with tasks like education of children, social participation of foreign people, and living together of the residents (cf. Aichi Prefecture n.d.: 21-22; Doi 2010: [1-2], Homigaoka International Center 2023; interview TIA; Kodomonokuni [2023]; Torushīda [2023]). The Toyota International Association (TIA, *Toyota-shi kokusai kōryū kyōkai*) is another important institution fostering interaction and providing support, consultation, and language classes for the foreign residents of Toyota. TIA's activities are based on the three pillars of international exchange, understanding, and unity (cf. interview TIA; TIA 2016: 3).

Interaction between Brazilian and Japanese residents is very limited. Many Brazilians live segregated from Japanese and other residents: close to the factories in the south of the city or in the apartment housing complex Homi Danchi which is located north of the city center and where almost half of the residents are Brazilians (cf. Doi 2010: [2]; interview TIA; TIA 2016: 12; Toyota City 2023). Nishihomi Elementary School, one of the two elementary schools located in Homi, has a proportion of 70% of foreign children (cf. interview TIA). These conditions inspired many scholars to conduct their research about this place (Hayashi 2017; Linger 2001; Otani 2012; Tsuzuki 2003).

Hamamatsu is located in Shizuoka prefecture, about 260km southwest of Tōkyō, and has 790,170 habitants, which makes it the prefecture's largest city (HICE [2023]; MIC 2022c). Foreign residents of Hamamatsu come from 87 different countries (cf. HICE [2023]). Among the 28,118 foreigners residing in the city, 9,771 are Brazilians. This makes it the Japanese city with the highest absolute number of Brazilian residents. They account for 34.7% of the foreign residents and 1.2% of all habitants of Hamamatsu. Other significant groups of foreign residents are Filipinos (4,355), Vietnamese (4,264), Chinese (2,269), Peruvians (1,795), Indonesians (1,453), and South Koreans (1,006). Furthermore, around 3.6% of Hamamatsu's population are foreign residents, which is more than the national average (HICE [2023]; as of

October 2023).⁵⁴ Its various multicultural efforts interested many researchers (Itō 2003; Kataoka 2004, 2005; Komai 2006; Nakamura 2007; Roth 2002; Shibata 2009; Shirahase and Takahashi 2012; Suzuki 2013; Yamanaka 2012).

These three cities differ in the degree of residential segregation among Brazilian residents. In general, however, little residential segregation of immigrants exists in Japan and even neighborhoods with a high percentage of foreign residents are not genuinely ethnic enclaves (cf. Liu-Farrer 2020: 212). Similar to Brazilian communities in other countries, such as the one in London, the growing number of Brazilians led to a visible presence in the city which becomes manifest in cultural events, services offered in Portuguese, and religious services held in Portuguese (cf. Souza 2010: 83). In the three Japanese cities presented above, many Brazilian ethnic businesses shape the cityspace, some signs and plates are written also in Portuguese, and at all important institutions, interpretation and translation in Portuguese is available. Brazilian organizations and associations developed which aim at supporting Brazilian residents and maintaining Portuguese language and Brazilian culture. As a result, everyday life is possible by using Portuguese only.

I chose Hamamatsu as fieldsite because, compared to other Japanese cities, it is special: not only because it is the Japanese city with the highest absolute number of Brazilian residents, but also because it is a pioneer city in terms of intercultural efforts. Thus, Hamamatsu is a suitable place to investigate the role of mediating institutions in the integration of Brazilian immigrants.

4.3.2. Hamamatsu

Hamamatsu is an industrial hub. Corporations like Suzuki and Honda have their factories here. It is also known for the production of musical instruments (Yamaha, Roland, Kawai, Tokai). With the revision of the immigration law in 1990, the numbers of Brazilian residents were rising sharply (see figure 8). After the 2008 Great Financial Crisis and the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake, the numbers of Brazilians were shrinking. However, since 2016 they are rising again.

⁵⁴ According to the 2020 census, 2.2% of Japan's residents are foreign nationals (MIC 2022c).

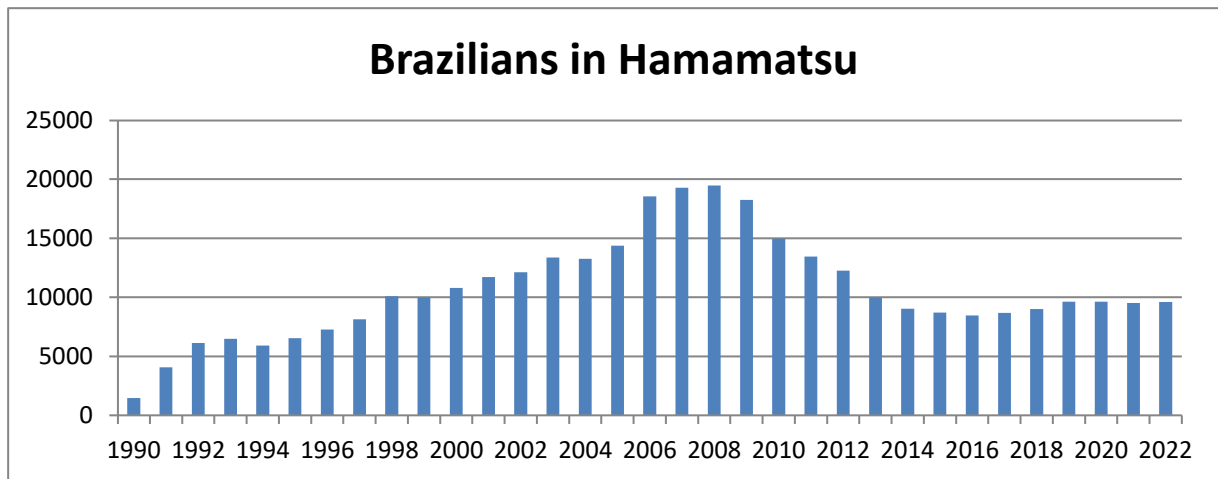


Figure 8: Numbers of Brazilian residents in Hamamatsu (Data source: HICE [2023]; diagram by author)

In the city center close to the main station of Hamamatsu as well as in Takaoka, a Brazilian flag in various shops' display hints at ethnic businesses. Close to the main station, a Latin American Night Club called Merry You and the restaurant Servitu that also consists of a small Brazilian supermarket are situated. These and a wide range of various other ethnic businesses, such as supermarkets, restaurants, hairdressers, car repair shops, and travel agencies, are evidence of a fully developed Brazilian community in Hamamatsu. Since 2009, Hamamatsu has a Brazilian Consulate General, which supports the Brazilian residents by offering consular services and promotes Brazilian interests through cultural, educational, athletic, corporate, and economic activities (cf. MRE 2023d). Three Brazilian schools in Hamamatsu are officially recognized by the Brazilian Ministry of Education: Escola Alcance, Colégio Mundo de Alegria, and Escola Alegria de Saber (cf. MRE 2023c).

Walking around the city, one can see that many street signs, besides the Japanese *kanji* and their transliteration in *rōmaji* (Latin alphabet), show an English and nowadays often also a Portuguese translation. A few, especially the ones close to the train station and bus terminal, additionally show Chinese characters and Korean letters. Not only signs showing directions are written in Portuguese. At some places, prohibitive signs are written in Japanese and Portuguese or even in Portuguese only, such as Do-not-cross-signs or No-parking-signs.

Like Brazilians in London (cf. Margolis 2013: 109; Souza 2010: 83), Brazilian residents live scattered over the city. However, as Hamamatsu city “does not take specific actions to mix citizens from different areas” (CoE 2017a: 13), in some

neighborhoods, the concentration of Brazilians is high, such as in Takaoka which is located in the northern part of Naka ward (see figure 9)⁵⁵, in Sanarudai (western part of Naka ward), and in some *danchi* (housing complex) located in the south of the city center.

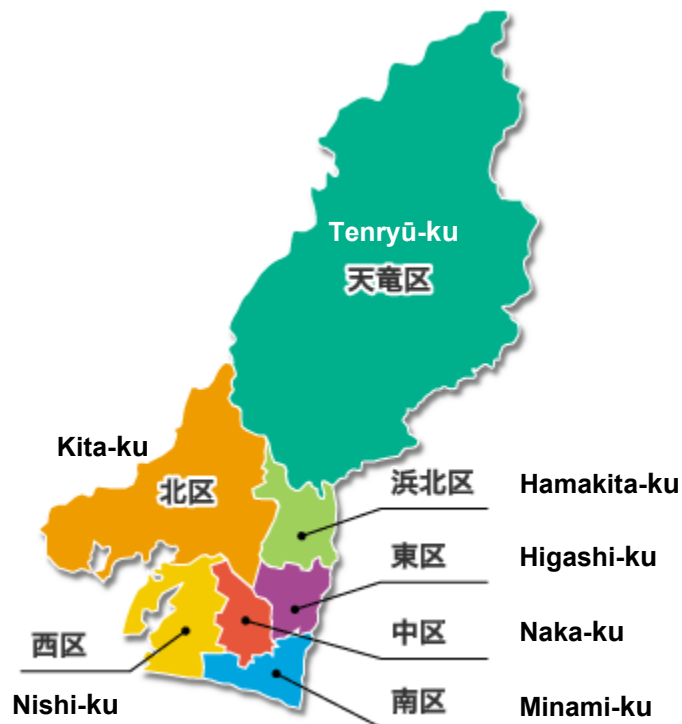


Figure 9: Administrative districts of Hamamatsu city (source: Hamamatsu City 2020; English transliteration added by the author)

In terms of intercultural efforts, Hamamatsu is very ambitious. Within the city government of Hamamatsu, Kokusaika (International Affairs Division) is responsible for *tabunka kyōsei*. In 2001, it formulated the “Hamamatsu Global City Vision” (revised in 2007), serving as a guide to internationalization policy and promoting disciplines such as coexistence and exchange. This developed into the “Hamamatsu Intercultural City Vision” of 2013 (second vision in 2018), which was built on the three pillars collaboration, creation, and comfort / peace of mind (Hamamatsu City [2012]: 1; 2018b: 3-4). In October 2017, Hamamatsu was the first city in Asia which was

⁵⁵ For a map showing the subdivision of Naka ward, see: Minna no gyōsei chizu (2018): *Naka-ku (Shizuoka-ken Hamamatsu-shi)* [Naka ward (Shizuoka prefecture, Hamamatsu city)]. November 10. <https://minchizu.jp/shizuoka/h-naka.html> (last access: November 10, 2023).

designated an “Intercultural City” (ICC) by the Council of Europe⁵⁶. The Council of Europe (CoE 2017a: 2) defines “Intercultural City” as follows:

The intercultural city has people with different nationality, origin, language and religion/belief. Political leaders and most citizens regard diversity positively, as a resource. The city actively combats discrimination and adapts its governance, institutions and services to the needs of a diverse population. The city has a strategy and tools to deal with diversity and cultural conflict. It encourages greater mixing and interaction between diverse groups in the public spaces.

Hamamatsu achieved an intercultural city index of 54%, and thus was positioned 20th among the 88 cities that had been designated as intercultural cities at the time (cf. CoE 2017a: 42). Its strongest efforts of intercultural and inclusive integration could be seen in the “political commitment of the Mayor and of the City Council, the activities of Intercultural Centre and of the HICE [Hamamatsu Foundation for Intercultural Communication and Exchange], the city vision, and the informal language courses” (ibid.). Weak fields where local policies need to be developed were “education, public services, business and labour market, mediation and governance” (ibid.).

The most active local level institution fostering interaction between foreign and native residents is the Hamamatsu Foundation for Intercultural Communication and Exchange (HICE; *Hamamatsu kokusai kōryū kyōkai*). HICE operates the Hamamatsu Intercultural Center (*Hamamatsu-shi tabunka kyōsei sentā*) which offers consultation and provides rooms as well as exhibition panels for intercultural and international exchange purposes, and the Hamamatsu Foreign Resident Study Support Center (U-ToC; *Hamamatsu-shi gaikokujin gakushū shien sentā*) which offers free language classes. HICE’s goals are promoting international exchange and creating a local *tabunka kyōsei* society. In order to achieve its goals, HICE offers information, consultation services for foreign residents, for example regarding visa or legal matters as well as psychotherapy, several training and language courses, and various courses and events on other cultures (cf. HICE [2023]). HICE also serves as the first point of contact for foreign residents who need to solve a problem and do not know where else to go. HICE cannot give financial support, but they can listen, give orientation, introduce them to another place that can help or even contact other organizations that can support them (cf. interview HICE). They also publish

⁵⁶ In 2020, two Korean cities (Ansan and Guro) became intercultural cities. The Japanese city Kōbe is preparing for ICC membership (cf. CoE 2023).

information on events and everyday life issues in various languages on their website, *facebook* page, as well as in their monthly magazine HICE News.

HICE gives advice to the Hamamatsu local government regarding the living together of foreign and Japanese residents in the city (cf. interview HICE). Many of its tasks are consigned to HICE by the local government (cf. interview Yōko). Some centers are staffed with a former or current civil servant. This gives them an advantage when navigating through bureaucratic proceedings (cf. Kim and Streich 2020: 191-192). HICE as well has a civil servant from Hamamatsu City Hall at its top. The center is not only linked to Hamamatsu City Hall, but also to many other institutions of municipality and host society as well as to foreign communities and their institutions. It promotes, (financially) supports, and organizes projects and events related to cultural exchange, mutual understanding, and interculturalism.

Another institution mentioned in the ICC report is the local library, which “is another space that is being used to encourage meaningful intercultural mixing and integration” (COE 2017a: 21). Besides municipal institutions, many civil society organizations related to the host society or to a foreign resident community offer support or promote the respective language and culture. Hamamatsu also has a Foreign Residents Council. Although voting rights are granted to Japanese citizens only, the members of the Foreign Residents Council, which are drawn from all main resident minorities, discuss issues related to civic life and submit proposals to the mayor (cf. *ibid.*: 10). The system that the municipality created, for example the Hamamatsu model in the field of education, now spreads to other cities. Many organizations located in other cities send representatives to Hamamatsu to ask and learn about their way of creating a *tabunka kyōsei* society (cf. interview U-ToC).

Like this chapter showed, mediating institutions play an important role in implementing intercultural measures and enabling interaction and integration. In Hamamatsu, they create an environment of intercultural efforts in which the Brazilian residents live. It is in this light that the three following empirical chapters present the results of my fieldwork. Divided in the three areas community and everyday life, religion, and education, these chapters first present the empirical findings, subsequently, identify relevant mediating institutions for the respective area, analyze their function for integration, and lastly, discuss the role of mediating institutions in the respective field.

5. The role of institutions related to local community and everyday life for the integration of Brazilian immigrants in Hamamatsu

Situations arise when objectives are equal. For something. For integration. For example, when there was the earthquake in the northeast [...] of Japan, I think that the Japanese were supported much by foreigners. [...] I think, there, they stood on the same level. [...] Saying that: Oh, you are foreigner, I don't accept [your help]. No, this didn't exist anymore. Everybody was the same. Great that many Brazilians were in favor of helping: helping the Japanese, helping all the other foreigners who also where there. They united for the ideal. So, I think, everything has to be united by an ideal. A similar ideal. [...] Improving the school. Improving the city ward. [...] What can I do here to improve, to help a person. Use a bit of your abilities to help and pursue the similar ideal to have this integration. With them. [...] I think that one has to think about one's neighbor, one's reach. Next door there is always something you can integrate with. You don't need to go far away.

(Caroline)

Caroline, a Nikkei Brazilian mother, shared her thoughts on integration with me. She made clear that for her, integration is not some abstract process that is difficult for individuals to grasp, but something that starts with small things in her reach and to which every person can contribute. According to the Brazilian consul general in Hamamatsu, the first Japanese immigrants who arrived in Brazil did not know anything about the Brazilian society, customs, language, and culture. Nevertheless, they integrated themselves quickly, with much discipline and organization. Nowadays, around two million descendants of Japanese immigrants live in Brazil, some standing out in arts, politics, or business. The aim is to facilitate such a smooth integration process of the Brazilians in Japan as well. The Consulate intends to stimulate this process of a peaceful living together with the Japanese residents. This process takes time, but some positive results can be seen already (cf. interview Consulate General).

After coming to Japan, the *dekassegui* stayed in their family networks, but had to rebuild their other networks. This includes reorganizing the underlying networks on which an ethnic community could be established with ethnic businesses, religious institutions, and so on, but also getting in touch with institutions of the Japanese society (cf. Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi 2005: 232-233). The degree of the latter varies much and depends on integration efforts of both the migrants and the host society.

Unintended social integration also happens, namely when interethnic contact leads to the acquisition of resources (cf. Esser 2001: 25). In everyday life situations, mediating institutions such as exchange associations, civil society institutions, and the local government offer many opportunities for this to happen: at work, at school, in the neighborhood, or at the many events. They also play an important role by supporting the Brazilian immigrants and fostering interaction and mutual understanding.

In this chapter, I analyze the Brazilian residents' community life in Hamamatsu and their process of integration with the Japanese host society. First, I introduce the Brazilian community, the Brazilian residents' everyday life aspects as well as their future plans. Then, I examine the role of cultural and sports activities within the community. In taking a Brazilian dance school as an example, I show social ties within the Brazilian community and possible implications for integration. Subsequently, I examine the relation between Brazilian and Japanese residents in the city and the role of mediating institutions in shaping it. This includes opportunities of interaction and structural embeddedness in everyday life as well as evolving problems, such as discrimination on both Japanese and Brazilian residents' sides. Lastly, the role of mediating institutions in community and everyday life is discussed.

5.1. Brazilian community life in Hamamatsu

Pedro does not have Japanese ancestry, but as his wife does, they came to Japan on a Nikkei (and spouse) visa at the beginning of the 1990s. After working in a factory for about ten years, they returned to Brazil with the aim to let their daughter learn reading and writing in Portuguese. However, after a few years they came back to Japan, this time to Hamamatsu, where they live for about 15 years now. Pedro and his wife still work in a factory. Their daughter went to a Japanese school, finished Japanese high school, and afterwards studied at a Brazilian long-distance university. Nowadays, she works in a factory as well to save money for studying abroad.

One day I talked to Pedro's daughter, a Brazilian woman in her early 20's who graduated from a Japanese high school, about politics. When Abe's name was mentioned, Pedro overheard our conversation and asked: "Who is Abe?" First, his

daughter felt ashamed that her father did not know the Japanese prime minister's name, but then she explained to me that probably she herself only knows his name due to her education in the Japanese education system and that many Brazilians who did not go to a Japanese school do not know much about Japanese politics. Brazilian politics, on the other side, are well accompanied and widely discussed by the Brazilians living abroad, such as the presidential election in Brazil on October 7th, 2018. The then candidate Jair Bolsonaro came to Japan as part of his election campaign. His speech in Hamamatsu was well-attended by his fans, some of which welcomed him at the station and jubilantly accompanied him to the venue. This interest in Brazilian politics is also related to the obligation to vote, even for Brazilians who live abroad. These incidents raise the question if Brazilian residents in Japan have stronger ties to Brazil than to Japan. This subchapter presents the context in which Brazilian residents in Hamamatsu live. It sheds light on the Brazilian community and its characteristics, the everyday life of Brazilian residents in Hamamatsu, their decision process of staying in Japan or returning to Brazil, and the role that culture and sports can play for integration.

5.1.1. Ethnic community

Brazilians especially gather in regions which offer an infrastructure for a Brazilian lifestyle (cf. Mita 2009: 196; Sellek 2002: 197), that is, where a Brazilian community already exists. Yumi, a Brazilian mother and factory worker, told me that when she and her family moved to a city close to Ōsaka, life was more difficult because few foreigners lived there. That is why they came back to Hamamatsu after two years (cf. interview Yumi).

Hamamatsu is the Japanese city with the highest number of Brazilian residents. Its Brazilian community is characterized by a fully developed infrastructure. The secretary of the Brazilian school Alcance told me that 20 years ago, many places did not provide interpretation in Portuguese, and no signs indicated directions in Portuguese. Nowadays, a little Brazil can be found in Hamamatsu: all information is available in Portuguese, and various Brazilian institutions offer all kind of services (cf. interview Alcance). A Brazilian Consulate General, Brazilian schools and nursery schools, the Brazilian bank *Banco do Brasil*, a Brazilian civil society, and a variety of

ethnic businesses, including Brazilian restaurants, supermarkets, hair dressers, car repair shops, and travel agencies, make life for the Brazilian residents easier and more accessible than in other Japanese cities (cf. interviews Thamara, Yumi). For Yumi, especially the fact that almost every place offers interpretation in Portuguese is very helpful (cf. interview Yumi). Gabriela who lives in Japan for two years does not miss anything from Brazil, besides her family and friends. Everything else, the Brazilian community in Hamamatsu provides, even the most exotic kinds of Brazilian food. For her, the community is a comfort zone. She thinks that it is this comfortable way of living which makes many Brazilians retreat into their community (cf. interview Gabriela). Akane, a Brazilian student at a Japanese university, also has the impression that it is difficult for many Brazilians to leave the Brazilian community and to interact with Japanese people (cf. interview Akane).

As a result, many consider the Brazilian community in Hamamatsu as closed. Some of my Brazilian interviewees even designate it as “ghetto” (cf. interviews Gabriela, Thamara). According to Esser (2001: 20), this is a sign of segmentation of the immigrants. The creation of cohesive ethnic communities, comprised of extensive institutional and social networks, allows the Brazilians in Japan to “conduct their daily lives amongst family and compatriots in culturally familiar settings without much contact with mainstream society” (Tsuda 2018: 112). Indeed, as it is possible to use all kinds of businesses in Portuguese, everyday life is possible with Portuguese only. Contact with the Japanese society only occurs at the work place, at public schools of children, and when dealing with formalities at the municipality (cf. Mita 2009: 264-265).

However, the term “community” is misleading, as the Brazilian residents in Japan are a heterogeneous group. Brazil consists of various peoples and has a diverse culture. Brazilians in Japan have various visa categories and each person performs Japanese or Brazilian culture and customs to a different degree (cf. Hatano 2011: 57-63, 66). Instead of forming a homogeneous collective identity, Brazilians in Japan use all their facets of identity, among themselves as well as with local Japanese people, in terms of language proficiency, gender, class, race, nationality, and descentance (cf. Nishida 2018: 229). Moreover, some Brazilians in Japan are more connected to the host society than to “the community”. Depending on the immigrants’ generation and the degree of contact they have to the host society, their intention of integration

differs. Even among Nikkei Brazilians, big differences exist. According to a representative of HICE, *nisei* are still more influenced by the Japanese culture of their parents, while *sansei* are closer to the Brazilian culture and its manners (cf. interview HICE). Ishi (1994: 45-46; cited in Roth 2002: 109) describes divisions in the Brazilian community. He states that in four ways, the community is split: (1) those who plan to stay and those who intend to return, (2) those who are concerned about the image of Brazilians and those who are not, (3) those who are on good terms with Japanese people and those who are not, and (4) those who study Japanese language and culture and those who do not. My data shows that nowadays, the situation is still the same. Although a tendency toward long-term settlement can be observed, the community is still split in these four ways. The influx of newly arriving immigrants from Brazil further reinforces these divisions. Furthermore, rather than uniting to one big group, the Brazilian community consists of various groups. Brazilian families, friends, peer groups, work mates, parishioners at a church, neighbors in a *danchi*, members of a football team, and so on, form small groups of the Brazilian community, which meet in a certain frame. In other words, the Brazilian community is fragmented.

One criterion for defining the Brazilian community is the commitment of its institutions to support the Brazilian residents and to transmit Brazilian values and culture. Rafaela has the impression that the Brazilian communities in Nagoya and in Toyohashi have a strong network of actively engaging NPOs and even have their own radio station (cf. interview Rafaela). In Hamamatsu, the Brazilian community does not show much cohesion. Although many groups organize events and support for the Brazilians, human relations among the people involved in the organization are complicated (cf. interview Akiko). Instead of cooperating, the NPOs are competing (cf. interview Rafaela). This shows that their main goal is not to provide support, but to show that the way they do things is the best. During my fieldwork, I observed only few initiatives of collaboration, such as the director of IIEC who planned a project with the Brazilian school E.A.S. and another one with the NPO Arace (for a description of Arace and IIEC, see chapter 7.2.1.) and a round table of the NPO SOS Mamães no Japão (SMJ) for Brazilian parents and storytelling by Janelas do Mundo, a Brazilian mother who offers storytelling at various occasions, for their children which took place at HICE. Big Brazilian events, such as a *Festa do Brasil*, are not organized anymore due to financial difficulties. Nowadays, events with a high participation of foreign residents are organized by the host society, namely by HICE (cf. interview Rafaela).

However, since 2022, the annual event *Brazilian Day Hamamatsu* is organized. In the first year, 20,000 people came during the two-day event (cf. Portal Japão 2023).

Another criterion for defining the Brazilian community is the cohesion of its single members, the Brazilian residents. Caroline observed that while every person has their own space of interaction with others, such as religion or dance, they work together when they have a shared objective (cf. interview Caroline). Thamara, however, thinks that the majority of Brazilians in Japan, be it in Hamamatsu, Tōkyō, Nagoya, or Toyohashi, does not have something they aim for (cf. interview Thamara). This shows that the Brazilian community is divided into two parts. The secretary of the Brazilian school Alcance puts it like that: One big part consists of the people who always support each other. Another part comprises people who prefer to keep to themselves (cf. interview Alcance). In other words, not all Brazilian residents consider themselves as part of the community. Rafaela and Roxana have the impression that for most, friendship is something temporary and superficial. In contrast to Brazil, where people have real friendships, in Japan, it is only within the family that deep bonds develop. One reason is that many Brazilians often move within Japan, always searching for a job that is better paid (cf. interviews Rafaela, Roxana). Fernanda, having worked in a town with few Brazilians, thinks that the smaller the number of Brazilians, the stronger their unity (cf. interview Fernanda). Still, the secretary of Alcance thinks that with the time passing, the community in Hamamatsu grows and unites more and more (cf. interview Alcance).

A community that becomes increasingly united might suggest that motivation for integration with the host society decreases. Indeed, most of my interlocutors are mainly connected to the Brazilian community. However, being part of the community is not necessarily hindering integration. Yuriko, a Brazilian student at a Japanese university, has the impression that many Brazilian residents aim at getting a proper education and job and that public safety (*chian*) is also not bad. Merely the rate of advancement to the next higher level of education leaves something to be desired (cf. interview Yuriko). Diego, a JiuJitsu teacher, even thinks that nowadays, Brazilians are interacting with Japanese people, and places where only Brazilians gather are rare (cf. interview Diego). Some try to be part of both the Brazilian community and the Japanese host society, such as Keiko who frequents a Japanese university and regularly participates in events of the Brazilian community (cf. interview Keiko), or

Rafaela who has always been strongly involved in the Brazilian community and at the same time is connected to the host society through her Japanese husband and his family (cf. interview Rafaela). Others are more integrated with the host society, such as Akane who also frequents a Japanese university and only recently started to get interested in Brazil (cf. interview Akane), or Amanda who felt discriminated against within the Brazilian community in Japan and moved to Kakegawa, a city close to Hamamatsu, in order to stay away from the Brazilian community (cf. interview Amanda). Most migrants live in the intersection of home society, host society, and ethnic community. A system of transnationality develops (cf. Esser 2001: 26). The following section shows how this embeddedness in both Brazilian community and host society becomes visible in their everyday life.

5.1.2. Everyday life

Although many Brazilian residents in Hamamatsu already live in Japan for many years, at the same time, they maintain ties to Brazil, such as social ties (family and friends) as well as everyday practices they were used to before migrating. This section introduces some aspects of these ties as well as language aspects and their working life, including related social issues.

Everyday practices and ties to Brazil

What Brazilians living in Japan most miss are family and friends back in Brazil (cf. Green 2010: 525). The rapid development of means of communications since the beginning of the *dekassegui* movement helps the Brazilians keeping in touch and reducing *saudade* (yearning for the homeland) (cf. Sellek 2002: 200). The frequency of vacation in Brazil varies widely. Thamara travels to Brazil once a year (cf. interview Thamara). Most, however, only rarely do so. Pedro travels there every few years, taking his wife and daughter with him (personal communication). Rafaela only went to Brazil once after her marriage in 1992. Her daughters have never been there (cf. interview Rafaela). The university student Yukari went there on a university exchange for 7,5 months in 2019. The interest in meeting relatives from Brazil varies widely as well. Green (2010: 525) found out that many young Brazilians seem to not care about

their family back in Brazil. While this holds true for Pedro's daughter (personal communication Pedro), Rafaela's children are keen to finally go to Brazil and get to know country and relatives (cf. interview Rafaela).

Carling and Bivand Erdal (2014: 7) call family holidays and cultural activities that served to maintain an identification with the country of origin "recreational transnationalism". However, the degree of Brazilian practices differs from person to person. The consul general thinks that the higher the number of compatriots in the city, the easier it is to preserve one's own cultural identity, because it is not necessary to let go of certain characteristics of behavior or culture (cf. interview Consulate General). In Hamamatsu, everyday life of Brazilian residents is often still characterized by practices they were used to before migrating: The language used at home in most cases is Portuguese and news are accompanied mainly using Brazilian media or ethnic media⁵⁷ which also covers news about Japan and the Brazilian community in Japan. This might also be related to the low language proficiency in Japanese. Another important media is *facebook*, where HICE as well as Brazilians who speak Japanese post important or urgent information in Portuguese. Moreover, alimentation is often still based on Brazilian dishes⁵⁸, such as *feijão* (beans), *feijoada* (bean stew), *pão de queijo* (cheese bread), and *churrasco* (Brazilian BBQ). Diego observed that before, many Brazilians cooked only Brazilian dishes at home and went to special places to buy meat. Nowadays, they cook with what they have and buy the same meat at the supermarket as Japanese people do (cf. interview Diego). Still, when organizing a *churrasco*, many Brazilian buy meat at a Brazilian butcher, like Pedro does. He also told me that in contrast to the other foreign workers at his factory, he does not eat a Japanese *bentō* (lunch box) in his lunch break, because he thinks that the it does not contain enough meat to keep him adequately fed for an entire workday. Instead, his wife prepares a *bentō* for his lunch break every day (personal communication).

⁵⁷ Since 1991, newspapers and magazines in Portuguese targeting Brazilians in Japan are published (cf. Mita 2009: 264). Today, various types of ethnic media developed: magazines (such as the monthly and free of charge magazine *Alternativa* about the Brazilian community and life in Japan), news websites (for example *Portal Mie* or *Guia Japão*), radio stations (such as *Radio Phoenix* and the local radio station FM Haro! which offers a program on Brazil called *Amizade* [engl.: friendship]), and TV channels.

⁵⁸ Brazilian food traditions, such as on New Year's Eve, are also embraced by the younger generation. They have the wish to learn about these traditions and pass them on to the following generation, which are rooted in both cultures. See for example: *Brasil A2 (2023): Brasil A2 na NHK - Cultura Brasileira no Ano Novo* [Brasil A2 on NHK – Brazilian culture on New Year's Day]. <https://youtube.com/watch?v=w1TeISpKT-E&feature=share> (last access: November 10, 2023)).

In 2010, the Brazilian government also started to actively reinforcing ties to its emigrants throughout the world (cf. Pedroza, Palop, and Hoffmann 2016: 77). It tries to establish ties with the already existing networks of the Brazilian community in Japan and to reinforce the sense of belonging to Brazil among their non-resident citizens. The Brazilian government's activities in Japan include an annual Brazilian International Press Award to promote a positive image of Brazil, the organization of conferences and short informative events for the Brazilian diaspora on topics such as the labor market condition in Brazil, remittances, migration rights, social security system, and return policies, as well as meetings of *Brasileirinhos* (Brazilian children born abroad) to foster their contact with the Portuguese language and the Brazilian culture (cf. *ibid.*: 82-83, 88, 90-91).

Even Brazilians who decided to stay long-term do not give up their Brazilian identities⁵⁹ (cf. Tsuda 2009: 222). As can be seen among the interlocutors of LeBaron von Baeyer (2020: 205-206) and Linger (2001: 310) as well, they identify either as Brazilian, as both Japanese and Brazilian, or neither. Among my interlocutors, only Yuriko, a university student born and raised in Japan, considers herself as Japanese. Although her parents are Brazilian and at the time of our interview, she still had Brazilian nationality, she stated that she feels completely Japanese and that her roots are in Japan. She thinks that recently, children like her are increasing (cf. interview Yuriko).

In Brazil, hospitality and cordialness are a matter of course, and this way of thinking is mainly preserved in Japan. Social gatherings are common, such as by making spontaneous visits at their friends' houses after work (cf. interview Yara) or meeting at a river or beach for a *churrasco*. Several times I witnessed somebody dropping in spontaneously at Pedro's place. They were always invited in for a conversation that could last for hours. I was invited to a *churrasco* several times during the summer of my fieldwork by the people I got to know at the dance school Brasil A2. Some people even brought a tent and stayed overnight. Besides eating, drinking, and bathing in the river, they spend the time chatting, dancing, or playing card games.

At the same time, the different circumstances of everyday life in Japan have led to many Brazilians living more secluded lives. They are working much which leads to

⁵⁹ For an examination of the concepts Brazilian identity and Brazilianness, see Linger (2001: 308-312).

them being exhausted. Yara, a Brazilian mother and factory worker, observed that many Brazilians withdraw from social contacts and live more isolated, like many Japanese people do. In Japan, they become more reserved and instead of doing spontaneous visits or spending time with friends, they focus only on their work and their own family. Daily routine after work consists only of taking a shower, eating, and sleeping. Yara sees this seclusion as a reason for becoming depressive. Indeed, the two Brazilian psychologists working at HICE stated that the core psychological problems among Brazilians in Japan which lead to emotional disequilibrium, such as depression or despondence, are non-adaptation to the host society and lack of affection, love, security, and opportunities of personal development as well as stagnation of social life (cf. interviews Mikako, Vitor). Yara admits that some people are still gathering. However, this does not happen frequently, but mainly during holidays. Yara wonders “if it was the country [Japan] that made me become like this. I think it’s also the exhaustion. [...] Saturday and Sunday you want to rest” (interview Yara). This shows what Fernanda also mentioned: In Japan, values become inverted and the priority of many Brazilians changed from family and well-being to work and earning money (cf. interview Fernanda). Thamara thinks that many Brazilians in Japan lack focus and lost their objective in life. They only live for their work and for a future, give it top priority, and forget to live their life in the present (cf. interview Thamara). Vitor thinks that it is important to have dreams and an objective in life. They are the precondition to have a reason to fight for something. Even utopian dreams help to overcome adversities in life (cf. interview Vitor).

Living in Japan changes the Brazilians’ lifestyle in many other aspects as well. Some adapt to the Japanese culture and customs, especially by adapting their appearance and behavior. Amanda seeks to comport like a Japanese person would do. She adapted to Japanese etiquette, including ways of speaking, interacting, and dressing. She thinks that therefore she is respected and liked by Japanese residents and was never discriminated by them. Sometimes, when she wants to behave like a Brazilian and come out of her shell, she goes to the beach, to the river, or to a park to dance, talk loudly, or make a *churrasco* (cf. interview Amanda). While Megumi and Amanda observed that some Brazilians dress very revealingly, provoking criticism by Japanese residents (cf. interviews Amanda, Megumi), Thamara noticed that in an attempt to adapt and not stick out as a foreigner, many give up a part of their identity by using Japanese clothes and straightening their hair (cf. interview Thamara). At

churrasco parties at the riverside, I observed a similar phenomenon: The Brazilian women entered the river with their normal clothes, although some wore their bikini underneath. I was surprised, because I remembered all the women at the beaches in Rio de Janeiro with their skimpy thong bikinis that barely hid anything. When I asked one of the Brazilian women why nobody was wearing a bikini, she said that in Japan nobody does that, so she also got used to entering with her normal clothes and would find it embarrassing to use a bikini. Indeed, I saw Japanese people entering with their clothes as well. It seems like the Brazilians adapted their clothing style to Japanese norms, even when among themselves.

In order to prevent bullying and marginalization, 'passing' is a common tendency among immigrants and their children who phenotypically can pass as Japanese (cf. Liu-Farrer 2020: 158, 182; Tsuda 2009: 223; see also: LeBaron von Baeyer 2020: 104-105; Tsuda 2003: 339-350). By avoiding socializing with co-ethnics, assuming a Japanese name, minimizing differences in appearance and behavior, or even naturalizing⁶⁰ (Liu-Farrer 2020: 182, 209), immigrants and their children try to avoid being identified as a foreigner. Yuriko also naturalized at the end of her studies at university. For her, however, this was not a tactic to conceal her roots. Rather, she considers herself as Japanese and plans to stay in Japan (cf. interview Yuriko).

The Brazilians' presence in Hamamatsu also changes the Japanese people. Megumi is around 65 years old, a former teacher, very interested in interacting with foreigners, and living in the neighboring town Iwata. She thinks that the Brazilians have a positive influence on Japanese people, for example by reducing embarrassment. While before, Megumi felt alienated when Japanese people dressed like Brazilians do, using figure-hugging clothes, or when couples walked hand in hand, nowadays she is not astonished anymore. She has the impression that Japanese people in the Hamamatsu region do not feel embarrassed or try to hide anymore (cf. interview Megumi).

In short, Japanese and Brazilian residents mutually approximated in some aspects of their lifestyle. This can be considered as a sign of progressing adaptation. On the other side, maintaining ties to Brazil by preserving everyday practices and by keeping

⁶⁰ Besides avoiding bullying, reasons to naturalize are mainly utilitarian, such as easier business travels. Still, the emotional hurdle for naturalization is high, as most immigrants do not perceive themselves as Japanese and many hesitate to make a decision of long-term settlement (cf. Liu-Farrer 2020: 209).

in touch with friends, relatives, and political events in Brazil while living in Japan is an expression of transnationalism. This transnational lifestyle might hinder integration to a certain extent, as the Brazilians' focus does not lie on their life in Japan, but also on the option of going back.

Language aspects

Language proficiency can be considered as the key to all other processes of social integration in the host society. It is a necessary, but not yet sufficient, condition for placement in the host country and for structural assimilation in education system and job market. Opportunity structures play an important role in the language acquisition process, as it mainly happens through interethnic social contacts in everyday life (cf. Esser 2001: 26, 74).

Although the Padre and the Brazilian consul general assume that most foreigners who live in Japan speak at least a little Japanese (cf. interviews Catholic Church, Consulate General), this refers mostly to very basic vocabulary. A few Japanese words even became part of the vocabulary of Brazilians in Japan, such as *arigatō* (thanks), *gomen* (sorry), *daijōbu* (okay), *ohayō* (good morning), *zangyō* (extra hours), *furyō* (bad, defective), and *kankei nai* (irrelevant). Even when talking to other Brazilians and in Portuguese, most people use these words automatically in Japanese. My interlocutors agreed that the biggest barrier for Brazilians in Japan is the capacity to communicate and that learning Japanese is essential for a good quality of life (cf. interviews Alcance, Fernanda, Gabriela, Vitor). In practice, however, many Brazilian immigrants still need a third person for everyday errands who translates or interprets for them (cf. interview Fernanda). According to the director of IIEC, most Brazilians do not study the Japanese language and culture, even after living in Japan for 20 or 30 years (cf. interview IIEC).

Examining the situation of Peruvian residents in Japan, Takenaka (2010: 227-228) found out that reasons for this lack of motivation to study Japanese are busy working schedules, the intention to return soon, negative experiences in Japan, and a lack of incentives at work, as prospects for job mobility do not exist. As a result, "social interactions with Japanese remained limited. The language barrier was a cause, as well as consequence, of limited interactions with the Japanese" (Takenaka 2010:

228). For Brazilian residents in Japan, similar reasons can be assumed. Moreover, in Hamamatsu, besides the size of the Brazilian community and the support Brazilians give each other, another reason for them still having low Japanese language skills is the amount of information available in Portuguese (cf. interviews Fernanda, Yara). Like in other Japanese cities with big immigrant communities, almost every host society institution that is relevant for the immigrants provides interpretation (*tsūyaku*)⁶¹ and all the important information for their everyday life in Japan is translated in various languages, including Portuguese. When the Brazilians need to frequent other places that do not provide an interpreter, they often take their children⁶² or friends who speak better Japanese to interpret for them. Two of my interlocutors stated that the bit of Japanese they speak they have learned when they lived in a region with few Brazilian residents (cf. interview Aaron; personal communication Pedro). In short, the fully developed Brazilian community and the services of the host society enable Brazilians in Hamamatsu to live and work without having Japanese language skills.

In its intercultural profile report on Hamamatsu, the Council of Europe states that Japanese language ability among foreign residents is increasing, but still “the number of foreign people who can read a high standard of Kanji was reported as 38.9% in 2010” (CoE 2017b: 16). As far as Brazilian residents in Hamamatsu are concerned, however, this is not the case. Despite a big offer of Japanese language courses (cf. interview Akane), Japanese language ability certainly is still quite low and I did not find evidence that this situation is changing among the Brazilian immigrants. Their children’s generation, however, attends Japanese schools to an increasing degree and thereby improves their Japanese language skills significantly.

For immigrant children, partly other reasons play a role for the lack of language acquisition. When Ahamer (2013) interviewed immigrant children in Austria, age of

⁶¹ Institutions that often provide interpreting are for example schools (cf. BoE 2018), hospitals, and the City Hall. Community interpreters are often hired by the respective institution. In the case of schools, interpreters are dispatched by the Board of Education. HICE dispatches a psychologist to hospitals. The Yamaguchi International Heart Clinic hired nurses who speak various languages and serve as interpreters (cf. interviews Akiko, clinic). Hamamatsu City Hall provides interpretation at its consultation desk in different languages, including Portuguese and English. While English interpretation is done by JET, a Brazilian is hired directly by City Hall for Portuguese interpretation and other tasks. HICE is another place which provides consultations in all relevant foreign languages as well as mental health support in Portuguese. Many other public and private institutions in Hamamatsu provide interpretation services, such as banks and the police (cf. interviews Catholic Church, Yōko).

⁶² In fact, much of community interpreting is done by children (see chapter 7.2.2.).

the parents, lack of time due to work, few opportunities of interaction with natives, and a lack of language courses in the immediate vicinity were mentioned as reasons for lacking skills of the host society's language (cf. Ahamer 2013: 343, 345). While in Japan, a similar picture unfolds, the last aspect is different. Brazilian community institutions offer Japanese classes on the weekends and also teach Portuguese as a heritage language (see chapter 7.2.1.). Liu-Farrer (2020: 167) states that the pressure of the social environment, especially Japanese in-laws, leads to some foreign parents refraining from using the mother tongue with their children. Among the Brazilian residents in Hamamatsu, I did not observe such cases. This might be also related to the fact that few have Japanese in-laws or a formative Japanese social environment.

Keiko observed that the immigrants' children study Japanese and can communicate in Japanese (cf. interview Keiko). However, even among young Brazilians who were raised in Japan, big differences in fluency in Japanese (and Portuguese) exist. Many feel more comfortable in Portuguese even if they went to Japanese school, such as Pedro's daughter. On the other side, some prefer using Japanese and are lacking some fixed expressions in Portuguese, even if speaking Portuguese at home, such as a girl I met at the dance school. Others speak Japanese on a native level, but know only the basics of Portuguese, just enough to communicate with their parents at home, such as Yuriko.⁶³

Although interaction does not necessarily depend on Japanese language abilities (cf. interview Catholic Church) and most Brazilian residents are at least able to have a colloquial conversation in Japanese (cf. interviews Catholic Church, Consulate General), language skills are a precondition for long-term integration and social advancement of their children. Referring to the increasing numbers of Brazilian children in Hamamatsu changing from Brazilian to Japanese schools, Hoshino (2012: 107-108) expected the process of them becoming bilingual or monolingual in Japanese to accelerate after the Great Financial Crisis. However, this effect failed to happen, at least on a big scale.⁶⁴ Many stayed at Brazilian schools, some even ended up double limited, and new migrants arrived from Brazil. With much time passing, Brazilian children can become bilingual or Japanese-monolingual. However,

⁶³ For more information on language education and its effects, see chapter 7.2.1. and 7.2.3.

⁶⁴ For the reasons of failed bilingualism, see chapter 7.2.3.

this is a creeping, not a fast process. In other words, the language barrier is still one of the three walls that hinder integration.

Working life

A small factory hall, many press machines: noisy, dirty, stuffy. A separated room serves as a small office. Inside sit the two bosses and an office lady. They look at me, friendly, but not much interested, when Pedro introduces me: “*Tomodachi*” (friend). He shows me his machine: the last one in the line. He has a responsible position: Before sending the car parts to painting, he checks if no “*furyō*” (defective part) is amongst them. It is lunch break. A narrow staircase leads up to a lunch room with air-condition. Pedro explains to me that only the Japanese employees eat there. We pass his foreign, mainly Filipino and Vietnamese, colleagues who eat outside, sitting in the shadow of the factory wall. Here as well, only basic communication in Japanese takes place. Pedro points at me and says: “*Imōto*” (younger sister). They look at me, doubtfully, not sure whether to believe it or not.

Pedro is one of the few Brazilians who have worked in the same factory for many years. He told me that he started working through an *empreiteira*. A few years ago, he was lucky to become a *seishain* (regular employee). This ensures his social protection. However, he does not have a written work contract and cannot freely decide on his vacation time. The boss does not allow him to leave for holiday at certain times of the year, when times are busy, or for too long at a time. Working overtime or on Saturdays happens frequently, and most of the time spontaneously, which is caused by the just-in-time production. He gains 25% more for working overtime.

Most Brazilians work as blue-collar workers through an *empreiteira*, mainly at assembly lines or press machines in factories. Many of their colleagues are foreigners as well, such as Filipinos or Vietnamese. According to the “Japanese and Foreign Citizens Social Awareness Survey” (2021), 61.2% of foreign residents in Hamamatsu are employed in manufacturing industries. In recent years, indirect

employment increased from 28.3% in 2018 to 39.2% in 2022 (cf. Hamamatsu City 2023a: 9).⁶⁵

Although most Brazilians work in factories, this does not indicate their educational background. Some Brazilians, such as Amanda, studied at a university in Brazil before coming to Japan or did a job training in Brazil and are qualified to do some specific job. Reasons why they cannot work in their profession are non-recognition of their qualification and insufficient Japanese skills (cf. interview Vitor). Still, compared to the salary in their profession in Brazil, they earn more as a factory worker in Japan.⁶⁶ That is why on average, the Brazilian residents' standard of living in Japan is reasonable (cf. interview Consulate General). They enjoy the comforts of the middle class and can offer their children a better lifestyle than they could have in Brazil (cf. LeBaron von Baeyer 2020: 53).

For a factory job, not much Japanese skills are required and the Brazilians soon end up learning the vocabulary they need at work. Sometimes, the company even provides an interpreter or uses Brazilians who speak a little Japanese as such (cf. interview Yara). Pedro told me that his new Vietnamese colleagues communicate with the boss by using a translation website on their smartphones (personal communication). Thus, at work, the language does not pose a barrier. At the same time, Japanese skills are not fostered at work either. Takenaka (2010: 228) observed in several factories that conversations encompass only basic instructions and greetings and that interaction with other workers is limited due to highly segregated jobs and separately spent breaks.

Often, housing is tied to the factory job, as in many cases the *empreiteira* provides an apartment. As a consequence, when losing their job, Brazilian workers employed through an *empreiteira* often lose their housing as well. When Pedro became a *seishain*, the *empreiteira* allowed him to stay in his apartment (personal communication). Others were not that lucky. Especially during the Great Financial Crisis when many Brazilians lost their job, they lost their housing as well (cf. Matsuoka 2014: 47).

⁶⁵ According to a survey conducted by Hamamatsu city, the percentage of indirect employment had been declining previously from 47% in 2010 to 35% in 2014 (cf. Hamamatsu City 2018b: 9).

⁶⁶ The same is true for Peruvians in Japan. Takenaka (2010: 226) states that "factory jobs in Japan simply paid more than white-collar jobs in Peru".

Companies who employ foreign workers are also mediating institutions that have a responsibility regarding their integration. In its *Tabunka Kyōsei* Report, MIC specifies concrete measures through which enterprises can assume their corporate social responsibility (CSR) (see MIC 2006: 45-46). This CSR concerns both receiving enterprises and recruitment agencies. In practice, only a part of these measures is implemented. Some companies, such as Suzuki, Honda, and Mitsui, frequently donate money to Brazilian schools in Hamamatsu (cf. interview Alcance; Mundo de Alegria [2019]). Moreover, labor legislations are widely respected. Especially the social welfare situation improved, which shows that the host society responded to the settlement process.

Until the end of the 1990s, only in some cities Brazilians could enter the National Health Insurance (*kokumin kenkō hoken*)⁶⁷ (cf. Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi 2005: 254). Many people did not know about that (cf. interview Thamara). The ones who did took strategic choices. When Yumi came to Hamamatsu at the beginning of the 1990s, it was not yet possible for foreign residents to join the health insurance scheme there. Her son was often sick, so she and her husband had high expenses for his medical treatment. The couple searched for a city where health insurance was open to foreigners, and they found a city close to Ōsaka. They moved there, and two years later when they learned that in Hamamatsu health insurance became open for foreign residents, they came back to Hamamatsu (cf. interview Yumi).

Furthermore, only who was *seishain* could enter the *shakai hoken*⁶⁸ (social insurance). Roxana told me that when she and her sister arrived in Japan, they did not enter the insurance, as they did not even know that *kokumin kenkō hoken* and *shakai hoken* existed. Roxana regrets the time she lost without paying into the insurance (cf. interview Roxana). As a result of the Great Financial Crisis in 2008, the government obligated the *empregadoras* to register their workers for the insurance (cf. *ibid.*) and companies also facilitate the admission of foreign workers to *shakai hoken*.

⁶⁷ Like the National Pension (*kokumin nenkin*), the National Health Insurance (*kokumin kenkō hoken*) is operated by local authorities and aims at those who are not eligible to be members of any employment-based scheme. As in the early 1990s, it was possible to take out only *kokumin nenkin*, many Nikkeijin did so, especially as the Japanese social insurance system lacked incentives for them to enroll in the packaged company-based scheme (cf. Komine 2014: 206). However, the *nenkin* (pension) is low (cf. interview clinic).

⁶⁸ The company-based scheme for full-time workers consists of the Welfare Pension (*kōsei nenkin*) to which both the employer and the employee contribute and of the Health Insurance (*kenkō hoken*) (cf. interview clinic; Komine 2014: 205-206).

Nowadays, most Brazilian residents entered the health insurance. According to the “Japanese and Foreign Citizens Social Awareness Survey” (2021), a relative increase of foreign residents who pay into *shakai hoken* to 93.0% and into *nenkin* (employee pension) to 74.6% took place (cf. Hamamatsu City 2023a: 8). The doctor of Yamaguchi International Heart Clinic, a clinic that attends many foreign residents, told me that around 85% of his patients have a health insurance. To the others⁶⁹, he always recommends to get one, unless they plan to return to their home country soon. Above all, health insurance in Japan is not expensive (cf. interview clinic). This shows that regarding social welfare, the structural barrier which is the third wall that hinders integration is diminishing.

Regarding local *tabunka kyōsei* measures, however, not much seems to be done by business actors. Pedro told me that before coming to Japan, their labor broker made them take a Japanese language preparation course. However, the content was not very extensive (personal communication). This shows that *empreiteiras* also play a role as mediating institutions, but failed to use their position to foster integration. As the main institutions which bring Brazilian workers to Japan, they would have had the power to implement extensive preparation courses to contribute to a smooth integration process with the host society. Receiving companies would have the position to contribute to integration processes, both financially and by offering support, such as Japanese language classes at work. However, this is rarely the case. The fact that municipality and civil society assume most of the tasks of private enterprises shows that they are much more important mediating institutions.

5.1.3. Planning a life course in Japan? The decision to stay or to return

Different migration patterns emerged among the Brazilians, moving between Brazil and Japan: some return, some stay, some move back and forth, some frequently move within Japan (see chapter 4.2.3.). Many Brazilians get used to what life in Japan brings about, such as commodities and a certain security of lifestyle as well as access to a good health care system (cf. LeBaron von Baeyer 2020: 197-198). More than half of the Brazilian residents in Japan (114,266) has a permanent-residence

⁶⁹ This includes some who recently changed their job. Only after three months of working in a company it is possible to enter the insurance (cf. interview clinic).

visa (*eijūsha*), more than a third (70,906) holds a long-term residence visa (*teijūsha*), and around a tenth (21,680) is spouse or child of an *eijūsha* or Japanese national (MOJ [2023]). Some even naturalize (cf. LeBaron von Baeyer 2020: 197). Moreover, according to the “Japanese and Foreign Citizens Social Awareness Survey” (2021), home-ownership among foreign residents in Hamamatsu increased from 29.8% in 2018 to 34.4% in 2022 (cf. Hamamatsu City 2023a: 8). However, from these numbers, it is difficult to determine the number of Brazilians who decided to stay in Japan permanently. Although the number of permanent visas issued by the Japanese government rises every year, the reason is not necessarily a plan to settle permanently in Japan. Other reasons to get a permanent visa are avoidance of the renovation process and its costs and having advantages, such as the possibility to obtain high loans for acquiring real estate in Japan (cf. June Advisors Group 2022; Nakagawa 2018b: 32).

Future plans as well as integration efforts depend much on the decision to stay in Japan or to return to Brazil. However, only few Brazilians plan a long-term stay from the beginning and as a result build their basis in the regional community by buying a house and turning to the host society (cf. Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi 2005: 279). In many cases, this decision is not made or prolonged. Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi (2005) argue that the Brazilians who stay without having plans of long-term settlement become carriers (*ninaite*) of the invisible permanent settlement process (*kao no mienai teijūka*). Some had vague reasons to come to Japan and were undecided about the duration of their stay from the beginning. Others planned to come to Japan to save money and then return after one to five years, but ended up staying (cf. *ibid.*: 279). Observing Portuguese migration, Brettell (2003) found out about the ideological importance of the maintenance of an intention to return while at the same time actual return is postponed. Keeping this mindset allows migrants to keep their options open and helps them dealing with the economically insecure environment in a foreign country (cf. Brettell 2003: 71). This section sheds light on the factors that play a role for making a decision, the decision-making situation among the Brazilians in Hamamatsu nowadays, and the consequences of not making this decision for planning their life course and pursuing their integration.

Factors

Various factors determine immigrants' migratory trajectories. For making a decision, the conditions in both countries are taken into consideration. The **economic opportunity structure** (both actual and perceived) is the most existential condition. This includes career options, saving for retirement, and having property (LeBaron von Baeyer 2020: 196, 198-199). Reasons for prolonging their stay in Japan are difficulty to save money during the recession and with Japan's high living costs as well as the continuing economic uncertainty in Brazil (cf. Tsuda 2009: 221). Furthermore, for some woman, the option of being financially dependent and / or taking care of family in Brazil is contrasted with financial self-reliance and social freedom in Japan (cf. LeBaron von Baeyer 2020: 201).

Another factor is the **progress of the integration process**, including cultural adaptation and a sense of belonging, identity, and membership. While many Brazilians become more involved in the host society, for example by sending their children to Japanese school (cf. Tsuda 2009: 221), at the same time, they continue enacting their Brazilian identity and remain tied to Brazil, using it as a capital (cf. LeBaron von Baeyer 2020: 198). Emotions, such as marginalization, nostalgia, and *saudade*, are mixed in the mobility decision (cf. Brettell 2003: 61, 72; Liu-Farrer 2020: 205). Although a Japanese national identity seems impossible to establish for immigrants, a sense of belonging toward Japanese society is possible, rooted in their everyday life and work routines, their material environment, comforts, commodities, and property, their achievements such as educational credentials and gaining cultural understanding and language competencies, their social relationships and religious spaces, and their membership through making contributions, such as paying taxes (cf. LeBaron von Baeyer 2020: 200; Liu-Farrer 2020: 206-207). It is important to note that most immigrants feel less attached to the nation itself, but more to communities, localities, and institutions (cf. Liu-Farrer 2020: 206). An important part of this factor is social embeddedness, that is social relationships and the emotional fulfillment they create. Relatives living in Brazil are a reason to return, while big Brazilian communities and relatives who moved to Japan are a reason to stay (cf. LeBaron von Baeyer 2020: 198-199; Tsuda 2009: 221). Mobility decisions are often tied to return plans of family members, religious reasons (LeBaron von Baeyer 2020: 197, 199), or transnational ties (cf. Carling and Bivand Erdal 2014: 4).

Japan's **legal and institutional immigration control framework** is also a relevant factor for the decision (cf. Liu-Farrer 2020: 204). The immigration law ensures that the door for the Nikkeijin and their spouses to come to Japan stays open. As a result, they do not feel the necessity to decide on where to live, as they can come and go anytime. The fact that their visa status enables the Brazilians to live a transnational lifestyle hinders the process of permanent settlement (cf. Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi 2005: 280-281, 283), opens opportunities for post-return transnationalism, and serves as a safety net in the case of unsuccessful return (cf. Carling and Bivand Erdal 2014: 4). LeBaron von Baeyer (2020: 207) states that "transnational migrants and their families rarely conceived of themselves as having arrived at a final destination".

The aspect of **temporal dimensions** also plays a big role for the decision on settlement or return. Erdal and Ezzati (2015) identified length of stay in the country of settlement, age at the time of migration, and life-cycle stage as relevant factors for the migrants' considerations. With the time passing, people change and so are their forms of transnational engagement (cf. Carling and Bivand Erdal 2014: 9). Depending on the stage in their life course, "Japan can be attractive and repulsive" (Liu-Farrer 2020: 204). Any life-course event can cause change in the immigrants' mobility plan (cf. *ibid.*: 205), such as children entering school or retirement. However, after having lived in Japan for several years their focus shifts from their home country to Japan (cf. Liu-Farrer 2020: 204), or as Roth (2002: 16) found out, from saving money to consume.

They start aiming at living a more fulfilling life in Japan, which further increases their cost of living (cf. Tsuda 2009:221). Thus, besides economic, political, and social considerations, being able to lead a lifestyle that would not be affordable in the other country is a significant factor (cf. Bolognani 2014: 32-33, 37-38). In Japan, Brazilian residents often can afford a lifestyle they could not afford in Brazil (cf. LeBaron von Baeyer 2020: 53, 197), which is an important reason for many Brazilians to stay in Japan. The unstable political and economic situation in Brazil is in stark contrast to the safety and employment opportunities in Japan. Many Brazilians got accustomed to the life in Japan (cf. interview Alcance) and some cannot imagine living in Brazil anymore, such as the director of the Brazilian nursery school Lápiz de Cor who was assaulted several times in Brazil and appreciates the safety in Japan: "Here, I can let

my children play on the street, you know, riding the bicycle, play with the skateboard, there on the street. In Brazil, that's not possible" (cf. interview Lapis de Cor). She is happy that she does not need to be afraid something could happen to their children when they play on the street. Yara also told me: "I think that the violence makes us stay here. Because security, the insecurity in Brazil is very, very, very big. Very big. So, we are staying here" (interview Yara). Moreover, due to their better economic situation in Japan, many parents can offer their children much more in terms of education than they could in Brazil (cf. *ibid.*). Yumi can afford three private classes for her youngest son, which would be impossible for her in Brazil: Japanese, English, and keyboard lessons (interview Yumi). The director of Lapis de Cor, mother of two children, told me that in Brazil, she could not pay the school expenses and let her children frequent English classes, but in Japan, she can because her income is high enough (cf. interview Lapis de Cor).

This compilation of factors shows that, as Tsuda (1999a) already found out, the Brazilian residents' "structural embeddedness" makes them reluctant to return to Brazil and ensures that they even persist if the economic incentives to do so weaken. Besides the economical embeddedness, which arose due to a structural demand for immigrant workers in Japan, their embeddedness also results from sociocultural factors, such as cultural attitudes which developed among migrants as well as chain migration of family members (cf. Tsuda 1999a: 692). In other words, the ones who decided to stay did so despite all the adversities they encountered, such as discrimination, communication problems, and different customs, because in Japan they can offer better life conditions for their family (cf. Nakagawa 2018b: 31).

Decision-making situation

Their situation of Brazilians in Japan resembles the one of Brazilians in other parts of the world, such as in the United States, Canada, Great Britain, and Ireland. They planned to stay for a few years and return after accumulating their desired funds, but signs of permanent settlement can be observed (cf. Evans *et al.* 2011: 238, 240, 245-246; Goza 1994: 149; Margolis 2013: 111-112). The ones intending to stay indicated as reasons Brazil's unstable situation, better life chances in North America, and that they had adjusted in the host society and would fail to readjust in Brazil (cf. Goza

1994: 149). According to Liu-Farrer (2020: 9), “Immigrants tend to profess no prior intention to settle and usually hold a one-step-at-a-time approach”. Indeed, most of the Brazilian residents in Hamamatsu with whom I talked about this topic are undecided. Many do not give up their plans to return to Brazil one day. They told me that they plan to return to Brazil “one day” or “soon”. Even after decades of staying in Japan and obtaining a permanent residency visa, many Brazilians say they will return ‘soon’ (cf. Ikeuchi 2017b: 767). Takenaka (2010: 227) observed the same tendency among Peruvian immigrants in Japan and concludes that the ‘dekassegui mentality’ remained strong among them. Many plan to return to Brazil when they retire, such as Mikako (cf. interview Mikako). However, until this is the case, their children are already adults (cf. LeBaron von Baeyer 2020: 198) and, as Pedro argued, the Brazilian city he lived in would not be the same anymore (personal communication). Mikako explains how this state of undecidedness feels:

It’s a dilemma I have since arriving here. Maybe it’s not only mine, but when we ask the other Brazilians, they also say: ‘Ah, for now, I will stay here, but in the future, I will go away’. But this ‘in the future’ stays. And me, today, I don’t know. Frankly speaking, I don’t know until when I want to stay, but for now, I want to stay. As long as I have work, I would like to stay here, I think. But on the other side, there is this longing for the family which stayed there. I see that this is a time that doesn’t come back. This conviviality that I’ve lost does not exist anymore, will not come back. So, sometimes this makes me a little sad. Then, I think: Is it time to go away? But on the other side, there, things are difficult, and in my age, arriving there and starting from zero is even more difficult. So, thinking, weighing it up, for now, I think it’s better to stay a bit more here in Japan.

Many Brazilians in Japan lament to have left their relatives in Brazil and that the time that passes cannot be brought back. In the end, however, they keep staying in Japan. They changed their return plans from returning within two years to staying ‘as long as there is work’ or ‘as long as it works’ (cf. Nakagawa 2018b: 31). Some, such as Yara, still hope for improvement of the economic situation in Brazil so that they can return to Brazil (cf. interview Yara). Objectively, however, they take the path to permanent settlement (*teijūka*) and practically became “quasi” residents in Japan (cf. Nakagawa 2018b: 28; Onai 2001: 355).

Some return to Brazil, but do not manage to economically reestablish themselves and as a result start a circular migration pattern (cf. Tsuda 2009: 221). Yara thinks that it is the economic instability in Brazil which makes many Brazilians return to

Japan (cf. interview Yara). Others come back to Japan, because they did not manage to get used to the life in Brazil anymore, such as Yumi's husband who got used to the stable lifestyle and to the work life in Japan (cf. interview Yumi). Pedro and his family once went back to Brazil, planning to stay there, as well. However, as he was assaulted several times, he took his family back to Japan, because he did not want to raise his daughter in such an environment (personal communication). They are not the only ones who became circular migrants. The secretary of the Brazilian school Alcance observed that many Brazilians that had lived in Japan before are coming back nowadays (cf. interview Alcance). With the second migration to the destination country, transnational practices change from 'target-earner transnationalism' to 'residual transnationalism'.⁷⁰ This phenomenon can be observed among the Brazilians who stayed in Japan as well. Due to the time passing, they increasingly focus on their life in Japan, on consume, on acquiring property in Japan, and on sending their children to Japanese schools, while still maintaining ties to Brazil.

A way to cope with the unmade decision of return are regular return visits, either as vacation, such as Thamara who travels to Brazil once a year to not lose her identity (cf. interview Thamara), or because of obligations, such as a representative of ABRAH (*Associação Brasileira de Hamamatsu; Hamamatsu burajiru kyōkai*; Hamamatsu Brazilians Association), an association which provides legal consultation and connects Brazilian authorities and companies with the Japanese prefectural and municipal governments. He travels to Brazil four or five times a year due to his work (cf. interview ABRAH). These visits create the feeling of a transnational lifestyle. For the next generation, mobility among the two countries is often considered when it comes to higher education and for some, even a third country becomes a reasonable option for studies (see chapter 7.1.3. Pursuing higher education). For the immigrants' generation, mobility among more than two counties is rare. Among my interlocutors, Aaron was the only one who considered living in a third country as option, namely Israel, which is related to his roots (cf. interview Aaron).

⁷⁰ For a classification of types of transnationalism, see: Carling and Bivand Erdal (2014: 5-9).

Consequences of the unmade decision

Consequence of the unmade decision is a stagnation of life. Thinking of returning to their home country soon, many Brazilians worked as much as they could and suspended their life in Japan, waiting for something that might never happen, such as a future middle-class life in Brazil. Instead, they kept staying in Japan and, not noticing that their life happens in the present, did not engage in Japanese language and culture. This “illusion of return” shows that for them, return is not a realistic action anymore, but a faraway plan, a fantasy that exerts power in their minds (cf. Ikeuchi 2017b: 766-768, 770). An exception was the Great Financial Crisis in 2008, during which many Brazilians in Japan lost their jobs and around half of the Brazilians in Hamamatsu went back to Brazil (cf. interview IIEC). Irrespective of the actual return, their return intention affects their integration processes and investments in the host society as well as their transnational practices (cf. Carling and Pettersen 2014: 14-15). A non-terminated longer-term stay is the precondition for investments in education and interethnic contacts and thus for lasting social integration in the host society (cf. Esser 2001: 26-27).

Mikako and Yumi, for example, bought a house in Brazil, but kept on staying in Japan, at least for now. Yara is also still undecided if or when she and her family are going back to Brazil. Anyway, they are already preparing a possible future in Brazil by constructing a house: “So, if we then decide [to go back] we already have a place to stay, a reason, work. But for now, we will stay here” (interview Yara). Pedro bought several apartments and houses in Brazil, some of them together with a Brazilian friend who also lives in Japan, splitting the costs and gains. As he stayed in Japan, he rented them out. All the time in Japan, he and his family lived in a small rented apartment. Only now, after living in Japan for almost two decades at a stretch, he started to consider buying a house in Japan. He told me: “In retrospect, it would have been smarter to buy something here instead of buying houses in Brazil without ever living in any of them” (personal communication).

Other aspects that stagnate with the decision unmade are preparations for retirement and contribution to the social welfare system (see chapter 7.3.2.). Some foreign residents did not want to enter the health insurance to save money. As they thought they would only stay short-time in Japan anyway (cf. interview Catholic Church) and institutions like the rotary club, in collaboration with the Yamaguchi International

Heart Clinic, offered free health checks (cf. interview Akiko), no incentive for them to join a health scheme existed. Another factor to consider is the immigrants' children's prospects. While adult immigrants can make their own decisions about their country of residence and their integration efforts, their children are to some extent dependent on the decisions of their parents.

It seems like many Brazilian residents in Hamamatsu start to settle permanently in Japan. An increasing number sends their children to a Japanese school or acquires real estate. Some Brazilians summoned elderly family members to Japan for them to help caring for the children while the parents were working (cf. Nakagawa 2018b: 31). This indicates that the number of Brazilians moving within Japan decreased, compared to the time of Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi (2005). Indeed, during my fieldwork I rarely encountered Brazilians who moved to another city to find a better paid job. Instead of changing their location, many changed the *empreiteira*. In short, for many migrants, the temporary stay eventually becomes permanent. For some, the temporary as such becomes a permanent status (cf. Baas 2018: 52, 60).

5.1.4. Culture and sports as a means of integration?

Increasingly, Brazilians settle permanently in Japan, at least for the time being. Instead of doing many extra hours, they create more leisure time and start spending more money (cf. Roth 2002: 16). As a result, they start focusing more on free time activities. These serve not only for relaxation, but also for self-realization and restoration of self-esteem, and are often spent with other Brazilians (cf. Ishi 2003: 93). Besides social gatherings, such as *churrasco* parties, cultural and sports activities gain importance.

Japanese culture and sports events are rarely attended by Brazilians. The biggest cultural event in Hamamatsu is the annual *Hamamatsu matsuri* (festival) which takes place during Golden Week at the beginning of May. Every city ward prepares for the kite competition at the beach, processions of wooden floats in the neighborhoods and in the city center, and for parties in front of the houses of firstborn sons at night. As the festival symbolizes local cultural tradition, foreigners mainly serve as spectators. Thus, the festival is not officially seen as a place of integration (cf. Roth 2002: 118).

Still, it can also serve as an opportunity of interaction. Roth (2002: 133-134) observed Brazilians participating, when a Japanese who was interested in *samba* invited a *samba* band for the party of his firstborn son. Within the framework of the festival, Brazilian cultural elements were syncretized with Japanese ones.

However, among my Brazilian interviewees, Amanda and Rafaela were the only ones who stated to regularly participate in events of their city wards, and only Caroline and Thamara showed interest in Japanese culture (cf. interviews Amanda, Caroline, Rafaela, Thamara; see chapters 5.2.1. and 5.2.3). Rafaela was the only Brazilian resident I met who participates in the *Hamamatsu matsuri* and its preparations. She told me that although many people come to see the *matsuri*, almost no Brazilians participate in the activities of their city ward. In her opinion, the main reason is that all organizational information is only communicated in Japanese. In a city ward with many foreign participants, they help each other out and explain things in their languages. In her city ward, however, Rafaela is the only foreign adult who participates (cf. interview Rafaela). When I asked other Brazilian acquaintances, many told me that they never went to the *matsuri*, not even as an observer. Some did not even know about the existence of the *matsuri*. This shows the low interest in interaction and in Japanese culture as well as their desire to relax on their holidays.

Preserving Brazilian culture

For the Brazilian residents, Brazilian culture and sports events play a much more important role than Japanese ones. Cultural events are an important aspect for preserving one's identity and passing on one's culture to the next generation. It also gives people from other cultural backgrounds the opportunity to participate and learn something about Brazilian culture. In this way, it can show some characteristics or aspects of Brazilian culture to the host society, the same way as the *Hamamatsu matsuri* shows local Japanese traditions to foreign spectators.

The most famous Brazilian cultural events in Japan are *samba* or carnival parades, taking place in cities such as Ōizumi, Kōbe, and Asakusa (Tōkyō) (see Roth 2002: 138; Tsuda 2003: 283-289). Hamamatsu also has an annual Samba Cup. Other

Brazilian events include *Festa Junina*⁷¹, for example organized by Brazilian (nursery) schools and the Catholic Church (see chapter 6.3.2.), and big Brazilian festivities organized by Brazilians for their community, such as *Brasil Day Hamamatsu*, a Brazilian Christmas party, or the annual *Festa do Brasil Nagoya*. At the *Festa do Brasil Nagoya* in May 2018, a Brazilian singer who often performs at Brazilian community events even wore a *kimono*. In this way, Brazilian and Japanese cultural symbols creolized. This might be interpreted as a display of one's roots, a sign that the process of adaptation is progressing, or a desire to belong to the host country.

Rather than for integration or increasing mutual understanding, these events serve as social networking opportunity and identity marker. LeBaron von Baeyer (2020: 169) argues that events like *Festa Junina*, *samba* parades, and capoeira demonstrations are “opportunities for social communion and the public performance of Brazilian-ness in Japan”. Many stalls, aiming at Brazilians in Japan, sell Brazilian food and drinks or inform about different services, such as *empreiteiras* or companies organizing movings to Brazil. On the stage, Brazilian music and dance performances are presented. Tsuda (2003: 283), observing the *samba* parade in Ōizumi, noticed that most Nikkeijin had not much cultural knowledge about *samba*. He assumes that they were not interested in this national Brazilian ritual when still living in Brazil. By enacting it in Japan, *samba* became a form of ethnic resistance. At the same time, other motivations exist, such as alleviating the longing for Brazil and entertainment. For the big number of Japanese spectators, the *samba* parade is a form of display of cultural differences.

Except the *samba* parades, participation of Japanese people in these events and festivities is low. That is why compared to Brazilian events, intercultural events with Brazilian participation might even play a bigger role for interaction and fostering mutual understanding, as people from various cultures come together. In Hamamatsu, the biggest intercultural event is the annual *Global Fair* (see chapter 5.2.2.). On smaller occasions, signs of culture mixing can also be observed. In August 2018, IIEC organized “Expoart”, one of the events commemorating 110 years of Japanese immigration to Brazil. For one day, Brazilian and Japanese handicraft was exhibited,

⁷¹ This festivity originates in Portugal and is celebrated in June for the Catholic solemnities of Saint Anthony, Saint John the Baptist, and Saint Peter. Attractions are stalls with typical food, decoration with flags, bonfires, as well as typical dances like Quadrilha and Forró. People paint freckles on their faces and dress in country-style fashion, such as checkered clothes and straw hats (cf. The Culture Trip 2023; Kerdna n.d.; LeBaron von Baeyer 2020: 169).

including a photo exposition about *dekassegui*, traditional food from northeastern Brazil, jewelry, decoration, textiles, pottery, tea ceremony, and calligraphy (cf. interview IIEC). Another occasion are city ward festivities organized by neighborhood associations. The Brazilian consul general thinks that participation numbers of foreign residents at city ward festivities are rising. He told me of a festivity where Japanese schools with significant numbers of Brazilian students were invited to present music and dance of their culture. He interprets this as a sign of acceptance and opening (cf. interview Consulate General). However, both examples do not transcend a 3F-understanding of integration.

Besides events, some institutions like associations aim at cultural exchange between Brazilian and Japanese residents through their activities. Aliança de Intercâmbio Brasil Japão (Nippaku Kōryū Kōkai, Brazil Japan Exchange Alliance), an association which was established in 2009, aims at deepening the ties and friendship between Japanese and Brazilian people through activities of sports, culture, and education. Participants are not only Brazilian and Japanese people, but also people from various nationalities (cf. Aliança de Intercâmbio Brasil Japão 2023; interview Aliança de Intercâmbio Brasil Japão). HICE's activities in this field, however, are few. Its courses and seminars are mainly frequented by Japanese people, also due to the language barrier (see chapters 5.2.1. and 5.2.2.).

Another project which promoted a Brazilian identity in Japan and provided a space of encounter of different nationalities was the Brazilian Culture Center in Hamamatsu, examined by Roth (2002: 92-117). It was founded by a Brazilian and involved language, dance, and music classes, *oshibana* (pressed flowers) classes, and a small library project (cf. *ibid.*: 93, 98-99, 103-105, 113). Although it had to close after two or three years for financial reasons (cf. *ibid.*:113-115), it had been a symbol for the Brazilians' growing urge to express their Brazilianness in Japan (cf. *ibid.*: 94). Roth also states that the "center exemplified the emergence among Brazilians of a long-term orientation toward life in Japan that defied the model of assimilation" (*ibid.* 99). In other words, instead of returning or assimilating, this initiative expressed a third option for Brazilians in Japan: staying as a distinctive new minority.

My fieldwork data shows that this urge to preserve the own identity and to create a space of belonging and encounter still exists. My Brazilian Forró dance teacher in Hamamatsu thought about buying a hall for his dance school. Now, they use a room

in a Brazilian nursery school for dance classes. This is not a suitable place, because it is not equipped for proper dance lessons. Moreover, neighbors are complaining about the noise. He imagined a place where he could not only teach dance classes, but also organize dance parties at night or sublet the hall to other foreigners organizing events or classes. This could have become a new foreign culture center. In the end, however, he refrained from the idea for financial reasons (personal communication). Thamara, who is an artist and dance teacher, had the idea of opening an art school for foreign residents. Organized by a group of Japanese and foreign people, she wanted the school to offer classes in singing, dancing, instruments, and other subjects related to arts. One reason is that she thinks that children, Japanese and foreign, are losing their cultures. She talked to the mayor about her idea. However, they could not agree on a place to realize her vision (cf. interview Thamara). Although both projects were not realized, they show the ongoing ambitions to create a manifestation of Brazilian culture as a place of belonging and cultivating traditions. Especially Thamara's idea would have provided a space for integration as well, as different cultures were targeted. The children would have learned not only about their own roots, but also about other cultures, including the Japanese one which is a shared cultural heritage of Japanese and Nikkeijin.

Practicing Brazilian sports

Few areas in life are more powerful than sport in building community and helping newcomers feel at home. Participating enthusiastically in a local sport, supporting a team, playing for a team; these are all tried and tested paths to integrating in a new community.

(EPIC 2019)

This quote, written on the introduction board of the exhibition room on sports of Irish migrants abroad in The Irish Emigration Museum (EPIC) in Dublin, shows that sport is a very important means of integration. It has a potential of integration and social cohesion: Through sports, people of different social and cultural backgrounds meet, understanding and belonging are fostered, prejudices are diminished, a local support network for migrants is built, and values are conveyed, such as respect, tolerance, acceptance of rules, fairness, and team spirit (cf. BMI 2023; UNHCR 2023). As Agergaard (2018: 84) points out, the assumption that participation in sports clubs will lead to social capital while ethnic minority clubs solely enhance in-group social

bonding is widespread among politicians and actors in the field of sports-related integration programs in many countries. Instead of promoting social dialogue, in various European nation states “sports-related integration tends to be understood as one-way adaptation into specific nation states” (Agergaard 2018: 44) and therefore, policies aim at “increasing migrants’ and descendants’ participation in sports in order for them to acquire so-called crucial norms and values” (ibid.).

Indeed, in ethnic mixed sports clubs, direct interaction of foreign and native people takes place and foreign members can observe lifestyle, culture, and habits of the natives (cf. Agergaard 2018: 79). Sports clubs and similar institutions play a mediating role by providing a space of encounter. However, interaction can only happen when people from different nationalities actively seek taking part in such activities. One of my Brazilian interviewees told me that he seeks practicing basketball and volleyball with Japanese people. He stated that the sports, like every kind of hobby or common interest, helps to approach each other and to interact (cf. interview Vitor). It can also help creating interest in the other. One example is a soccer team of a Japanese school in Hamamatsu. The director of IIEC teaches Portuguese to them, because they plan to go to Brazil for an exchange and want to learn the basics to survive in Brazil (cf. interview IIEC). This shows that through the hobby of playing soccer, interest in Brazil arose: in doing an exchange, but also in preparing the trip by studying basics of the language. The knowledge on country and culture they will acquire through their trip can be helpful for them in Hamamatsu as well.

However, it is not only the host society’s sports clubs which serve as mediating institutions. Agergaard argues that while in ethnic mixed sports clubs, ethnic divisions within exist (cf. ibid.: 79), in minority sports clubs, support networks develop and people from various ethnic backgrounds connect (cf. ibid.: 79-80). Haß and Schütze (2019: 318) show how migrant amateur soccer teams can reshape the migrants’ sense of belonging to their home country and at the same time foster their integration into the host society. Soccer serves as a space of interaction and socializing, enacting community and belonging, and everyday life support for team members and their families and friends. By including family and friends and by relating to other sociocultural or religious institutions, sporting events expand to a broader space of social interaction (cf. ibid.: 319, 322, 327, 329-331).

The Brazilian residents in Hamamatsu engage in various sports activities. Examples are (Brazilian and Japanese) martial arts, such as Capoeira, JiuJitsu, and Karate, dances, and soccer, actively or in front of the TV. According to Agergaard (2018: 54), sports consumption, such as sports spectatorship, helps migrants and descendants to relate their transnational identity to their life in the host society. In Hamamatsu, I witnessed some discussions among Brazilians about soccer, all only about Brazilian teams. This indicates that being fan of a Brazilian team is a way for them to maintain ties to the homeland. When pursued actively, soccer becomes a means to gather, to preserve the home culture, and – in a limited way – to get in touch with the host population, as can be observed at the Futsal club called “Brazil Futsal Center” in Ōizumi (cf. Ueta and Matsumura 2013: 453, 455-457). In Hamamatsu, Futsal events are organized by the Aliança de Intercâmbio Brasil Japão.

Martial arts schools serve as mediating institutions, because they do not only teach how to fight, but also help with difficulties in daily life by developing mental strengths. Diego, a Brazilian who teaches JiuJitsu in a Brazilian gym in the northern city center of Hamamatsu, states that training JiuJitsu develops physical but also mental strength, taking away stress and loneliness (cf. interview Diego). A Karate and Kick Boxing teacher in a *dōjō* (hall used for martial arts training) which is situated close to Takaoka ward told me that besides improving Karate skills, the doctrine of *budō* (martial arts) creates a fighting spirit that does not give up when experiencing difficulties in life (cf. interview Aliança de Intercâmbio Brasil Japão). Martial arts also pass on values which are important to many Japanese people such as discipline, respect, and determination (cf. Kodama Dojo n.d.). Thus, understanding for the Japanese culture and society is fostered, which is useful for integration. The trainings are also a place of encounter of Japanese and foreign residents, where mutual understanding and respect is created and where friendships are built based on similar interests (cf. interview Diego). Furthermore, martial arts can also help to find and preserve one’s identity as Nikkei and to learn to be proud of one’s cultural heritage. A Japanese representative of the Japanese civil society organization FRECTiVE told me that he frequented a Jūdō club with almost only Brazilian Nikkei members and instructions in Portuguese. He had the impression that the children practicing Jūdō in this group treasured their identity and he hoped that this would help them not to hide their Brazilian cultural heritage at school (cf. interview FRECTiVE).

Folkloristic dances in diaspora communities serve to consolidate a positive cultural identity of the migrants and their descendants and at the same time affirm their differences with the native population. It also counteracts their low status and newly adopted identity as migrants, serves as a social network for newly arrived migrants, and helps the second generation identifying with their heritage culture. Dances can also foster intercultural contact. Often, the dance as a (diasporic) cultural manifestation is the first contact of its spectators with a country and plays a role in constructing and adjusting images of the Other (cf. Sigl 2011: 189-190, 195, 202-203, 208). Thamara observed that participants in her Salsa classes are mainly Japanese people or sometimes foreign students other than Brazilians. Brazilian students are very few, sometimes even none (cf. interview Thamara). The Brazilian consul general in Hamamatsu also observed a high participation rate of Japanese people in Brazilian dances. He told me of a *samba* school in Hamamatsu which, although being a typical expression of Brazilian culture, consists of 80% Japanese members (cf. interview Consulate General). Although not much interaction between Brazilian and Japanese residents takes place, the latter get in touch with Brazilian culture and the Brazilian teacher and in this way, their understanding of and knowledge about Brazilian culture is fostered. One dance school in Hamamatsu, however, plays a role for the Brazilian residents, as participants are mainly Brazilians. I joined the dance school Brasil A2 and attended classes for about 9 months. The following subchapter introduces the school and its role as an institution of the Brazilian community that is mediating among members of the Brazilian community as well as between Japanese, Brazilian, and other Latin American residents.

The Brazilian dance school Brasil A2

During my internship, HICE's responsible for the Brazilian community invited me to join her for an exam day of the Brazilian Forró⁷² dance school Brasil A2 which takes place twice a year and is celebrated like a graduation ceremony. They rented a room in a *kōminkan* (Japanese public community center; today also called *kyōdō sentā*) and invited sponsors as well as family and friends of the students. When we entered

⁷² Forró music and the dance style of the same name originated in the 19th century in the northeast of Brazil as a couple dance for all social classes and soon spread all over the country. The music consists of various rhythms and has different paces and various styles (cf. Aidar n.d.; Kerdna n.d.).

the room, we were asked to take off our shoes. The organizers were keen to comply with the rules of the facility in order to not be denied rental of the place next time. We were welcomed by joyful Forró music and watched the around ten dance couples on the dance floor, swirling around with a joyful ease. Although most were Brazilians, from the appearance, one could not tell who was Nikkei and who was Japanese. They wore their Brasil A2 T-shirt and the women a short Forró skirt. Family, friends, and other dance students were sitting around the dance floor, chatting or eating snacks and drinking. The employee of HICE presented me to the Brazilian couple and their daughter who lead the Forró school. Between the free dancing time, dance exams of the students who wanted to advance to the next level took place. Other Brazilian or Latin American dance groups had also been invited to the event to perform their dances. In the end, certificates were solemnly handed over to the students who passed the exam.

Compared to other Latin American dances like Samba, Salsa, and Zouk, Forró is not widespread in Japan yet. Brasil A2 is the first Forró dance school in Japan. It was founded in Hamamatsu in 2003 and in the meantime opened branches in Ōizumi and Tōkyō. In 2015, a second Forró dance school, Nosso Forró, emerged out of the first one and is situated in Nagoya. Brasil A2 does not have their own facility, but uses the big rooms and the kitchen of the Brazilian nursery school Lápis de Cor outside its opening hours. Dance classes divided in three levels take place on Sunday afternoons. On Friday evenings, a training for all levels takes place.

Most of the students in the Hamamatsu branch are Brazilians. However, three or four students come from other Latin American countries, such as Argentina, Mexico, and Puerto Rico. Only few students are Japanese. At the time I was taking classes, three Japanese female students regularly attended classes in Hamamatsu and one joined sometimes.⁷³ One of them is Shiori. When she first was invited to a Forró party by a Brazilian friend, she enjoyed it and decided to take classes as she liked to dance in general and had already tried several dances. In total, she took dance lessons for about two and a half years. She speaks a bit of Portuguese (cf. interview Shiori).

On the weekends, Forró and other dance parties are organized frequently. In Hamamatsu, they usually are organized by Brasil A2 and take place once a month at

⁷³ In the Ōizumi branch of the dance school, the composition of the students in terms of nationality is similar to the one in Hamamatsu. In Tōkyō, however, all students are Japanese.

Merry You, a Latin American night club in the city center. Other locations are situated in the neighboring Aichi prefecture. These parties are frequented by the Brazilians living in and around Hamamatsu as well as the ones living in Aichi. Furthermore, several times a year Brasil A2 presents the dance at Japanese as well as Brazilian events, including the *Global Fair* at HICE, the open day of Shizuoka University of Arts and Culture (SUAC), the *Festa do Brasil Nagoya*, and the *Festa Junina* of the Catholic Church. Starting in 2017, the dance school Brasil A2 organizes a Forró festival in Hamamatsu once a year during Golden Week, at the beginning of May. Although most of the participants are students and alumni from one of the two Forró dance schools in Japan, people who are new to Forró as well as Forró dancers from outside Japan also participate in the festival. In 2018, I took part in the *2nd Brasil A2 Forró Festival*. More than 100 people of 13 nationalities gathered to take dance lessons and dance Forró for four days. Besides these official events, there are also many unofficial social gatherings of the dance school which take also place at Lápis de Cor, like farewell parties of teachers and students who go back to Brazil, birthday parties, Christmas parties with secret Santa, and Potluck parties. On summer weekends, they often organize get-togethers for a *churrasco* at the beach or riverside.

The main goal of the dance school is to disseminate the Brazilian culture. For the dance teachers, who all work in factories during the week, making money is not important. On the contrary, earnings cover, if at all, just the expenses. As a dance teacher told me, they do everything they do just for the love of Forró. Some Brazilians in Hamamatsu criticize the dance school because what they teach is not “real” Forró (personal communication with Amanda and director of IIEC). Still, the dance school displays Forró as a part of Brazilian culture to Japanese residents by performing the dance at events and by holding the exam as an event open to family, friends, and sponsors. Especially during presentations at Japanese events, Japanese people get an impression of what Forró is and can feel this cheerful part of Brazilian culture. Still, this is not sufficient to understand the culture, and the impression is only elusive, without any lasting effect. In other words, this as well is an activity which stops at 3F.

For the dancers, Forró alleviates feelings of depression and loneliness. Many Brazilians only got to know this part of their cultural heritage in Japan. Their main reason to start dancing was not to preserve their cultural identity, but to socialize and to fight loneliness. In Shiori’s view, the Brazilian culture values the sense of

community, and therefore dance classes do not only have the objective to learn how to dance. People from other cultures who want to join need to like this way of community building (cf. interview Shiori). Indeed, Forró helps to create a network among the Brazilians that they can rely on when they need support in everyday matters. Moreover, contacts at business level arise: Brazilians who have a business, even if they do not take classes themselves but are friends with a member of the dance school, sometimes come to class to sell their goods, such as sweets and snacks. Other business partners of the dance school are Merry You and the company of the Brazilian soft drink Guaraná – Água na Boca. One of the sponsors is the *empreiteira* of one of the dance teachers. The owner of the Brazilian nursery school where classes take place rents the biggest room also out to other groups in the evenings.

Opportunities of interaction at dance class are few, as the number of Japanese students is small. This can partly be explained by the fact that Portuguese is the language of instruction and communication of organizational information, as most of the dance teachers do not speak much Japanese. Two of the Japanese students understand a little Portuguese and support the other two who do not understand any Portuguese. A Brazilian bilingual student also supports them by interpreting and explaining things. I observed that most Brazilian students wanted to help, but could not due to lacking Japanese language skills. In Shiori's opinion, however, many Brazilian dance students have a fairly good command of the Japanese language, but do not intend to speak Japanese. She thinks that "it's because it's inside the Brazilians' culture. [...] We, the Japanese, have to intend to adapt to the Brazilians' culture, study Portuguese, and try to understand the Brazilian culture; we approach" (interview Shiori). Shiori thinks that who enters the Brazilian culture needs to adapt to it in order to become part of the group (cf. *ibid.*). At the dance festival, as well, many people from around the world gather, creating an intercultural mix, but interaction barely takes place. Brazilians mostly stay among themselves, and so do foreign participants. An important factor is again the language barrier, as many Brazilians in Japan do barely speak English. This restricts communication with foreign participants who do not speak Portuguese.

It seems that it is not only the language barrier that hinders interaction, but that both sides do not show much interest or feel a certain timidity toward each other. They

dance with each other, but beyond that they do not mingle much. I never saw any of the Japanese students join the Brazilians when they had a spontaneous dinner at the family restaurant *Saizeriya* after class. On the contrary, sometimes the Japanese students went to eat together at a different restaurant, such as an *izakaya* (Japanese bar which also serves snacks). One of the Japanese dance students told me that she prefers an *izakaya*, because the food is better. Still, *churrasco* parties at the beach or riverside were rarely attended by the Japanese students either.

On the initiative of one of the Japanese dance students who works for a facility for the handicapped, they visited the facility and danced together with the handicapped by involving them in their movements. From what the dance teacher told me and from the photos I saw, it seems that everybody enjoyed this time and had a lot of fun. Dance can indeed transmit joy and positive energy. Integration, however, needs more than that. Otherwise, it stops at 3F. Although the dance teacher stated that he wants to increase the number of Japanese students (personal communication), he does not do anything to reach this aim: neither is he studying Japanese, nor is he distributing information on- or offline to advertise dance lessons. Only big events are advertised on *facebook*.

However, in one aspect, integration is taking place. Setting up a minority sports club and practicing the sports in facilities of the host society involves getting in touch with host society institutions and their regulations (cf. Agergaard 2018: 80-81, 105, 108). This is the case for the Forró dance school as well: For graduation ceremonies, festivals, workshops, and dance parties, Japanese facilities are rented, such as a *kōminkan*, a club, or a hotel. Learning about the rules of the locality and complying to them is a precondition for repeated use.

The example of the Forró dance school Brasil A2 shows that Forró plays an important role for the Brazilians. Like Tsuda (2003: 283) observed that Brazilians started dancing *samba* in Japan without having had interest in it while still in Brazil, the same applies to Forró. However, for them, Forró does not serve as a form of ethnic resistance or a means of consolidating their identity and preserving their heritage culture. Instead, Forró helps creating a network and fighting depression and loneliness. However, in terms of integration with Japanese people, it does barely fulfill a mediating role. Although it serves as a place of encounter which can foster

mutual understanding, the language barrier is high, and the mutual interest in each other's way of living is not strong enough to overcome it.

Within the frame of mediating institutions in the field of sports, people of different nationality but with same interests meet. These shared interests can help making friends. Furthermore, through sports, Japanese, Brazilian, and universal values are carried, which can serve as a bridge enhancing mutual understanding. However, often the interactions do not pass the frame of the hobby. Rarely, real conversations or even friendships between Japanese and Brazilians evolve from the shared activity. The language barrier is a huge factor. Moreover, sports and cultural events often stop at 3F. In other words, ethnic sports clubs fail to effectively mediate between their members and do not contribute much to the integration process apart from providing a place of belonging and networking.

This subchapter showed that mediating institutions, especially within the Brazilian community, built a support network for Brazilian residents which helps them getting along in their everyday life in Japan, but does not necessarily foster interaction or integration with the host society. Transnational practices and especially the decision not made also have consequences for interaction with the host society, as they affect the motivation to interact with the host society and to study Japanese. Still, some mediating institutions shape the relation between Brazilian and Japanese residents and foster the integration process.

5.2. Relation to the host society and the role of mediating institutions in shaping it

When asked what she thought was the biggest problem the Brazilians living in Japan had, Gabriela replied:

I was about to say: Not speaking the language. But this is not a big problem, because the people live, and do everything: driving, working, right? Some people who learned the language have their own businesses, so definitely, this is not the biggest problem. But I think, not being integrated into the society is the bigger problem.

It seems like Brazilian residents have everything they need, even without speaking Japanese, as Megumi also claimed (cf. interview Megumi). However, even if the most

important formalities can be accomplished without speaking Japanese, not learning the language restricts interaction with Japanese residents in everyday life situations, and thus also integration. Another aspect is interest in the Other and motivation to interact. Some Brazilian residents actively participate in Hamamatsu city life, and some Japanese residents participate in Brazilian events and activities. On the other side, some Brazilians spend most of their life within the Brazilian community, and some Japanese are not interested in interacting with Brazilian residents. Stereotypes, prejudices, and discrimination on both sides hinder successful integration. Mediating institutions can play a role for both fostering interaction and combatting discrimination.

5.2.1. Interaction, participation, and mutual understanding

Within the six years that her son frequented elementary school, Caroline reflected on what integration and international exchange mean to her. Often, people come to international exchange events and learn something about another culture, drink and eat something, and then go home. The very next day, the deeper meaning of the experiences already sank into oblivion. For Caroline, this is not integration. When she was part of a team of foreign parents who organized a school event for the anniversaries of Peru, Bolivia, and Brazil where they planned to present the three countries and their cultures, Caroline insisted that Japanese parents actively participate in the preparations. She considered them part of the group and saw no reason why they should stay separated. When a Japanese parent asked if they should buy something for the event, she said that there was nothing to buy, but to participate. Suddenly, one Japanese mother admitted that she speaks a little Portuguese. Caroline wanted the Japanese parents to feel the language difficulties that for foreign parents were part of their everyday life in Japan. In the play they performed, Japanese parents spoke in Portuguese and foreign parents in Japanese. Furthermore, she distributed the tasks in a way that always a Japanese and a foreign parent had to work together. By doing so, she avoided people forming closed groups (*panelinha*).

During the acceptance speeches, Caroline felt that people were grateful for the experiences. One of the responsible Japanese mothers was thankful that the foreign parents consider their children's education as important as the Japanese parents do

and that they actively participate. She also noticed that through this experience of interacting more with the foreign parents, she understood better how they feel and what their difficulties of integration are. For Caroline, this is the beginning of integration. People have to mingle and do something together, working hard for a joint goal, and pass through difficulties together, instead of forming separate groups. Only then, exchanges will be of significance, things start changing, and results can be seen. Until the joint preparations, foreign parents brought traditional food from their countries to the events, but the Japanese parents preferred paying 500 yen instead of bringing something. After these experiences of interacting, the Japanese parents started to present more of their culture and traditions to the foreign parents. For example, they brought typical Japanese food to the events, such as *misoshiru*, *dango*, and *onigiri*. Caroline thinks that sometimes, foreign residents want to integrate better into Japanese society or a certain community, such as the school. It would be important to have more Japanese people who would talk to them, interact with them, and help them finding a place in the society. In reality, however, things are often done at the same place, but not done together. The neighborhood association where Caroline lives often sees their events as successful integration, although both Japanese and foreign participants each formed their closed group and did not interact with each other (cf. interview Caroline).

After she bought a house in Japan, Caroline wanted to integrate better into her neighborhood. She decided not to invite everyone for a *churrasco* or a *samba*, because this might cause a certain discomfort or anxiety among the Japanese neighbors. Instead, she planned to present a part of Japanese culture. As she had the impression that many Japanese people are forgetting about the roots of their culture and as her own grandfather always valued the Japanese culture and especially liked *haiku*, Caroline decided to invite her neighbor and their children to come to her house, make *mochitsuki* and read *haiku*. However, the neighbor said that she was not interested. This was a key experience for Caroline. She had a hard time to handle this rejection and did not leave her house for half a year. She wanted to integrate and did not understand why her neighbor did not want the same. Then, however, she thought, her neighbor was the one who lost something by not wanting contact: she lost a person who could have taught her about another culture and who could have shared delicious Brazilian food with her (cf. interview Caroline).

Caroline's experiences show that both opportunities for and mutual interest in interaction have to be given. According to the "Japanese and Foreign Citizens Social Awareness Survey" (2021), 68.1% of Japanese people say they have no opportunities to interact with foreign residents other than their neighbors, and 27.9% even say that they have no opportunities to talk with any foreign residents (cf. Hamamatsu City 2023a: 8).⁷⁴ The same survey shows that 35.6% of Hamamatsu's foreign residents are enrolled in Residents' Associations (cf. Hamamatsu City 2023a: 8). Although the percentage of foreign residents who joined neighborhood associations had increased from 36% in 2010 to 43% in 2014 (Hamamatsu City 2018b: 9), the latest results show that the percentage had decreased again since 2014, indicating a declining interest in integrating into the local community.

Caroline thinks that although Japan might not be the country where the Brazilians were born, since they live here for a while now, it is already their country and became a part of their life (cf. interview Caroline). Ideally, both foreign and Japanese residents would actively participate in together making Hamamatsu a city that is good to live in for everyone. A representative of the Japanese civil society organization Hamamatsu Kokusai Rikai Kyōiku Netto suggests that Japanese residents do volunteer work supporting foreign residents' integration and foreign residents participate and cooperate in the city development process and fulfill their role as a citizen of Hamamatsu, instead of receiving the support and resting on the foreigner status (cf. interview Hamamatsu Kokusai Rikai Kyōiku Netto). Prerequisites for creating a more united and integrated society are changing the way of thinking (cf. interview Caroline) and shifting one's attention to existing problems, being tolerant and open-minded toward other cultures, and listening carefully to the needs of others and to communicate deeply and frequently (cf. interview TIA). Mediating institutions provide opportunity structures for interaction and mutual understanding. At the same time, every contact in everyday life can serve as opportunity of interaction and exchange: at work (see chapter 5.1.2. Working Life), at language classes and schools (see chapter 7), at church (see chapter 6), or at other free time activities,

⁷⁴ Results from the previous survey, conducted by Hamamatsu City in 2014, show that – although the questions were slightly different – interaction numbers were already low. Therefore, it can be assumed that the low interaction rate was not (only) caused by the corona pandemic. In 2014, only 37% of Japanese residents said that they interact with their foreign neighbors. At the same time, 85% of foreign residents answered that they do interact with their Japanese neighbors, at least to exchange greetings (Hamamatsu City 2018b: 9).

such as events, private encounters in the neighborhood, or hobbies (see chapter 5.1.4.). Indeed, some of my interviewees feel that they are **integrated well** in the host society, such as Amanda (cf. interview Amanda).

However, some factors still hinder the integration of Brazilian and Japanese residents in Hamamatsu. Prerequisites for better integration, such as **willingness** to do so and to adapt to a certain degree, having respect toward and interest in other cultures and customs, and making efforts of language acquisition, are often not given. Analyzing municipal integration concepts in Germany, Gestring (2014b) found out that besides state and municipalities, civil society institutions as well as the migrants' resources, behavior, and motivations play an important role for integration (cf. Gestring 2014b: 318). Caroline has the impression that although the Japanese host society's *tabunka kyōsei* efforts seem to aim at integration, on an individual level, both Japanese and Brazilian residents **do not want to integrate** more. She thinks that integration can only happen if both Japanese and foreign residents work together and if foreign residents consider Japan as their future country (cf. interview Caroline). Megumi thinks that the *tabunka kyōsei* process is not advancing. Although in Iwata the word appears in many printed information and many related events such as exchange parties and Japanese classes are happening, she thinks that only people who are already interested in this kind of exchange gather information on events at such places like HICE and participate on their own terms. She thinks that *tabunka kyōsei* is a very important topic, but that most people are not interested in it (cf. interview Megumi). In other words, mutual interest is not strong enough.

Shiori also has the impression that the Brazilian residents in Hamamatsu are not much interested in Japanese culture and at the same time, Japanese people – although generally interested in foreign cultures – consider Brazil as a country that is very far away from Japan, not only geographically, but also culturally, and therefore as something that is difficult to get in touch with (cf. interview Shiori). Megumi also stated that while many Japanese admire people from North America or Europe and are interested in getting to know them, they do not show this interest toward Brazilians. On the other side, she thinks that the Brazilian residents in the Hamamatsu region are able to enjoy their lives among themselves, and thus do not care much about integration with Japanese residents (cf. interview Megumi). The secretary of Alcance also thinks that the Brazilian and Japanese cultures do not fit

together. In her opinion, that is why many Japanese people do not want to interact more. She thinks that especially the Brazilian residents need to adapt more to the Japanese culture to achieve more interaction (cf. interview Alcance). The host of Amizade, a program of the local radio station FM Haro! that aims at introducing Brazilian people and things to Japanese people and vice versa, also considers especially the Brazilians as obligated to try to understand Japan better, as they live in Japan. Some of them already live in Japan for 20 years. He thinks that instead of saying that they do not know because they are Brazilians, they should overcome the barrier of culture and customs (cf. interview Amizade).

The librarians of the public library in Hamamatsu think that while many Japanese people value tourists from other countries, they barely appreciate foreign residents who live in Japan for a long time already (cf. interview Hamamatsu Central Library). The representative of ABRAH, on the other side, thinks that while the Japanese side still tries to interact, the Brazilian side is a bit more dismissive. He concludes that Brazilians still want to pass their free time in their own way (cf. interview ABRAH). Thamara thinks that most prefer to go to the beach or to make a *churrasco* every weekend, instead of using one Sunday a month for studying (cf. interview Thamara). The director of the Brazilian school E.A.S. observed that some Brazilians do not want to adapt to the Japanese society, to study Japanese, and to enter a Japanese mode of living (cf. interview E.A.S.).

Thamara's friends from Tōkyō came to visit and noticed that in Hamamatsu, although so many Brazilians live in the city, you almost never see them. Thamara has the impression that they are not interested in interaction, but prefer staying among themselves or relax at home (cf. interview Thamara). This shows that *kao no mienai teijūka* is still continuing today. Few Japanese residents grasp the Brazilian residents' situation. Even Shiori, who is interested in foreign cultures, meets many Brazilians through the Brazilian Forró dance school where she is student, and has Brazilian friends, is not sensitized to the situation of Brazilian residents in her city. She admitted that she does not understand the problems of Brazilians living in Hamamatsu good enough to say something about it (cf. interview Shiori). In other words, for many Japanese residents, culture exchange is only consumed as a 3F activity without considering the situation of the people behind the festivals, food, and fashion events.

Another obstacle for interaction is the fact that the **Brazilian community in Hamamatsu is fully developed** (see chapter 5.1.1. and 5.1.2 Language aspects). Overcoming the **language barrier** which hinders Brazilians and Japanese residents from approaching each other is a precondition of interaction (cf. interviews Aaron, Akiko, Alcance). The representative of HICE thinks that in big cities such as Tōkyō, where foreign residents are composed of many different nationalities, integration is progressing more. They speak more Japanese and do not build a closed community (cf. interview HICE). Aaron's case confirms this phenomenon (see chapter 5.1.2 Language aspects). Moreover, many Brazilians are **too exhausted from work** to interact more (see chapter 5.1.2. Everyday practices and ties to Brazil).

Japanese descendance can also play a role. The Brazilian consul general thinks that the fact that many Brazilians in Japan are descendants makes it easier for them to situate themselves in the Japanese society than it is for other foreign people. He assumes that most Nikkei are familiar with Japanese culture and societal expectations, and speak at least a little Japanese. This distinguishes them from other groups of foreigners in Japan (cf. interview Consulate General). For one of my interviewees, this is true. Roxana did not have difficulties to adapt to the life in Japan, when she came for the first time. As she grew up among Nikkei in Brazil, she already had some language skills and cultural knowledge (cf. interview Roxana). The representative of HICE also observed that non-Nikkei Brazilians have more difficulties respecting the Japanese culture. Moreover, she thinks that they do not mix much with Nikkei Brazilians. At Brazilian events, most of the participants are non-Nikkei (cf. interview HICE). During my fieldwork, however, I have not noticed any significant difference between the integration of Nikkei and non-Nikkei.

Thamara thinks that many Brazilians have **fear to participate or interact** with Japanese people. She has observed that many Brazilians make excuses as to why they cannot participate in something. She thinks that in order to change something, it would need more people like her who study ambitiously and are not afraid of contact (cf. interview Thamara). Fear of interaction can also be found on the Japanese side. The director of U-ToC stated that many Japanese people are not used to differences and are afraid of them. She wants everyone to realize that differences exist and that they are not a bad thing. They are natural and should lead to conversations and awareness about each other (cf. interview U-ToC). Caroline also feels that Japanese

people still have a lot of fear. In her opinion, they also need to participate more in cultural exchange events and opportunities of interaction. She thinks that differences will continue to exist. For her, it is important to accept these differences and at the same time to include them in the own life (cf. interview Caroline). Mikako discovered that although in the Japanese host society some things are not like she is used to, she can accept these differences. (cf. interview Mikako). This shows that acceptance of ambivalence can be a first step towards integration.

Different values and conceptions of respect of the other's culture and way of living can also hinder integration. The representative of HICE observed that many Brazilians think that at their home they can do whatever they want, such as watching TV very loud or making noise late at night. Some justify what they do saying: "In Brazil, we do it that way." They do not understand that in Japan, they need to respect different rules than in their home country (cf. interview HICE). Mikako thinks that nowadays still many problems regarding the living together of Japanese and Brazilian residents exist, such as separation of garbage, cleaning, and noise at the parking (cf. interview Mikako). Caroline thinks that integration starts with the respect people have toward each other (cf. interview Caroline). The Padre of the Catholic Church in Hamamatsu thinks that building a certain relationship of trust is the basis for good interaction. With this, having weaknesses and making mistakes is not a problem (cf. interview Catholic Church). In other words, for integration, it is also important to understand and respect the other, and to be able to put oneself in the other's position. Here as well, acceptance of ambivalence can be an important first step towards integration as it helps to diminish stereotypes, prejudices, and discrimination (see chapter 5.2.3.).

Akiko, a counter volunteer at HICE, still remembers that the first Brazilian consultant at HICE invited all HICE volunteers to a Brazilian restaurant for her farewell party to thank them. Akiko was impressed that this party was also covered by a Brazilian newspaper in Japan (cf. interview Akiko). This shows that such opportunities of interaction are still considered as something rare and special. Still, many residents of Hamamatsu made positive experiences with the other group. Shiori considers Brazilians as friendly and thinks that they receive everyone well who wants to join them (cf. interview Shiori). Rafaela observed that the cousin of her Japanese husband was very happy when his Brazilian factory colleagues invited him to a

churrasco (cf. interview Rafaela). Vitor thinks that in Hamamatsu, Japanese residents are already accustomed to Brazilians. When he lived in other regions of Japan, he observed that Japanese residents treated and received Brazilian and other foreign residents very differently (cf. interview Vitor). Mikako arrived in Japan at a time when most Japanese people were not accustomed to Brazilians yet. Still, she felt that they showed much interest and were very helpful (cf. interview Mikako). This shows that interaction fosters mutual understanding. Moreover, Brazilian residents seem to increasingly merge into Japanese society. Akiko considers rising numbers of Brazilians wearing manager clothes and taking leading roles at the PTA in schools as signs that Brazilian residents increasingly understand Japanese culture (cf. interview Akiko).

As shown in chapter 5.1.3., another aspect of integration is **the time that passes**. According to the Brazilian consul general, with a history of only thirty years of immigration, the return movement is still a recent one, and the process of integration is not easy nor fast. However, with the time passing, awareness will raise on both sides: Brazilian residents learn about Japanese habits which makes it easier for them to adapt to Japanese customs and culture and by doing so, they become more accepted. At the same time, Japanese residents, who live together in the same city with Brazilian residents for a while now, get to know some facets of Brazilian behavior and will realize that they do not need to defend themselves, but that certain facets of the behavior fit well. He heard of a phrase which he considers a subtle definition of the integration process: 'The *dekassegui* of the 90's were Brazilians, descendants of Japanese. The ones who stayed in Japan for 20 or 30 years are increasingly Japanese, descendants of Brazilians'. The consul general stated that people who stay in Japan for such a long time start assimilating. They adopt practices, behavior, and life styles. Increasingly, they adopt the way of being Japanese (cf. interview Consulate General).

Participation in activities offered through mediating institutions makes Brazilians feel integrated, as the example of Rafaela shows. She said: "Where I live, I think there's nobody who doesn't know me. Because I participate in all activities. Wherever you can participate, I will" (interview Rafaela). She participated in the PTAs of the Japanese nursery school (*yōchien*), elementary school, and middle school which her daughters frequented, also because it is mandatory to participate once per child, and

was also the chairman (*kaichō*) of the children's organization (*kodomokai*) of her city ward which organizes events and many activities (cf. interview Rafaela). Participation in sports activities also creates opportunities of interaction (see chapter 5.1.4.). Brazilians who have children in Japanese school strive more to integrate. They participate more in Japanese events at school and at their city ward. When Brazilian children frequent a Japanese school, it is not only the child who becomes better integrated, but also its parents, who participate in school activities. Naturally, in these fields of interaction, integration happens (cf. interview ABRAH; see also chapter 7.1.2. Interaction and mutual understanding at school).

However, many of my interviewees think that many Brazilian residents in Hamamatsu do not actively participate in events and other activities and therefore, **their integration is still weak**. Megumi told me about a Brazilian family which bought a house in her neighborhood. The parents do not speak Japanese, but the daughter speaks a little. However, they do not participate in any activities of the ward and never take their role as leaders when it is their turn. Megumi thinks that in her neighborhood, Japanese people do not really care about foreign participation. Foreign residents do not have to pay a fine when they stay away, either (cf. interview Megumi). Thamara observed at her dance classes and projects, but also at HICE events such as at her E-Bunka presentation on Brazil, that her compatriots do not participate in opportunities of interaction, cultural exchange, or even events which are related to their own culture (cf. interview Thamara). Indeed, when I held my presentation at the E-Bunka event and also when I went to listen, around 15 to 20 Japanese people came, but no foreign people participated. Only few of my interviewees actively participate in Japanese activities and events or care about being part of the Hamamatsu Resident Council or knowing one's rights. Although many events for fostering interaction exist, they vanish, because participation rates are low (cf. interview Thamara). One of them is FRECTiVE's *Fresh Games* (see chapter 5.2.2). This low rate of participation in host society events and politics also indicates that Brazilian residents in Hamamatsu are not much interested in becoming part of the society and shaping local city life. Here as well, the decision not made and the thinking of returning soon negatively affects integration endeavors.

These examples show what Mikako also stated: Regarding integration, two types of Brazilians exist. Some integrate, study Japanese, and get along well with Japanese

people. They seek following the rules, norms, and customs, and participate in activities, for example of the school. Others stay among Brazilians, do not participate in Japanese activities, and often still have difficulties with the Japanese language. She thinks that some Brazilians are in between these two groups (cf. interview Mikako). Like the Padre of the Catholic Church in Hamamatsu put it: “I think it’s everywhere the same, [...] people who want to interact and people who only stay among themselves” (interview Catholic Church). Some of my Brazilian interlocutors **do not feel integrated, neither in the Japanese society, nor in the Brazilian community**. Yumi feels like being in between the two communities. Thamara does not want to become integrated anywhere. Roxana has both Japanese and Brazilian friends. However, she considers all these acquaintanceships as not profound (cf. interviews Roxana, Thamara, Yumi). Strikingly, Brazilians of all these integration patterns seem to be content with the status quo. However, for their children’s future in Japan, better integration is indispensable.

5.2.2. Measures for fostering interaction: opportunities created by mediating institutions

Megumi thinks that it is not only the institutions that are obliged to act in order to achieve *tabunka kyōsei*. Individuals can also make a difference for integration (cf. interview Megumi). Caroline believes that opportunities of integration arise when both groups strive for the same objective (cf. interview Caroline). Every person can contribute in their immediate environment, for example by organizing small projects, such as Caroline and her Japanese colleagues at school, and by adopting a pro-integration attitude, like Thamara who in her free time studies about Japanese language, culture, and her rights and duties as a resident of Hamamatsu, or Megumi who invites foreign residents to her house for lunch and cultural exchange. Another example for individual efforts is volunteering. Although volunteers are increasingly trained, the willingness to become a volunteer is low among the Japanese residents. Volunteer work is still seen as something special and not something that everyone can do (cf. interview Hamamatsu Kokusai Rikai Kyōiku Netto). One common option for volunteering is to teach Japanese, like Megumi did, or to assist in Japanese classes, like around 70 volunteers at U-ToC do. Another option is to present foreign cultures to children, like Shiori did for six years with three other mothers at the

elementary school that her children frequented, or to assist them in everyday life matters, like the counter volunteers at HICE do.

A representative of the Aichi prefectural office states that the most important aim is that foreign residents reach a level of basic language skills in Japanese (cf. interview Aichi prefectural office). With Japanese skills, they can interact with their neighbors (cf. interview Rafaela), leave isolation and find Japanese friends (cf. interview Aaron), and claim one's rights (cf. interviews Amanda, Mikako, Thamara). That is why Aaron approves the decision of the Japanese national government to make a basic knowledge (JLPT N4) of the Japanese language a precondition for the visa for *yonsei* (fourth generation) (see chapter 4.1.1.). He as a spouse (at that time) of a Japanese descendant had the right to obtain a visa for Japan without any knowledge of the Japanese language. However, he considers this as an error of the Japanese government. Until today, many descendants do not speak any Japanese. He thinks that the *yonsei* coming to Japan will not be isolated, but have more options of living together and work, because they know a little Japanese already and will continue studying Japanese while they are in Japan. He thinks that if the Japanese government would have put the same visa precondition for the previous generations of descendants, the situation would be very different today. The Brazilian community would not be isolated. Brazilians still would meet and build a kind of community, but at the same time they would be integrated into the Japanese society (cf. interview Aaron). Once that foreign residents can speak a little, volunteers can assist them in many ways. The representative of the Aichi prefectural office admits that the task cannot be left to volunteers alone, but the local government (at the prefectural level) also has to act (cf. interview Aichi prefectural office). This shows that there is an awareness at the prefectural level of the need for local government integration measures.

Compared to individual efforts, mediating institutions are organized and can reach more people with their events and services. Besides providing support, mediating institutions help foreign residents in everyday situations, also by providing access to information (see chapter 7.3.2.) and a space of belonging (see chapter 5.1.4. and chapter 6). They can also foster interaction, raise awareness, and set a frame for participation and shaping local life together on a more formal level (see below). Shiori thinks that by only observing, imagining, and learning things about the other's culture,

both sides can marvel, but cannot really understand (cf. interview Shiori). Mediating institutions provide remedy by creating **opportunities of interaction**. Hamamatsu has many Brazilian residents, but comparatively few institutions who work in favor of the Brazilian community's needs and the integration of its members. According to the director of IIEC, the reason is that this kind of work is not profitable (cf. interview IIEC). Still, several mediating institutions in Hamamatsu contribute to the integration of Brazilian residents.

The **local government** affects integration through its *tabunka kyōsei* plan which is established by Kokusaika (International Affairs Division of the City Hall) and implemented by HICE. The interculturalism plans in Hamamatsu open many opportunities for collaboration with the Brazilian Consulate General. According to the consul, the Brazilian Consulate General has a close, cooperative, and trustful relationship with the local governments of Hamamatsu city and Shizuoka prefecture. Contrary to the national government, which is more resistant regarding the reception of foreign residents, the local governments are very receptive regarding programs and initiatives aiming at receiving the increasing number of foreign residents in a correct and decent way, without prejudices and discrimination (cf. interview Consulate General).

As part of the local government, the intercultural center HICE plays a special but also ambivalent role among the mediating institutions in Hamamatsu. According to MIC, the role of international exchange organizations (*kokusai kōryū kyōkai*) is to build a bridge between local governments, civil society organizations, and others (MIC 2006: 43). HICE serves as link between host society and foreign communities, assists both parts in everyday life issues, and is involved as sponsor or supporter in various projects and events related to exchange, interaction, and foreign languages and cultures. Moreover, municipal international exchange organizations have the tasks to offer Japanese and mother tongue classes, to gather and share information regarding foreign residents, and to find interpreters and translators (cf. *ibid.*). HICE fulfills these tasks and additionally provides services that in the MIC *Tabunka Kyōsei* Report are identified as tasks of prefectural international exchange organizations, such as creating structures of cooperation between local government and civil society, spreading best practice models in the region, gathering information in various languages, and creating structures of circulating this information (cf. *ibid.*). As HICE is

actively engaged in these tasks and has a prominent role as international association of the *tabunka kyōsei* pioneer city, other international associations take HICE as a role model.

Although HICE is the biggest institution in Hamamatsu that is in charge of the implementation of *tabunka kyōsei* measures, its activities regarding intercultural exchange and mutual understanding are few. Some of these events, such as a *samba* event or a *yukata* contest, are organized independently by the growing Brazilian community nowadays (cf. interview Yōko). Of HICE's remaining activities, most do not aim at different nationalities at the same time, but at Japanese residents, such as Japanese language volunteer training and disaster multilingual support volunteer training, or at Brazilian residents, such as seminars for Brazilians on starting a business in Japan, preparing for retirement, and financial planning, or storytelling events (all in Portuguese). Others aim at all nationalities, but are mainly frequented by Japanese people, such as workshops, language classes, cooking events, parent-child-events, lectures by Japanese people presenting their experiences in other countries, or monthly presentations in English by foreign people about their respective home country (E-Bunka). On a more formal level, symposia and lectures organized by HICE aim at discussing the implementation of *tabunka kyōsei* and target both practitioners and interested residents. When I participated at a one-day event for symposium at U-Toc in March 2019, representatives of HICE and the local government as well of civil society organizations presented their experiences and plans to an audience of interested (mainly Japanese) citizens and practitioners. The aim of the symposium was to share ideas and best practice examples.

A big international event is the annual *Global Fair* in February, which is co-organized by HICE, JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency), and Hamamatsu Kokusai Rikai Kyōiku Netto. The whole building in which HICE is located is used for various cultures presenting themselves through lectures, exhibitions, and workshops. In the courtyard, a corner with stalls offering food from around the world is installed. On this day, people from many different cultural backgrounds come to HICE to present their experiences or cultural expressions, exhibit cultural objects from their country, or just visit. In 2018, around 5.000 people came (cf. HICE 2018b: 7). Still, this event as well is characterized by a 3F understanding of other cultures. When I participated, only

some parts of the event were thought-provoking. These were the parts through which foreign residents could share their viewpoint on living in Japan, such as the photo exhibition by Junior Maeda about the *dekassegui* life or the lecture of Sahel Rose about her childhood in Japan. Through such forums, foreign residents get a voice and become “visible” despite their invisibility in everyday life. By providing the *Global Fair* as platform, HICE became a mediating institution fostering mutual understanding.

Another part of HICE’s *tabunka kyōsei* efforts encompasses more practical everyday life support, such as a consultation corner in different languages or the support of neighborhood associations, for example by translating rules on how to separate the garbage into various languages (cf. interview Yōko). Through its disaster multilingual support center, HICE publishes foreign language alerts and information in case of disasters (cf. CoE 2017a: 15). HICE also plays a role as mediator when problems occur between Japanese and foreign residents, making sure that none of the groups experiences difficulties (cf. interview Yōko). Some Japanese people call HICE and complain about the behavior of some Brazilians, such as crossing the street where there is no crosswalk and giving the middle finger to a car that has honked, or ask HICE to talk to their Brazilian neighbors about certain problems, for example separation of garbage (cf. interview HICE).

In their analysis of various international exchange associations throughout Japan, Kim and Streich (2020: 189) found out that the centers’ main difficulties are facing budget cuts⁷⁵ and promoting their services. As a result of budget cuts, many centers could less focus on free services for foreign residents anymore, but had to increasingly concentrate on services for Japanese citizens, as these activities were mostly fee-based (cf. *ibid.*: 190). By doing so, they partly return to their initial function of *kokusaika* (cf. *ibid.*: 193). Gestring (2014b: 322, 324) points out that a contradiction exists between ambitious integration concepts which are evidence of the importance of local level integration efforts and their noneffective realization due to the lack of an appropriate budget.

HICE has only 21 employees⁷⁶ (cf. Matsuoka 2018: [7]), implementing *tabunka kyōsei* measures for around 20,000 foreign residents with different language and

⁷⁵ Many centers are foundations with allocated funds. As these often are not enough, local governments provide additional subsidies (cf. Kim and Streich 2020: 189).

⁷⁶ Of these, 15 work at the “Hamamatsu Intercultural Center” and six at U-ToC (cf. Matsuoka 2018: [7]).

cultural backgrounds. Hence, for HICE it is not feasible to attend to more than the most urgent or important matters (cf. interview HICE). The representative of HICE stresses that HICE could do much more if they had better conditions, that is more employees and more money. For this, a national policy for immigration would be necessary, because it would allocate money to local governments for the implementation of *tabunka kyōsei* policies at the local level (cf. interview HICE). Now, everything the local governments do in this area is not based on a national law, but on benevolence and their own discretion. As soon as they do not consider *tabunka kyōsei* measures as important anymore, they cut the budget for their implementation. She thinks that the Hamamatsu local government is making a big effort, because even without a national policy, they allocate money to support their foreign residents through HICE. Around 80% of the money HICE has at its disposal come from the Hamamatsu local government. However, it is not enough. For example, HICE would need more qualified people. A consultant at HICE needs to know both Japanese and a foreign language. Who is qualified, however, can easily find a better paid job than at HICE. As a result, some of the six consultants who work at HICE do not have a firm knowledge (cf. *ibid.*).

The Foreign Resident Study Support Center U-ToC which is operated by HICE offers Japanese classes, trains Japanese volunteers, and offers Portuguese classes for Japanese people (see chapter 7.3.1.). They also organize cultural exchange events for their foreign students, such as *hanami* and *nagashi-sōmen* (fine white noodles served flowing in a small water slide). Some of these are organized together with local groups from the Yūto district. Once a year, the *Bunkasai Matsuri* is organized together with the Peruvian-Brazilian school Mundo de Alegria, which shares the building with U-ToC. At U-ToC events, not much interaction is taking place. When I participated in the *hanami* event, besides the foreign students, only their teachers, some Japanese U-ToC volunteers, and some former students came. They brought some Japanese dishes, so we had lunch and conversations in the classroom before going outside to watch the cherry tree and take some pictures. The director of U-ToC admitted that in such events indeed, besides the teachers and volunteers, no additional Japanese people participate (cf. interview U-ToC). In general, U-ToC is not focusing on *tabunka kyōsei* efforts nor does it follow the local government's Intercultural City Vision or any other *tabunka kyōsei* guideline (cf. interview U-ToC).

When it comes to foreign residents, other municipal institutions, such as the public library and the police, focus mainly on providing information that help the immigrants' structural as well as social integration (see chapter 7.3.3.). Opportunities to participate and shape local politics also exist, such as in the Council of Residents of the City Hall, called Hamamatsu City Foreign Residents' Unity Deliberative Council (Gaikokujin Shimin Kyōsei Shingikai). The Council consist of eight foreign residents who have lived in the city for at least one year and two Japanese representatives. They are elected for a three years' term. The Council's aim is to discuss about issues regarding foreign residents, such as their civic life in the city and the promotion of *kyōsei* between Japanese and foreign residents living in the city, and subsequently to make recommendations to the mayor (cf. Hamamatsu City 2023b, 2023c). The Brazilian Consulate General also has a Council of Residents (Conselho de Cidadãos), consisting of twelve representatives of the Brazilian community which gather once a month at the Consulate to discuss the interests and concerns of the Brazilian community. As the representatives are part of different networks within the Brazilian community, they can bring forward issues that need to be addressed to facilitate the Brazilian residents' integration. The Council transmits needs and claims of the Brazilian community to the Consulate, which can forward them to the local Japanese government or to the Brazilian government (cf. interview Consulate General).

In short, with its *tabunka kyōsei* plan, the local government sets the frame for official integration efforts. HICE is in charge of implementing the plan. However, financial resources are scarce. As a result, HICE's activities are reactive rather than proactive. HICE's main activities – as well as other public institutions' efforts – aim at supporting foreign residents and raising awareness among Japanese citizens rather than organizing interaction activities. On a structural integration level, the possibility to participate in the Council of Residents of City Hall or Brazilian Consulate General ensures that foreign residents' needs are perceived and included in local politics.

Various Brazilian as well as Japanese **civil society institutions** foster interaction and mutual understanding through their exchange events. Brazilian civil society institutions offer language classes as well as events and excursions related to Japanese culture, such as the International Institute of Education and Culture (IIEC) (see chapter 6.2.2.). Aliança de Intercâmbio Brasil Japão organizes sports, culture, and education events to deepen interaction (see chapter 5.1.4.). Recently, many

groups evolved in the Japanese civil society which target foreign residents, such as Japanese cooking circles which teach cooking Japanese dishes to foreign people (cf. interview Yōko), or events organized by FRECTiVE, such as *Fresh Games*, an event where Japanese and foreign people play board games without anyone knowing the game or its rules and communicating through gestures, or *Kubala*, a sports team game working on the same principle. Unfortunately, the number of foreign participants in these interaction and mutual understanding events is low. The representative of FRECTiVE assumes that this is because most of their activities took place at night, when many have dinner with their family. FRECTiVE wants to increase the number of foreign participants, but they do not know how. This shows FRECTiVE's inability to grasp the situation of foreign residents which results in its projects failing. Like for many other host society institutions, for FRECTiVE, Brazilian residents are "invisible". Moreover, many of FRECTiVE's events do not go beyond 3F. The representative of FRECTiVE claimed that occasionally, people from six different countries gather and at these days, they talk about many interesting things and both Japanese and foreign people leave the event satisfied (cf. interview FRECTiVE). However, having a nice time chatting and getting to know each other does not have a long-lasting effect for mutual understanding.

Some Japanese civil society organizations aim at making the majority of the population aware of the difficulties faced by foreign residents in Hamamatsu. The representative of TIA thinks that it is important to teach *kokusai rikai kyōiku* (global education) to Japanese people starting from their childhood. In this way, they learn that even things that seem strange can be accepted. In other words, they are sensitized to the importance of acceptance of ambivalence. Although seminars for adults are provided as well, it is much more difficult to reach them (cf. interview TIA). Hamamatsu Kokusai Rikai Kyōiku Netto is organizing seminars on *tabunka kyōsei* and *kokusai rikai kyōiku*, among others. Participants of their events are not only Japanese, but also foreign people. Many are university students, school teachers, Japanese language teachers and volunteers, and other interested people, such as housewives, employees, and recently also retired people (cf. interview Hamamatsu Kokusai Rikai Kyōiku Netto).

FRECTiVE organizes events for Japanese residents with the goal to simulate the experiences and feelings of a foreign national who comes to Japan for the first time.

One of these events is “Fresh Cooking”. A foreign person teaches a group of Japanese participants how to prepare a typical dish from their country by giving instructions in the foreign language only. The participants build groups, try to guess what they should do, and prepare the dish as good as they can. FRECTiVE wants the participants to make as many mistakes as possible in order to make them feel in trouble. They hope that as a result, some of the participants develop a better understanding of the foreign residents’ situation. When I was in charge of teaching a German dish to Japanese participants, I observed that the event did not have the effect that FRECTiVE desired. Since the participants are generally not told in advance that the language of instruction is only the foreign language, nor are they told the reason why, they expected a normal cooking class with the aim of learning how to prepare a new dish. Moreover, the time to chat with the foreign teacher at the end of the class was shorter than many expected. As a result, many were disappointed. Some people participated because they were interested in the respective culture and already knew some basics of the language. They understood part of the instructions and interpreted for the others. In the end, no big mistakes occurred. Thus, instead of making the participants feel the trouble of the foreign residents’ everyday life, the event only made them disappointed or angry.

In short, while the Japanese civil society is mainly related to mutual understanding and changing the consciousness of the Japanese majority, the Brazilian civil society focuses mainly on the Brazilian community by providing leisure activities, educational opportunities, a place of belonging, support for everyday life, and understanding Japanese language and culture. Thus, Japanese and Brazilian civil societies complement each other in their services. Still, this section showed that like Japanese residents, Japanese institutions as well often only foster 3F activities instead of considering the people behind it.

5.2.3. Stereotypes, prejudices, and discrimination in everyday life

Attitudes toward members of other groups are determined by three factors: stereotypes, prejudices, and discrimination (cf. Torres Barberi 2018: 14). Stereotypes are a cognitive factor. They “are beliefs that we hold about the characteristics of a specific group, especially those characteristics that differentiate them from other

groups” (ibid.: 13). Prejudices are an affective factor which implies feelings and emotions. They “are unjustified and mostly negative attitudes towards an out-group or its members” (cf. ibid.). These overgeneralizations do not recognize diversity of a group and limit the perspective on individual members of a group, because even if they are constructed on an empirical basis, they do not apply to all members of the group (cf. ibid.). Discrimination is a behavioral factor, that is the concrete action that can result from the other two. It is “an unjustified and negative behaviour towards members of groups based on their membership” (ibid.).

In his mission to Japan, the United Nation’s Special Rapporteur for the Commission on Human Rights examined the current state of discrimination affecting Japan’s minority groups. He concluded that racial discrimination and xenophobia exist in Japan, affecting three groups: national minorities, people and descendants of former Japanese colonies, and foreigners and migrants (cf. Diène 2006: 2). Still, “Japan has no law prohibiting racial, ethnic, or religious discrimination, or discrimination based on sexual orientation or gender identity” (HRW 2020). Brazilian migrants face different degrees of stereotypes, prejudices, and discrimination in different parts of the world, for example due to a lack of language abilities (cf. Goza 1994: 149) or to their cultural distinctiveness which they try to preserve (cf. Margolis 2013: 105-107). In Japan as well, Japanese and Brazilian people have various stereotypes and prejudices toward each other, resulting in discriminatory behavior and structures. Some Brazilian Nikkeijin experienced the social segregation they face in the host society as ‘discrimination’ or even ‘racism’ (cf. Tsuda 2018: 109). Most Brazilians are aware of existing stereotypes and refer to them frequently when describing their life in Japan and their interaction with Japanese people.

Japanese toward Brazilian people

The Japanese myth of homogeneity results in discrimination of non-Japanese minorities. As Japan’s discourses of Japaneseness are “something internalized by immigrants themselves as well” (Liu-Farrer 2020: 6), they contextualize their migration experiences based on this thinking. As a result, a Japanese national identity is perceived as impossible for them and even immigrants’ children with a hyphenated identity struggle with their Japaneseness. National belonging, on the

other side, is possible, albeit difficult (cf. *ibid.*: 10, 206-208). In the endeavor to become accepted, some Brazilians unintendedly even self-impose discrimination by complying to rules more strictly than necessary. In the beginning, Caroline felt that she had to be like a Japanese in order to integrate: speak like they do, know everything they know. This caused a certain pressure, especially after she decided to stay in Japan. One day a teacher told her that she had to accept that as a foreigner, she would never be like a Japanese. Caroline realized that to think this way was better for her (cf. interview Caroline). Thamara told me of an incident where she constrained herself, because she wrongly assumed that this would be expected by her boss:

For three years I worked with a ballerina bun. Why? It was in the contract that you couldn't, I don't remember, it was nothing ethnic. [...] Japanese company. You know how Japan is like. Ok. So, for three years I worked with my hair pinned up. Then, one day I said: You know what? Enough! I arrived like that [with her hair down], said: Today I will be fired. I arrived there; my boss already saw this from far. I said: 'Good morning'. [...] – 'It's good, this hair'. See, he thought it's wonderful. That is, who is it who was wrong in these three years? Me. Because I read it, I didn't try to find out, and pinned my hair up for three years, that is, broke my hair for three years. The day I let it down, he said: 'I like it. I want it as well. For me it's impossible'. [laughs] [...] I don't believe what a goof I was. I mean, I harmed myself.

Her remark "You know how Japan is like" reflects her assumption that in Japan, everything is regulated and nobody is allowed to stick out from the crowd. In the end, she expected discrimination where there was actually none, because she fell for this stereotype toward Japanese society. Moreover, she realized that not every behavior that is understood as discrimination was meant as such. Thamara and Amanda think that the own perspective and stance affect the perception of a certain behavior being discriminatory or not. For them, knowing one's rights and standing out for them help preventing discrimination (cf. interviews Amanda, Thamara). Thamara put it in a nutshell: "I started learning about civic rights. Because I, we live here, pay fees, pay taxes. So, I have duties. They also have obligations to me, right? Because I am a resident here. It doesn't matter that I am black, that I am a foreigner. Because when it's time to pay, I am Japanese. [...]. So, I want my rights".

Primarily the Japanese government, but also Japanese residents as well as the immigrant themselves, generally associate South Americans with the *dekasseugi*

mentality: “temporary dispensable workers” (Takenaka 2010: 227) who constantly change jobs and one day return home (cf. LeBaron von Baeyer 2020: 203; Takenaka 2010: 225). The librarians of the public library in Hamamatsu confirmed that in the perception of the Japanese host society, foreign residents are only temporary migrants (cf. interview Hamamatsu Central Library). This reinforces the class position as blue-collar workers they were put in when coming to Japan, regardless of the economic background they had before migrating (cf. Takenaka 2010: 225, 230-231, 234-235), and makes it “difficult for them to climb up the socio-economic ladder” (ibid.: 225). Following this *dekassegui* rhetoric, Shiori pities that most Brazilians did not come to Japan because of interest in the country and in their ancestor’s culture, but only to earn money (cf. interview Shiori). Although most came to Japan to earn money, save it, and then return, not all South Americans came to Japan as factory workers. Thamara, artist and dance teacher, complained that in all the various Japanese classes she took, the teachers focused on factory vocabulary (cf. interview Thamara). This reflects the host society’s assumption of (Brazilian) immigrants being primarily factory workers rather than residents.

The Japanese majority already has a certain stereotypical image of Brazil, containing coffee, *samba*, soccer, and carnival (cf. Hatano 2011: 61, 63-64). Hatano (2011: 64-65) criticizes that at *tabunka kyōsei* events that are often organized by the host society side, members of the minority are expected to voluntarily display their culture on a stage and that Japanese institutions organize Brazilian events where they present Brazilian culture by using stereotypes, such as jungle and the Amazon, which are far from lived reality of the immigrants who often come from the city and state of São Paulo. In everyday life interactions, as well, stereotypes are common. Some are not negative, or are even positive. Megumi considers Brazilians as cheerful and strong people (cf. interview Megumi). Rafaela told me that often Japanese people wrongly assume that she speaks good English, because she is a foreigner (cf. interview Rafaela). As Brazilians seem to be familiar with restaurants which offer big portions of meat, one employee at HICE told me that when she describes a Brazilian person the way to HICE she always uses the nearby family restaurant *Steak Gusto* as a reference and normally the other person knows where it is.

Still, some Japanese people have a bad image of Brazilians (cf. interview Keiko). Shiori criticizes that although foreign people are a diverse group, for many Japanese

people, foreign people are all the same, and all too different from Japanese people (cf. interview Shiori). Typical stereotypes and prejudices that I encountered during my fieldwork are that Brazilians are unpunctual, take things easy (*dar um jeitinho*), and are a threat to public safety. In Hamamatsu, I observed that many Brazilians had adapted to the Japanese rules and norms, because many lived in Japan for a while already. They adapted their behavior also according to the situation and the persons involved. When having an appointment with Japanese people, even Brazilians who tend to often be late adapt by being on time. Of course, exceptions exist. According to a representative of HICE, the directors of the Brazilian school Alcance have difficulties being on time when having an appointment with HICE or with the municipality (cf. interview HICE). Such experiences nourish the stereotype. However, the existence of the stereotype, although not true in general, seems to help Japanese people to accept this behavior, because they see it as something given.

The assumption that foreign residents are a threat to social order (cf. interview Megumi; Liu-Farrer 2020: 200-201) shows that economy and society have a differing recognition regarding Brazilian residents. Although they are an important workforce for the companies, they are not appreciated by Japanese residents in the region (cf. Kajita *et al.* 2005: 245-247). Megumi thinks that the fear of decreasing safety due to a high influx of foreign people does not arise because all foreign people are like that, but because a few people among a certain group behave badly and with that inform the image that the host society has of the whole group of foreigners (cf. interview Megumi). In case of the Brazilians, this phenomenon occurs as well. The secretary of Alcance thinks that, like everywhere, among the Brazilians as well some people do wrong things (cf. interview Alcance). An employee of HICE thinks that it is often the poorly educated Brazilians which are noticed by the Japanese people. She noticed that some Brazilians think they can behave in Japan as they do in Brazil. From the complaints⁷⁷ at HICE, she concludes that many Japanese people observe this behavior and think that all Brazilians are like that (cf. interview HICE).

Japanese residents complained about the Brazilian resident's parking violations, loud music, unauthorized barbecue, wrong separation of garbage, and street fights, among others (cf. interview TIA; Komine 2014. 206; personal communication IIEC; TIA 2016: 10, 14). Especially at the time of the crisis, when the number of Brazilian

⁷⁷ For examples of such complaints, see chapter 5.2.2.

residents in Hamamatsu had risen to 19,461 people in 2008 (cf. HICE [2023]), many problems arose between Brazilian and Japanese residents. Some Brazilians returned to Brazil without giving notice, leaving their apartment furnished, their cell phone contracts unpaid, and their rental cars at the airport parking. The Japanese owners had to pay the expenses in the end. As a result, Brazilian residents in Hamamatsu have problems when applying for a credit card at a Japanese bank until today (personal communication IIEC). The secretary of Alcance considers Japanese people as very closed when it comes to trust. After making these experiences they lost trust in Brazilian residents in general and are reserved regarding interaction (cf. interview Alcance). Prejudices and stereotypes can result in discrimination.

From an institutional perspective, some discriminatory structures have been dismantled since the beginning of the *dekassegui* movement, such as the process of renting an apartment or buying a house as a foreigner and the implementation of a health insurance for foreigners (see chapter 5.1.2. and 5.1.3.). In other words, structural discrimination, which is the third wall that hinders integration, is diminishing. However, discrimination exists in certain situations. For example, some places still refuse entry to foreign people. Thamara told me of an incident that happened during her holiday in Okinawa, when she arrived at a party and was denied entry because she was not Japanese (cf. interview Thamara). In his report, the UN Special Rapporteur indeed identified the “problem of private and quasi-public establishments refusing entrance to people based on nationality or race” (Diène 2006: 17) without the public authorities interacting due to “personal unwillingness to do so” (ibid.) and the absence of a national law (cf. ibid.). Another topic is the treatment of minorities by the police. The ICC team discovered that in case of kids who get drunk and mess around, difference in treatment exists: “Japanese kids get a ticking-off but foreign kids are more likely to get a criminal record or a night in the cells” (CoE 2017b: 17). It seems like stereotypes among police officers are reducing due to better training of younger officers. The ICC team found out that “incidents of the Police stopping and searching people and asking for passports, simply because they looked foreign [...] felt to be reducing” (ibid.).

A still big problem is *ijime* (bullying), especially in the school environment (see chapter 7.1.2. Mechanisms of exclusion). One of the most common types of discrimination nowadays is ignoring. Many Japanese avoid contact with foreign

residents (cf. interview Megumi; Hoshino 2012: 89). Renting an apartment or buying a house in Japan became easier for Brazilians nowadays. The secretary of the Brazilian school Alcance told me that instances of Brazilians being told: “Sorry, we do not rent to foreigners” decreased much, although some places still react that way (cf. interview Alcance). Indeed, I was told the same sentence when searching for an apartment to rent in Hamamatsu during my fieldwork. Job hunting seems to slowly become easier for foreign nationals as well. When Yuriko was searching for a side job (*baito*), the representatives of the company only realized after the job interview that she was not a Japanese national. The process of confirming with the head office took around two weeks, but then she got the job (cf. interview Yuriko). In some cases, however, foreign residents do not have the same options as Japanese nationals. For Yuriko, it is painful to experience that many things that her Japanese friends can do are denied to her because of her citizenship. As she considers herself as Japanese, she feels left behind alone (cf. *ibid.*).

Akiko considers the Japanese side as still mixed: People who have much contact with Brazilian residents or live close together with them built a certain understanding and have a viewpoint of mutual efforts. From Japanese people who do not have much opportunities of interaction, however, she often hears that they cannot imagine how Brazilians think (cf. interview Akiko). These examples show that negative stereotypes and prejudices of Japanese people toward Brazilian residents are often informed by individual cases of bad experiences. At the same time, discriminatory structures – while still existing to a certain extent – are increasingly disappearing.

Brazilian toward Japanese people

It is not only Japanese people who have prejudices toward Brazilian people. Many Brazilians also have several prejudices toward Japanese people (cf. interview IIEC). They still perceive the Japanese host society as not open and welcoming, even in cities where many Brazilian residents live and therefore, Japanese people are already more used to foreign residents and their differences in lifestyle. This is one of the factors which make many Brazilians retreat into their community. They also consider Japanese people as cold, unreceptive, lacking individuality, being submissive to authorities, and working a lot at the expense of family and social life (cf.

Tsuda 2009: 214-215). Many of the Brazilians Linger (2001: 290) met in Toyota city told him: “Brazilians are warm; Japanese are cold”. Cold signifies what Tsuda’s (2009: 214) interlocutors call “impersonal in social relationships, and [...] unfriendly people lacking *calor humano* (human warmth) and affection”. While *calor humano* is a matter of course in Brazil, in Japan it becomes a value.⁷⁸ My Brazilian interviewees stated similar perceptions. Yara considers Japanese people as very reserved. She thinks that they prefer to stay among themselves, while Brazilians like to build friendships with people they just met (cf. interview Yara). Thamara feels that often Japanese people follow strict rules without knowing why (cf. interview Thamara). Other aspects that Brazilians often criticize are Japanese people’s group conformity, male patriarchy, and (perceived) ethnic discrimination on the job (cf. Tsuda 2009: 214-217). However, Tsuda (2009: 217) questions if this discrimination is real, as – according to his observations and interviews – Japanese workers sometimes are treated the same way. Linger argues that the Brazilians’ ethnocentric and stereotypical perceptions are based on “uncomfortable experiences in Japanese factories and schools” (Linger 2001: 290) which arouse due to a “clash in interaction styles” (ibid.: 291): While Japanese people show an interactional self and often hide their inner self, Brazilians are more spontaneous and their inner self shows through (cf. ibid.: 295, 299).

Here as well, sometimes people who behave badly shape the image of the whole group. The employee of HICE describes how workplace discrimination, for example a Japanese worker insulting a Brazilian one⁷⁹, can result in prejudices of Brazilians toward Japanese people when the insulted Brazilian thinks that all Japanese do not respect Brazilians (cf. interview HICE). Even without discriminating behavior, interaction is rare. Although most Brazilian residents are of Japanese descent, it seems that only few get in touch with their Japanese relatives when they come to Japan and the ones who do so often perceive their relatives as cold or embarrassed about having relatives from what they consider as a Third World country (cf. Roth 2002: 3-4). For Nikkei, visiting relatives can be an experience of belonging or disillusion, depending on how they are received (cf. Shoji 2008a: 80). Vitor is in good contact with his relatives. His parents always stayed in contact with the siblings of his

⁷⁸ See Linger (2001: 290-303) for a placement of *calor humano* as a part of Brazilianness in Japan.

⁷⁹ Roth (2002: 127) also found out that many Japanese blue-collar workers were antagonistic toward foreigners.

father who live in Tōkyō, and they received Vitor well when he came to Japan. At holidays, especially at *oshōgatsu* (New Year holidays), they spend time together (cf. interview Vitor). This shows that family bonds can serve as a mediating institution that affects the integration process. Most Nikkeijin, however, do not have close contact with their Japanese relatives (cf. interview Vitor; Sellek 2002: 199).

Avoiding contact is a type of discrimination itself. Gabriela thinks that prejudices toward Brazilian people arise because the Brazilian community in Hamamatsu is closed and this nurtures the impression that the Brazilian immigrants do not integrate into the host society. At the same time, Japanese people are not very open to foreign people (cf. interview Gabriela). Indeed, the Brazilian community in Hamamatsu offers a variety of occasions where people share and reinforce prejudices and stereotypes. At the same time, Japanese residents often do not know anything about the Brazilian residents and their situation and some even do not want to interact (cf. interview Akane). These conditions might further fuel prejudices on both sides. As a result, many Japanese people do not seek a relationship with Brazilians, and many Brazilians avoid contact with Japanese people as well (cf. interview HICE; Tsuda 2009: 212). The director of IIEC also pities that the “majority of Brazilians likes to live here, but they don’t like the Japanese people. Sometimes they don’t have contact, but already don’t like them. So, this is very sad” (interview IIEC). Gabriela points to the expectation that Brazilian residents have of the host society: “What I see often here is [...] a Brazilian bad-mouthing the Japanese and Japan, but he does not go away. And thinks that they have the obligation [...] to accept us as we are. So, I think this is a little arrogant, I think it’s nasty, actually” (interview Gabriela). She thinks it is important to be interested in getting to know at least the basics of Japanese culture and customs, and also to be grateful to the society which welcomes you. She pities that many Brazilians live in Japan longer than herself but still do not have much knowledge about Japanese language and culture, and that some even think that it is not necessary to make an effort (cf. *ibid.*). As Japanese people often have strong expectations that Brazilian residents should assimilate and behave like Japanese people, these contrary expectations also hinder the integration process (cf. Maeda 2012: 224).

Discovering negative aspects of Japanese society, such as its exclusiveness, gender inequality, restrictive lifestyle, and the perceived coldness of social relationships,

made the return migrants start to appreciate positive aspects of the Brazilian society which they had taken for granted, such as multiethnic inclusiveness, affectionate social relationships, warmth, friendliness, openness, and an ability to enjoy life (cf. Tsuda 2009: 215; Tsuda 2018: 110). Alienation due to experiences of exclusion in Japan as well as the contrast between the Nikkeijin's Japanese appearance and their Brazilian mentality led them reconsider their strong attachment to their ethnic homeland and made them identify stronger with Brazil as their natal homeland (cf. Tsuda 2003: 65-83; Tsuda 2018: 107-110).⁸⁰ A common strategy is to clearly act out the Brazilian identity and culture⁸¹ in order not to be confused as a Japanese national and thus reducing expectations as well as assimilative pressures by Japanese ethnic hegemony (cf. Tsuda 2009: 218; Tsuda 2010: 130). Tsuda (2000: 56; 2003: 216-219) calls this response to negative ethnic experiences in Japan "deterritorialized nationalism", that is "national loyalties to natal homelands [which] are articulated outside the territorial boundaries of the nation-state" (Tsuda 2018: 111). With their Brazilian counter-identities, they oppose the 'official' view of the Japanese government which conceives the Nikkeijin as culturally close to the Japanese (cf. Oda 2010: 516). While in Brazil, many Nikkeijin regarded themselves as more reserved and perceived this difference as expression of their Japaneseness, in Japan they emphasize their Brazilian *calor humano* (cf. Linger 2001: 302-303).

Some of my interviewees, however, having direct contact with Japanese people and their way of life, often had good experiences with them. Some Brazilians consider Japanese people as helpful and welcoming (cf. interview Yumi). Some appreciate the reliability and punctuality of Japanese people (personal communication Pedro). This shows that interaction can combat stereotypes. What Brazilians most value among Japanese people is their *respeito* (respect), what for them meant "formality, distance, correctness, dutiful treatment, careful calculation, expectations fulfilled" (Linger 2001: 301). Brazilians perceived *calor humano* and *respeito* as bipolar concepts which

⁸⁰ Discerning the home country and its positive aspects which until then seemed just normal and having the feeling of becoming Brazilian only happens after leaving the country (cf. Linger 2001: 266-267; Nishida 2018: 229). This is a phenomenon true for many migrants. Sigl (2011) found out that many Bolivians "feel more Bolivian when they start living abroad than while they were living in Bolivia" (cf. *ibid.*: 195). King and Christou (2014) observed that children of Greek migrants in Germany and the United States who moved to Greece reappraised Germany and the United States as affective homelands because of frustration and disillusionment.

⁸¹ They demonstrate their cultural Brazilianness by speaking Portuguese in public, greeting each other affectionately, wearing Brazilian clothes, writing their Japanese last names in *katakana*, dancing *samba*, or displaying the Brazilian flag in ethnic stores and restaurants (cf. Tsuda 2003: 263-287; Tsuda 2009: 218-221; Tsuda 2018: 111).

entail each other and as “contrary modes of human interaction, emblematic of Brazil and Japan, respectively” (ibid.: 301). Some Brazilians came to appreciate or even trust Japanese people more than their own compatriots.⁸² According to my interlocutors, some Brazilians consider their compatriots as unreliable, not trustworthy, not working properly, behaving uneducated and disrespectful, egoistic, proud and ethnocentric, feeling superior, uncooperative, and pessimistic (cf. interviews Diego, Gabriela, Rafaela, Yumi; personal communication IIEC and Pedro). Rafaela pities that Brazilians who have a bad image of Brazil keep passing it to their children (cf. interview Rafaela).

Prejudices toward compatriots sometimes result in discrimination. Roxana was discriminated by another Brazilian at her factory because of her Japanese skills (cf. interview Roxana). Amanda was bullied for being *nordestina* (from the northeast part of Brazil)⁸³ because of her good connection with the bosses and her technical math skills. Her Brazilian colleagues at the factory smeared her work clothes with feces, imputed an affair with the Japanese boss to her, tried to make her being dismissed, and called her names. Amanda felt very offended by the discrimination and as a result, distanced herself from the community and other Brazilians for a long time. Only recently she started getting involved more in the Brazilian community. This time, however, she does so through institutions (cf. interview Amanda).

These examples show that for many Japanese and Brazilian residents in Hamamatsu, the emotional barrier which is the second of the three walls that hinder integration is still high. Mediating institutions can help combat discrimination and reduce stereotypes and prejudices by creating more opportunities of interaction that would help building mutual understanding and to motivate both Japanese and Brazilian residents to actively use these opportunities to engage with each other.

⁸² Many Brazilians also hold prejudices toward other Latin Americans, especially Peruvians (cf. interview HICE).

⁸³ In Brazil, *nordestinos* face racism, class prejudice, a devaluation of their culture, and stereotypes, such as being lazy, inferior, and subaltern, living in a region where there is drought and famine, and causing misery, migration, and social assistance (cf. Valle 2022).

5.2.4. Measures for combatting discrimination

Matsuo (2011: 103-104) argues that rather than opposing Japanese customs and rules, foreign residents have to get into dialogue on them with Japanese residents. Conflicts can also be an expression of different groups approaching each other (cf. Fachkommission Integrationsfähigkeit 2020: 53). Mediating institutions can accompany this process. Moreover, through their endeavors, they have the power to combat discrimination and its roots, correct negative images based on stereotypes and negative experiences, and approximate the residents of the city by establishing the three basis premises of interculturalism (see chapter 2.1.3.): positive interaction and education, anti-discrimination, and diversity advantage.

The latter two basis premises of interculturalism, anti-discrimination and diversity advantage, are not achieved sufficiently yet. Measures such as services and support for victims of discrimination by HICE and a Human Rights public awareness campaign through posters are taken. Besides, the municipality does not monitor discrimination in the city (cf. CoE 2017a: 40). Moreover, most mediating institutions do not ensure equal opportunities by actively countervailing structural discrimination, for example at the housing and job markets. Furthermore, although diversity is officially regarded as a resource, institutions do not make use of this enrichment. The first premise, positive interaction and education, is pursued actively by mediating institutions in Hamamatsu. As shown in the previous section, people form their views on migration and its impact on communities mostly on the basis of ‘myths’ and information that is wrong or partial, because access to reliable information is scarce (cf. *ibid.*). The CoE advises exerting the Intercultural Cities Anti-rumor methodology to combat some of the sources of discrimination: identifying stereotypes, dismantle them with objective data and emotional arguments, creating a local civil society network, and raising awareness through campaigns (cf. *ibid.*: 41). Although it is still too early to analyze its implementation⁸⁴, efforts of mediating institutions in Hamamatsu regarding the creation of opportunities of interaction and the correction of wrong stereotypes can be observed.

⁸⁴ The Intercultural Cities program’s *Antirumours handbook*, published in May 2018 (see: Torres Barderi 2018), is available in six other languages apart from English. The Japanese translation by Takahiko Ueno is a digest version and was published in June 2020 (see Torres Barderi and Ueno 2020).

As civil society and HICE are embedded in a huge network spanning all major institutions and organizations in the city and beyond, they as mediating institutions can fulfill the role of creating opportunities of trust-learning which are a precondition for successful multicultural policy implementation and integration (cf. Vogt 2017: 81). With these interaction events, however, they do not reach people who are not interested in interaction. A representative of HICE told me that “when there is an event with Japanese people, there are [Brazilian] people who don’t come. Ok, but Japanese people are coming, ah, then no” (interview HICE). Esser (2001) states that contact between the groups alone does not change prejudices, unless people from both groups who have the same status and are in the same problematic situation solve the problem together. Positive feelings which arise in such situations, however, are often linked to certain people or situations, like colleagues or the workplace situation (cf. Esser 2001: 38). The challenges posed by the Great Financial Crisis are one example for a situation in which foreign and Japanese residents worked together and drew nearer to each other, for example through the church school project at the Catholic Church (see chapters 6.2.2. and 6.2.3.). Roth (2002: 136-137) observed at the *Hamamatsu matsuri* that being part of the same social class can create a feeling of togetherness as well.

Mediating institutions can also correct wrong stereotypes, for example by fostering mutual understanding and giving reliable information in Japanese as well as Portuguese on culturalistic stereotypes of both groups. Some efforts in this field do exist already. A HICE employee frequently gives classes on *tabunka kyōsei* for prospective midwives and nurses at a vocational school in order to sensitize them for situations with foreign patients they might pass in their future work life (cf. Mondwurf 2021: 284; Timmerarens 2018: 53). U-ToC hosts academic and practitioners’ exchange events, such as a symposium in March 2019 on interculturalism in Hamamatsu. At a “Brazil Study Trip Sharing Session” at Nagoya University, a group who went to Brazil to study the Japanese community in São Paulo presented their findings.

When Japanese people complain at HICE about the behavior of Brazilian residents, the representative of HICE, knowing that many Brazilians are strictly following the Japanese rules, often explains that Brazilians are not all the same: As Brazilian society is very multicultural and heterogeneous in terms of educational level and

background, behavior and values differ from person to person (cf. interview HICE). The same applies to Brazilian residents who lack information on Japanese society. The director of IIEC thinks that they “have this impression like: ‘Ah, my son will go to Japanese school, will suffer from bullying’”. And this is not true. There are cases where it exists. I think that it exists all over the world, in Brazil as well. At Brazilian schools it also exists. Right? It’s not only the Japanese schools” (interview IIEC). She thinks that it is important to better inform Brazilians about the reality at Japanese schools. However, according to Esser (2001: 38), prejudices can hardly be influenced by external ‘education’ or tolerance campaigns either. Together with other attitudes, they build belief systems that are shared and constantly reinforced among the groups (cf. Esser 2001: 38). The social and cultural context determines the social norms as well as stereotypes and prejudices of a person (cf. Torres Barberi 2018: 15). In order to impact prejudices, these social norms have to be changed.

Mass media can play a role hereby as it contributes in disseminating an image of the Brazilians, be it a bad or good one (cf. Kajita *et al.* 2005: 247; Matsuo 2011: 102-103). Matsuo (2011: 102-103) found out that the information that foreign residents as well pay taxes was not only provided by the government, but also by mass communications, and led to them being more accepted. However, at the same time, direct interaction with foreign customs remains limited. In other words, the host society as a system accepts foreign residents, but when it comes to direct interaction with Japanese residents, foreign residents are required to assimilate.

This subchapter showed that besides providing support for foreign residents, mediating institutions of both local government as well as civil society make an effort to achieve more interaction and mutual understanding between Japanese and Brazilian residents. These endeavors can also help combat discrimination on both sides. Still, many events end at 3F and thus fail to foster long-lasting mutual understanding.

5.3. Discussion and conclusion

Aggergaard (2018: 24, 103-104) stresses that time is a crucial factor for gradual integration, as integration processes as well as supporting policies evolve over time. For Brazilians in Hamamatsu, the factor time plays a role for the decision to stay, for language and cultural aspects to learn, and for policies to evolve. This chapter showed that with the time passing, the structural barrier which is the third wall that hinders integration is diminishing: Social welfare and housing situations improved and structural discrimination diminished. Although the job market is still segmented, language skills enable Brazilian residents to leave the factories and enter non-3K and better-paid occupations.

Another condition of social integration into the host society is the intention to do so of both individual immigrants and their descendants as well as the majority population (cf. Aggergaard 2018: 105-106; Esser 2001: 25). This applies not only to individuals, but also to the respective institutions. The openness of the host society includes the situation of job and housing market, educational opportunities, and tolerance of the host society. Another factor for integration is the absence of attractive ethnic alternatives, such as return to the home country or integration into an ethnic community (cf. Esser 2001: 25). My data showed that willingness of individuals to integrate is still low among both sides. Although the host society is open for structural changes, Brazilian immigrants are often still considered as temporary workers and at the same time, attractive ethnic alternatives, namely the Brazilian community as well as the option of returning to Brazil, can impede integration processes. The unmade decision of return and the feeling of alienation in the host society also play crucial roles. Moreover, differences between Brazilian and Japanese residents exist and can lead to stereotypes, prejudices, and discrimination on both sides. As the observations by Shiori, Megumi, and the secretary of Alcance show, many people think that Brazilian and Japanese cultures do not fit together. Moreover, many Brazilian as well as Japanese residents are afraid of contact (see chapter 5.2.1.). Indeed, interactions also include negative experiences, such as discrimination, conflict, and alienation (cf. Aggergaard 2018: 107). As this chapter showed, this is also the case for Brazilian residents in Hamamatsu.

Differences are not necessarily something negative. The Brazilian consul general in Hamamatsu stated that Brazilian and Japanese residents can complement each other. He thinks that Japanese people are extremely reserved and very disciplined, while Brazilian people are outgoing and cheerful, but not very organized. In other words, one complements the other to create a good balance (cf. interview Consulate General). Referring to JiuJitsu, Diego thinks that when Brazilians and Japanese people interact, they discover that after all they are not that different. He observed among his students that complementing each other is something that can occur between anyone, and as a result, people change, adapting to each other. He told me that “Sometimes, a person is very sad, the other very cheerful. Then they start to interact. This person who is very cheerful, sometimes she's not [doing things] quite right, because she likes a lot of joy, so she does some things wrong. That person who is sadder, she's much more closed, she tends to do things more correctly. But sometimes, she needs a little motivation to do things wrong, and the other [person] needs a little more consistency to do the things right, and [they] end up completing each other” (cf. interview Diego). These examples show that acceptance of ambivalence can lead to adaptation and integration in the end. Mediating institutions can shape this process by providing the frame of interaction and combatting stereotypes.

Many of my interlocutors stated that *tabunka kyōsei* efforts and integration of the Brazilian residents already progressed much in Hamamatsu. Vitor thinks that psychologically, the living conditions of Brazilians in Japan changed a lot in the last 20 years: the situation of the countries, personal circumstances of the Brazilians and their families, time spent in Japan, process of adaptation, and the search for a space to satisfy their longing for the home country. Nowadays, their difficulties are already attenuated, because they learned how to get along in Japan and how life in Japan functions. They got used to work and found leisure activities (cf. interview Vitor). However, *tabunka kyōsei* endeavors are still far from enough (cf. interviews ABRAH, Consulate General, FRECTIVE, HICE, Keiko). The representative of Hamamatsu Kokusai Rikai Kyōiku Netto believes that the living together of people from many countries as residents of Hamamatsu, their equal rights, and their equal position in society have to become a normal state and barriers between Japanese and foreign residents have to be eliminated (cf. interview Hamamatsu Kokusai Rikai Kyōiku Netto). Another factor is the development of inter-group interactions (cf. *ibid.*:

105). According to Esser (2001: 23), interactive assimilation, that is the assimilation of all groups of society to each other, happens rarely, and when they do, they mainly happen in more peripheral areas, such as eating habits or leisure behavior. In Hamamatsu, 3F events are an expression of this process. In other fields, this process is often initiated only after certain structural preconditions are given, such as language proficiency, cultural knowledge, or social status (cf. *ibid.*).

Hamamatsu's local government claims that integration is going well and that the city is doing many efforts through HICE (cf. interview HICE). At first sight, this seems to be the case. Yuriko stated that when she lived in Toyota, she had the impression that less efforts in this field were made, although the situation is similar: many foreign residents, especially Brazilians, working in factories (cf. interview Yuriko). Shiori thinks that even people who are not interested in intercultural exchange hear about the numerous *tabunka kyōsei* events and as a result become aware of the topic's importance (cf. interview Shiori). The Brazilian consul general stresses the openness of the political leaders in Hamamatsu and a good collaboration between Consulate and local government or other Japanese institutions (cf. interview Consulate General).

Indeed, compared to other Japanese cities, *tabunka kyōsei* efforts in cities like Hamamatsu, Toyota, and Ōizumi seem very advanced: support for foreign residents is strong, most people are aware of the meaning of *tabunka kyōsei*, and activities like volunteers teaching Japanese to foreign children in Japanese public schools or cooking events with foreign dishes are taken for granted. However, many *tabunka kyōsei* and *kokusai rikai kyōiku* efforts actually end at 3F (cf. interview Hamamatsu Kokusai Rikai Kyōiku Netto). The Hamamatsu government, for example, still organizes 3F events they are proud of and which they perceive to be integration events, such as the annual *samba* cup. The representative of HICE does not think that they actually foster integration (cf. interview HICE). This shows that awareness for the difference between 3F and long-lasting integration effects exist among the practitioners. Despite the outstanding efforts, many problems between Japanese and Brazilian residents continue to exist. Mediating institutions can further foster the integration process by extending their support for foreign residents, for example in the fields of social assistance (cf. interview Vitor) and disaster prevention policies (cf. interview Yōko). Moreover, they can ensure that their events and projects do not stop at 3F, but go beyond in order to reach a better mutual understanding.

5.3.1. Role of relevant mediating institutions

As this chapter showed, in the part of the Brazilian community that is related to leisure activities and daily life, a huge support network among institutions and individuals emerged. Besides their primary goals, local government institutions, civil society institutions, and sports and culture clubs serve as mediating institutions which set a frame for local community integration in everyday life. The Brazilian community itself can be considered as mediating institution as well.

Local government institutions

According to the Council of Europe's values equality, diversity, and interaction, which determine an intercultural city (see chapter 2.3.1.), Hamamatsu's *tabunka kyōsei* endeavors point into a good direction. Hamamatsu's Intercultural City Plan sees diversity as a resource (cf. Hamamatsu City 2023a: 21-22). Opportunities of interaction, exchange, and participation are established through HICE's events as well as the City Hall's Council of Residents. Equality is ensured through HICE's services which serve the needs of a diverse population. However, as the Council of Europe already concluded (cf. CoE 2017a: 40; 2017b: 17-19), my data shows as well that the prevention of discrimination has to be further extended, especially by monitoring cases of discrimination and by introducing local laws and institutions (cf. CoE 2017a: 40; 2017b: 19). The local government cannot change structural conditions of social integration, such as the housing and job market, but can only support the immigrants by developing own projects (cf. Gestring 2014a: 88; Gestring 2014b: 314, 322). Moreover, it can serve as a mediator between residents of different nationalities (cf. Bommers 2009: 102), diminishing deeply rooted stereotypes and prejudices among them. Efforts in this field are only beginning (see chapter 5.2.2. and 5.2.4.).

Gestring (2014a: 89-90) developed six hypotheses regarding multicultural city policy and its tasks: (1) Multicultural city policy should stress common problems of all residents in the city, regardless of their ethnicity. At the same time, it should emphasize that conflicts are normal and necessary and that fairness with all cultures is important. Hamamatsu's measures aim at common problems of all residents.

Especially HICE mediates in conflicts. However, instead of emphasizing that conflicts are normal and necessary, municipality institutions just try to solve individual cases. (2) Cultures should be defined without reducing people to their appearance and their or their ancestors' ethnic belonging or national origin. As mentioned above, Hamamatsu still has to strengthen efforts in the reduction of ethnic discrimination. (3) The resources and potentials of immigrants and their transnational interrelations should be emphasized. In Hamamatsu, these are recognized increasingly. (4) Rather than enforcing social and ethnic mixture in urban quarters, voluntary segregation should be allowed. It is important, however, that people who want to leave quarters with a high proportion of migrants have the opportunity to do so, that is that the housing market in the city offers alternatives and house hunting is not limited by discrimination. As Hamamatsu does not enforce ethnic mixture in its city wards, a big Brazilian community could develop in Takaoka. However, as in other fields, at the housing market discrimination diminished but still exists. (5) Spaces of retreat and of identification of minority cultures and their symbols should be allowed. Hamamatsu allows the development of rooms where minority cultures can be enacted, such as culture and sports clubs or religious ethnic congregations. (6) Rooms of interaction have to be created. These are public spaces that open opportunities for communication. Albeit still limited, especially HICE but also civil society actors create rooms of interaction by organizing exchange events. This analysis shows that although the hypotheses mostly apply to Hamamatsu's endeavors, several weak points still exist. According to Liu-Farrer (2020: 9), this is because "many institutions [...] and administrative procedures are often found unequipped to deal with the needs and expectations of an immigrant population".

Implementation of MIC's *Tabunka Kyōsei* Report in Hamamatsu (see chapter 4.1.2. for a description of the report) is progressing slowly. The report identifies three areas and necessary measures that local governments should implement (cf. MIC 2006: 2, 11, 16-31, 34). The first is communication support. Hamamatsu's government institutions provide Japanese classes at U-ToC as well as a variety of local information in different languages in radio, internet, print, and personal consultation. The second area, daily life support, is still limited. HICE offers consultation for everyday life issues and the local government recently focuses much on disaster prevention and usage of easy Japanese. However, housing, employment, social welfare, and education are left to the respective institutions. One reason is that

although Japanese as well as foreign residents might have different expectations the main role of such centers is mediation: They serve as an initial consultation point, but do not offer actual support. Rather, they redirect the people who have a certain issue to local NGOs/NPOs (cf. Kim and Streich 2020: 191, 193). The third area is development of a *tabunka kyōsei* society. Efforts like the ICC vision, the search for a fitting concept at the local level, and the dissemination of *tabunka kyōsei* as a slogan ensure a raise of awareness among all residents for the meaning and importance of *tabunka kyōsei*. Opportunities of participation are given through the Council of Residents. Another factor in the report are efforts to disseminate knowledge about Japanese language and culture. Nowadays, HICE organizes less events in this field. However, while such activities might be useful for foreign residents who newly arrived, “in the long run, foreign residents face more complex daily issues, for which they need individual help and which introductory cultural activities cannot address” (Kim and Streich 2020: 190). The public library of Hamamatsu offers material that disseminates knowledge and events which foster interaction, but few people make use of them. This shows that the offer does not meet the needs of foreign residents. For them, the library does not play a big role for integration.

Although HICE is an active institution in the field of *tabunka kyōsei* measures, its role for the Brazilian residents is limited. Yōko and Akiko, counter volunteers at HICE, think that most foreign residents turn to their community first. Yōko observed that they only come to HICE in search for support when they have a problem that the community cannot solve, such as situations when they are involved in a crime or law court, or for making use of HICE’s mental health support. Furthermore, most of the courses offered by HICE, such as language classes, do not serve as exchange opportunities. Among HICE’s events, the only exchange opportunity is the *Global Fair* (cf. interview Yōko). Akiko also considers the events and support that the Brazilian community provides for the Brazilian residents as more important than HICE. However, HICE is an important institution regarding mental health support. Besides offering psychotherapy in Portuguese, HICE dispatches a Brazilian psychologist to hospitals for interpreting. Thus, it contributes to combatting Brazilian residents’ mental health issues due to adaptation difficulties. Moreover, some Brazilians consider HICE as an important institution for themselves which provides important information and opens doors for them, such as Thamara and Aaron (cf. HICE [2018]a: 130; interviews Aaron, Thamara).

Kim and Streich (2020) examined various international exchange centers and found out that the services provided by the centers are not organized systematically or professionally coordinated among the centers. Instead, activities are developed ad hoc depending on the needs of foreign residents and often depend on certain persons. As a result, the centers lose much of the functionality and usefulness for foreign residents they could have if they offered a constant organized support. On the other side, they are flexible enough to organize short-term support measures (cf. *ibid.*: 190, 193). Roxana, a former Brazilian employee of a municipal institution, thinks that HICE only focuses on the solution of problems, but not on a way to prevent the problems from occurring. In other words, HICE should become more proactive instead of only being reactive. She also thinks that HICE is not passing information effectively. Most seminars, they organize only once. However, not everybody participates, and important information needs to be passed frequently. She feels that Hamamatsu is missing a center that passes all the necessary information (cf. interview Roxana). A remaining challenge is the funding of *tabunka kyōsei* measures (see chapter 5.2.2.).

Another issue is the attitude of employees of institutions which are in charge of integration measures. A person concerned who wishes to remain anonymous told me that at a meeting of different international associations' staff members, it became clear that although their objective is to help foreigners, at the same time the employees do not want to have foreigners among themselves. This shows that host society institutions which are in charge of supporting foreign residents first need to reconsider their attitude toward the people they support.

In summary, efforts of local government institutions in Hamamatsu are progressing, but slowly. Although they have a *tabunka kyōsei* plan and implement it by organizing various events, support, and other measures, integration outcomes are limited. Reasons are limited financial resources for integration measures and a resulting shortage of qualified staff, organization of mainly 3F events, and a lack of a suitable attitude to their task among some employees in charge of implementing *tabunka kyōsei* measures.

Civil society institutions

A huge support network emerged, among civil societies of host society and Brazilian community as well as among individuals of the Brazilian community. Moreover, the fully developed Brazilian community provides ethnic services, including ethnic media. The main roles of the Brazilian community for its members are supporting each other, especially by exchanging information, and providing a place of belonging. Mikako considers the Brazilian community's support as important for the adaptation to life in Japan (cf. interview Mikako). However, as the Brazilian community in Hamamatsu is fully developed, some remain permanently in the ethnic community rather than integrating with the host society. The attractiveness of an ethnic community rises with the degree of its institutional completeness and their opportunities of social advancement. Placement therein is relatively easy and the own cultural capital keeps its value. Another reason is that many plan to return to Brazil one day. The home country serves as exit option. Its attractiveness depends on the level of its development, the alternatives it offers, and the existence of kinship networks that still relate to the country of origin (cf. Esser 2001: 25-26). In other words, the degree of transnationalism of the individuals plays an important role as well. In Hamamatsu, Brazilian residents are locked into this community system and lose contact with Japanese residents (cf. Hoshino 2012: 89), especially when they are not involved with the host society through their children's Japanese school or their neighborhood association's activities. As a result, the invisible permanent settlement process (*kao no mienai teijūka*; see chapter 2.2.3.) occurs. During times of crisis, foreign residents become more visible, as the host society provides support for them. However, after the crisis, they become invisible again (cf. Hoshino 2012: 90).

Through multicultural education, mediating institutions can support integration processes. Especially civil society institutions use this possibility. The representative of Hamamatsu Kokusai Rikai Kyōiku Netto thinks that within multicultural education, foreign residents and their integration can be supported in two ways: First, by supporting them directly and doing workshops where both Japanese and foreign residents participate. Second, by changing the consciousness and way of thinking of the majority, in this case the Japanese residents, towards the foreign residents. Some institutions focus on the first way, especially by directly supporting foreign residents, such as HICE, the Brazilian Consulate General, and many Brazilian civil

society institutions. Others pursue the second option, such as Hamamatsu Kokusai Rikai Kyōiku Netto. The representative thinks that in this way, the projects build an encompassing approach (cf. interview Hamamatsu Kokusai Rikai Kyōiku Netto). Yet others organize both events aiming at fostering interaction and others focusing on changing the consciousness of the majority, such as FRECTiVE.

Analyzing the syncretism of Brazilian and Japanese elements during the *Hamamatsu matsuri*, Roth (2002) concluded that while official internationalization often is superficial, unofficial internationalization, especially among people from the same social class, that is blue-collar workers, might be more successful (cf. Roth 2002: 136-137). At an individual level, integration occurs sometimes unintentionally. In other words, class-coded culture can be more significant for mutual enrichment than ethnic solidarity (cf. *ibid.*: 128). Roth supposes that it is primarily political and economic institutions which pose an obstacle to the incorporation of foreign elements into the wider Japanese society (cf. *ibid.*). In other words, in the field of community and everyday life, mediating institutions play only a limited role for fostering integration. They can, however, establish a frame of encounter.

Cultural events provide such a space of encounter at which people can learn about each other's culture and meet people from other cultural backgrounds. Participants generally show a high interest in other cultures. However, people that are not open to or interested in other cultures probably do not participate in such events. Thus, mediating institutions fail to reach these people as well and sensitize them for cultural differences between them and people from other backgrounds living together in the same city. For the Brazilian residents, ethnic sports and culture clubs play a big role, as they help extending one's support network, finding friends, getting information, combatting depression, and relieving stress. For interaction with the host society, their benefit is limited. Most cultural events end at 3F and do not foster mutual understanding with a long-lasting effect. For the Brazilian members, they stay within their culture. Still, transnational engagement and local integration activities of migrant organizations are not contradictory, but do exist in parallel or are even linked in certain projects (cf. Fauser 2010: 289). The same goes for diaspora-nationalistic traits. Ethnic sports clubs in Germany for example, often stress their connectedness with the home country and at the same time their claim to be part of the host society (cf. Stahl 2010: 108). In other words, a transnational integration process is emerging

(cf. Fauser 2010: 290). For the Brazilians in Hamamatsu as well, joining an ethnic sports club is not a sign of retreat into their community and culture, but of the motivation to become more connected, even if interaction mainly happens with compatriots. In short, civil society institutions provide a good addition to endeavors of the local government. However, some Japanese civil society institutions focus too much on 3F events and fail to put themselves in the position of foreign residents.

In summary, Hamamatsu is a city that is easy to live in for both Japanese and foreign residents, as important information is available in various languages, HICE serves as a mediator in case of conflicts, and the Brazilian community ensures support for all kinds of needs. However, instead of smoothly integrating with the host society, most Brazilian residents live in a parallel society. Besides the three walls that hinder integration, reasons are unchanged underlying structures of the Brazilian residents' work and everyday life which impede their integration, such as long working hours, availability of all relevant information in Portuguese, a fully developed Brazilian community, and the unmade decision of return.

5.3.2. Four dimensions of social integration

Based on Esser's (2001) four dimensions of social integration, namely cultururation, placement, interaction, and identification (see chapter 2.1.2.), this chapter shows the role of community-related mediating institutions in Hamamatsu for the social integration of Brazilians.

Cultururation is progressing slowly. In Hamamatsu, HICE and civil society institutions offer many events that aim at fostering mutual understanding. However, in most cases, the target group of such events is either the host society's or the respective minority's side. Events for Japanese people aim at informing them about other cultures and sometimes help them to understand how it feels to be a foreign resident in Japan. Events for foreign residents mainly aim at explaining the way of living in Japan, the Japanese culture, and how to get along in Japan. Rarely, these groups mix at an event. Cultururation of both Brazilian and Japanese residents can take place through personal contacts and if the person seeks information on cultural knowledge. Both only happens if the residents actively come out of their respective community. The role of mediating institutions in this field is mainly to provide opportunities of

interaction and of gaining cultural knowledge and skills. Such opportunities can be intercultural exchange and mutual understanding events, language classes, or informative presentations on life in Brazil or in Japan, among others. Cultural skills also develop through observing the Other and through learning from mistakes and conflicts. In this case, mediating institutions have the role of conciliating between the parties and of countering stereotypes. Japanese language proficiency is still low among Brazilian residents. This might change with coming generations. However, cultural skills seem to spread faster. Some already adapted to what is perceived as the Japanese way of life, for example by knowing Japanese rules and complying to them or by arriving on time when having an appointment with Japanese people. Japanese residents are mostly not much interested in interaction with Brazilian residents and their cultural knowledge of Brazil remains limited.

Placement is progressing much faster. Hamamatsu developed a *tabunka kyōsei* plan and an ICC Vision. Implementation is ensured through HICE. The municipality offers a well-developed institutional infrastructure supporting integration, which consists of local government, civil society, educational institutions, and ethnic services. Hamamatsu offers a variety of opportunities to be placed in a good position within the host society, if one seeks to do so. Social welfare options for immigrants as well as their rights and participation opportunities improved in the last two decades. Foreign residents have the same rights (and duties) as Japanese ones. Taking part in decision making is possible through participation in committees, such as the Councils of Residents of the Brazilian Consulate General and the municipality. Apart from that, their contribution to local society is still limited, but possible. Brazilians who want to open their own business are encouraged to do so by the Brazilian Consulate General and HICE, which offer courses on entrepreneurship. Involvement in the city ward is possible through neighborhood associations' activities and at occasions like the Hamamatsu matsuri. However, few Brazilians seem to take advantage of these opportunities of encounter and taking one's role in local society. Japanese skills open job opportunities other than in the factories. Brazilians who can speak Japanese and Portuguese can get a job as interpreter and as such have a powerful position in regard to shaping intercultural communication and mutual understanding. Therefore, besides laws regarding foreign residents' rights, mediating institutions such as U-ToC and civil society organizations which offer Japanese language classes play an

important role for the placement process within the labor market, and also for interaction, as language skills are a precondition for that.

Interaction is still limited. Only few Brazilians seek more interaction with Japanese people in their free time. Most are exhausted from work, and a lack of Japanese language skills also hinders them to integrate better. The ones who try, sometimes are not successful, like Caroline who wanted to interact with her new neighbor. Few, however, integrate (more or less) successfully, such as Rafaela through her husband and Amanda by keeping away from the Brazilian community, studying Japanese, and actively participating in neighborhood events. Informal opportunities of interaction happen in everyday life, often within the framework of a mediating institution, such as at work or at school. Mediating institutions such as HICE and civil society actors organize many cultural and informative events to encourage interaction and build up mutual understanding. However, many of these *tabunka kyōsei* events actually do not really foster interaction, as they mostly aim at only one of the groups (either Japanese or Brazilian residents) to let them understand the other better. Moreover, these events often stop at 3F. Thus, real interaction does rarely take place. Although hobbies are done for recreation purposes, at the same time, they offer opportunities of interaction. Institutions which offer sports or dance classes and events such as the Hamamatsu *matsuri* become mediating institutions. However, interethnic mixing is limited.

Identification with the host society is low. The price would be to leave the Brazilian community and actively seek interaction with Japanese people, although some do so, and some even naturalize. Due to the myth of homogeneity, identification as Japanese is not possible as a foreign national (cf. Liu-Farrer 2020: 10, 206-209). Most only identify with certain values that are important for the host society, such as punctuality, reliability, and safety. This is what Esser (2001: 12, 16-17) calls empathic value integration. Sometimes, this identification leads Brazilian immigrants to oppose the influx of new Brazilian immigrants. Low participation in neighborhood activities show that their civic mindedness (cf. *ibid.*: 13, 16-17) and therefore their identification as part of the local society is low. Many stay in the Brazilian community but respect the Japanese way of life, or in Esser's (2001: 12-14, 16) terms, they accept the system. At the same time, many Brazilian residents maintain ties to Brazil and develop a transnational lifestyle which allows them to identify with both Brazil and

Japan. They keep in touch with their relatives, accompany the news from Brazil, maintain their language and culture, spend their free time with their family and Brazilian friends, pursue Brazilian sports activities, and make use of ethnic businesses.

A fifth role that mediating institutions in this field play for Brazilian immigrants is providing **emotional support and a place of belonging**. The Brazilian community and its institutions create networks among its members in which information is passed and support in everyday life matters is provided. Moreover, they help their members dealing with their experiences of alienation in Japan and relieve feelings of stress and loneliness. Mediating institutions do not only play a **role** for immigrants, but also **for the host society**. Through the implementation of *tabunka kyōsei* measures, the foreign presence in the city becomes visible. This raises the awareness among Japanese residents. Moreover, increased interaction opportunities help to combat stereotypes and foster mutual understanding.

Mediating institutions do not only foster **integration**, but can also **hinder** it. By employing interpreters, incentives for Brazilian residents to study Japanese or to interact more with Japanese residents are eliminated. Moreover, the fully developed Brazilian community tempts many Brazilian residents to stay inside the community and to not interact more with the host society. Still, at an institutional level, exclusion does not take place. As the goal of Hamamatsu is establishing a *tabunka kyōsei* society, measures to foster multiculturalism are increasing and discriminatory structures are decreasing. Opportunity structures for that aim are not perfect, but in place. The fact that the establishment of foreign communities is tolerated or even encouraged, however, can be understood as a structural support of segregation. Depending on the ambition and effort of the individuals involved, their integration is supported. However, it seems that both Japanese and Brazilian residents are mostly satisfied with the status quo of staying separated when it comes to everyday life and leisure time. In the following, I will show how Brazilian and Japanese residents' interaction is mediated in other fields of society, particularly religion and education. The next chapters address these accordingly.

6. The role of religious institutions for the integration of Brazilian immigrants in Hamamatsu

Life is not always as we imagine, but not always we imagine what we want to live.⁸⁵

(Allan Kardec)

I think that God is present in everything. Like the devil is present in everything as well. And like I eat a pancake: It's delicious, but fattening. (laughs) God: two sides, positive and negative. I try to analyze and stay with what is better, so let's say that in terms of religion, I am a sieve. I put in everything, swing it, separate one thing from the other, and enjoy what interests me. Because I think that even negative feelings are welcome when allotted in the right degree.

(Amanda)

These two quotes apply to the situation of many Brazilians in Japan. Life takes another path than they imagined: Instead of returning, they stayed. Many see that this has good and bad sides and try to enjoy the advantages of a life in Japan. In terms of religion, I met many who belong to more than one religion, who change their religion from time to time, or who are atheists but take from every religion what suits them, like Amanda does.

In Brazil, most people are Roman Catholic (123 million or 64.6%), followed by Evangelicals (42 million or 22.2%) and Spiritists (4 million or 2.0%). Umbanda and Candomblé follow with 600,000 believers or 0.3% (IBGE 2010).⁸⁶ Although Catholics are still the majority in Brazil, their numbers have declined over the last two decades. At the same time, numbers of other religious groups, such as Evangelicals and Spiritists, as well as people without religion, have risen (cf. Agência IBGE Notícias 2012; Silva Moreira 2014: 15, 17).

Upon arrival in Brazil, most Japanese migrants were not Catholic, but had Japanese religions. Nowadays, with younger generations of Nikkei assuming a Brazilian identity, the majority of Japanese Brazilians in Brazil are baptized Catholic. For many, the

⁸⁵ "A vida nem sempre é como sonhamos, mas nem sempre sonhamos o que queremos viver" is a famous quotation of Allan Kardec, on whose books Spiritist doctrine is based (see chapter 6.4.).

⁸⁶ In 2022, a new census was collected. However, only few results are available yet. For the latest information, see: IBGE (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística) ([2023]): *Censo 2022* [Census 2022]. <https://censo2022.ibge.gov.br/> and subordinated pages (last access: November 10, 2023).

decision to convert has been a social strategy of integration in a society that expected a religious participation by becoming Catholic (cf. Mita 2011: 223-224; Shoji 2008b: 15-16, 25). However, their number is proportionately lower than among other Brazilians. Ethnic religions, such as Buddhism and New Japanese Religions, are far more present in the Nikkei community. Furthermore, most of the Catholic Japanese Brazilians (like most Catholic Brazilians as well) are nominal Catholics, that is, they are Catholic in name only, but do not practice their faith (cf. Shoji 2008a: 50, 57; Shoji 2014: 34-36).

The religious distribution of the Brazilian immigrants in Japan almost mirrors the situation in Brazil (cf. Mita 2011: 228). Many people are Catholic. Still, some Evangelical and Pentecostal churches, but also Spiritist groups, came to Japan together with the Brazilian migrants. Especially Pentecostal churches are expanding. Their numbers among Brazilian migrants even outstripped the number of Brazilian Catholics – unlike in Brazil, where still most people are Catholic (cf. Hoshino 2012: 91; Shoji 2008a: 57). Other religions play a minor role for Brazilians in Japan. Ethnic redefinition as Japanese descendants made some Nikkei frequent Japanese New Religions (*shinshūkō*) (cf. Shoji 2008a: 51, 56; Shoji and Quero 2014: 201-202).⁸⁷ Traditional Buddhism is also relevant for ancestor worship.⁸⁸ Umbanda, an Afro-Brazilian religion that blends African religious traditions with Catholicism, Kardecian Spiritism, and Indigenous American beliefs, has been brought to Japan by Brazilian migrants in the late 1990s (cf. Arakaki 2013: 249, 257; Hoshino 2012: 102). As religious knowledge is passed on orally, Umbanda is not standardized in the diasporas, which allows the religion to adapt to the local cultural context (cf. Arakaki 2013: 254-255, 257-258). In Japan, it has been reinvented by incorporating the local socio-cultural context of the Brazilian migrants as well as Japanese spiritual entities in the Umbanda spiritual world (cf. *ibid.*: 266-267). Nowadays, presence of Umbanda is still not very well-known in Japan and even among Brazilians in Japan it is small (cf. Shoji 2008a: 76).⁸⁹

⁸⁷ As Japanese New Religions focus more on ancestor worship than they do in Brazil, this helps the Brazilians with Japanese descentance to reinterpret the tie to their ancestors, to make sense of their migrant experience, to overcome their *dekassegui* problems, and to integrate better into Japanese society (cf. Shoji 2008a: 77-78).

⁸⁸ Various branches already offer consultations in Portuguese. However, besides some funeral services, this refers more to social welfare support (cf. Shoji 2008a: 78-79).

⁸⁹ Only ten Umbanda centers exist in prefectures with a high concentration of Brazilians, namely in Aichi, Mie, Gifu, Shiga, Shizuoka, and Gunma (cf. Arakaki 2013: 249). Some of them share their

According to Shoji's research about the number of churches and temples with services in Portuguese, most are Evangelicals and Neo-Pentecostals, accounting for almost half of the churches and temples. Nikkei New Religions have the second most churches, constituting more than a quarter of the churches and temples, followed by the Catholic Church with more than a fifth. Traditional Buddhist institutions as well as Umbanda and Spiritism centers bring up the rear (cf. Shoji 2008a: 55).

However, not all Brazilian migrants who come to Japan are religious. Shoji (2008a: 53) estimates that at most 30% of the Brazilians in Japan are engaged regularly in some religious activity, with tendency to rise.⁹⁰ While some did not change their religious behavior after coming to Japan, others did so. Some migrants who were religious in their country of origin do not frequent the church any more after migrating. Others only started frequenting the church in Japan, or adopted another religion than they had before (cf. Shirahase 2016: 104). The majority of Japanese Brazilian migrants in the study of Quero (2010) did not attend services in Brazil, although they are (nominal) Roman Catholics. However, after migrating to Japan, many "found" their faith (cf. Quero 2010: 48). Especially Evangelical churches draw many Brazilian migrants (cf. Hoshino 2012: 95; Ikeuchi 2017a: 216; Ikeuchi 2017b: 760).

Among my interviewees, only Roxana stated to have found Jesus in Japan (cf. interview Roxana). Yuriko, Akane, and Keiko told me that in their families, different religions play a role (cf. interviews Akane, Keiko, Yuriko). When I went to the Holy Saturday service of a Korean evangelical church in Hamamatsu called *Maranata*, one of the Brazilians who went with us told me that her daughter accompanies her grandmother to the Catholic service that day. Furthermore, some even have more than one religion (especially Spiritists who are Catholic; see chapter 6.3.3.).

Others do not frequent church at all. Caroline, Amanda, and Thamara stated that they do not have any specific religion, but take from different religions what serves them. Caroline does not see herself as atheist, but believes that God is inside of everyone. Amanda stated to believe in everything. Thamara said that God continues being important for her, even after the decision to no longer attend the church (cf. interview Amanda, Caroline, Thamara). Fernanda, a nominal Catholic, stresses that

facilities with Spiritism (cf. Shoji 2008a: 76). Most followers are Brazilian migrants. Since Umbanda does not require exclusivity, many did not convert to the religion, but are still frequenting Pentecostal or Catholic services at the same time (cf. Arakaki 2013: 259-260).

⁹⁰ Official statistics on religious affiliation in Japan do not exist (cf. Shoji 2008a: 53).

she believes in God, although she does not frequent any church regularly (cf. interview Fernanda). These examples show that not having a religion does not mean not being religious. Faith and belief in God are not necessarily tied to religion and its institutions. For some people, faith as such plays a role in their everyday life, because it helps them overcome all kinds of difficulties. Aaron, a Brazilian Israeli, is one of the very few Jewish people in Hamamatsu. He does not frequent the synagogue anymore since having moved to the city a few months before we met, as there is none in Hamamatsu and surroundings. However, he states that his Jewish faith, identity, and culture are very important to him (cf. interview Aaron).

Although most of my interviewees do not frequent any church and it seems that they do not consider church as important for their religious life, the church as an institution still plays a role for some of them. Although Rafaela considers frequenting the service not as necessary, she goes to Brazilian church festivities every now and then to meet people and enjoy their positive energy. Her daughter does not understand Portuguese, but joins her, because she feels good at the church and does not want to go to the Japanese service (cf. interview Rafaela). For Roxana, rather than a religion, Christianity is a teaching that helps shaping a good character. According to her, the church assumes the role of introducing children to society and teaches them, but also adults, what is right and what is wrong (cf. interview Roxana). These examples show that religious institutions still play an important role for the Brazilian immigrants.

The immigration process makes the renewal of social networks necessary and brings about adaptation issues and crises that can result in a big religious demand. Besides providing a space to practice their faith, for many newcomer migrants, the church is an institution they traditionally turn to when in need of help or social contact (cf. Hovdelien 2019: 24). In Japan, a space with Portuguese as language of communication is offered rarely (cf. Shoji 2008a: 56, 63), public support for receiving foreigners and their settlement is limited as the institutions do not seem to be sufficiently prepared, and foreign residents are confronted with language and cultural differences, an unstable economic situation, and social exclusion (cf. Takahashi 2015: 104). In such a society, religious institutions try to make up for the institutional shortcomings of Brazilian as well as host society social institutions and networks (cf. Shirahase 2016: 118; Shoji 2008a: 63; Takahashi 2015: 104). They offer support, a

place of belonging, the opportunity to build ethnic networks, and – often different from the wider society, where competition and lack of fellowship are strong – trust and solidarity (cf. Martes 2001: 31-33; Quero 2010: 44).

Moreover, churches provide the migrants with social capital that helps them to deal with prejudices, discrimination, and exclusion by the host society (cf. Shirahase and Takahashi 2012: 78). They also help dealing with the *dekassegui* lifestyle. LeBaron von Baeyer (2020: 200) states that “religion, like family, served as a means of navigating and understanding their position as transnational labor migrants, as well as creating community and sociality outside of family, work, and school”. Churches serve as spiritual home and place of belonging for them. Moreover, they are shaped by the *dekassegui* experience and guide their believers’ relationship to work, leisure time, sociality, material wealth, and the migration decision (cf. *ibid.*: 170, 192, 200). Ikeuchi (2017b: 773-774) observed among her interviewees that the mind-numbing monotone routine, the suspension of life, and the feeling of having no time to live that are characteristic for many *dekassegui* in Japan changed after conversion to Pentecostalism. Instead of preparing the future, they start living in the present by spending time with God.

At the same time, LeBaron von Baeyer (2020: 193) found out that religion also constrains their believers. By putting God’s intentions first, some leave educational opportunities, jobs, and friendships with nonreligious people behind or stay in Japan to spread His word or because they could not afford to return to Brazil, as they offered their savings to the church. One example among my interviewees is Roxana, a Brazilian woman in her 50’s. Initially, she thought she would have come to Japan in order to save money. However, now she is convinced that she came because God wanted her to find Jesus. Only after finding Jesus in Japan, she knew that it was His love that she had been searching for and that changed her life.

In short, according to the literature, religious institutions have four important functions for immigrants besides practicing their faith: (1) providing a place of belonging where the ethnic community gathers to consolidate its identity and to build ethnic networks; (2) providing a place of encounter of different nationalities and especially with the host society; (3) providing support in times of personal or societal crises; and (4) help dealing with the *dekassegui* experience of having no time for oneself, the routine life, and experiences of exclusion.

In Hamamatsu, religious diversity already existed before the influx of foreign migrants in the 1990's. Besides Buddhist temples and Shintoist shrines, a variety of Shintō and New Religion sects⁹¹ that are already widespread in the whole country had emerged (cf. Shirahase and Takahashi 2012: 65). Nowadays, the variety of religions in Hamamatsu is even higher. The city has a mosque, mainly frequented by Indonesian migrants. Besides the Catholic Church, other Christian groups, such as Jehovah's Witnesses and a variety of evangelical churches, are represented.

When immigrants have a "different religious orientation than the mainstream beliefs of the receiving society[, this] is popularly perceived as anathema to integration that further creates social dissonance" (Bonifacio and Angeles 2010: 6). However, lived experiences show that religion can also be a pathway of integration (cf. *ibid.*: 7). This chapter analyzes the role of the three most widespread religions among Brazilians in this process, namely Evangelicalism, Catholicism, and Spiritism. As in Hamamatsu, an organization dealing with inter-religious relations does not exist (cf. CoE 2017b: 2), only the churches as such can function as mediating institutions. In this chapter, the Pentecostal church Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus, the Hamamatsu Catholic Church La Iglesia San Francisco de Asís de Hamamatsu, and the Spiritist center Centro Espírita Casa de Cáritas in the neighboring town Kakegawa are introduced and their activities are analyzed regarding their role for the integration of Brazilian immigrants and their relation to the host society as well as to what degree they fulfill the abovementioned functions. For this analysis I take into consideration the services as well as events and other activities, like social projects and other support organized by the churches. Lastly, their role as mediating institutions is discussed. As Pentecostalism is the most widespread religion among Brazilians in Japan, it plays a big role in integration. The following subchapter introduces Pentecostalism and its most prominent representative in Hamamatsu, the Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus.

⁹¹ Some of these sects, such as Seichō-no-le, Sekai Kyūseikyō, Sōka Gakkai, Tenri-kyō, and PL Kyōdan (Perfect Liberty), are also widespread in Brazil and not only frequented by Nikkei Brazilians. Thus, it can be assumed that their followers who migrate to Japan continue frequenting their church (cf. Shirahase and Takahashi 2012: 65, 68). When Seichō-no-le remigrated from Brazil to Japan, they opened their Hamamatsu branch in the city center, close to the station, where they offer services in Japanese and Portuguese (cf. Mita 2009: 271-272).

6.1. Pentecostalism

Pentecostalism is a form of Evangelicalism.⁹² It emanated from historic Protestantism in the United States at the beginning of the 20th century and is understood as the belief in the contemporaneity of the Holy Spirit's spiritual gifts, including glossolalia (speaking in tongues), healing, prophecy, and the ability to distinguish between the spirits. Another characteristic difference from Protestantism is the resumption of beliefs and practices of early Christianity, such as healing of the sick, expulsion of demons, divine concession of blessings, and working wonders (cf. Mariano 2004: 121, 134; Rosas 2016: 17).

6.1.1. Pentecostalism and the Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus

Brazilian Pentecostalism originated in Italian American Pentecostalism in Chicago which developed among Italian migrants at the beginning of the 20th century (cf. Palma 2020: 1-2). As missionary work is an important part of the Pentecostal movement (cf. *ibid.*: 216), Italian return migrants brought it back to Italy and at the same time, exported it to other regions, including South America, notably Argentina and Brazil (cf. *ibid.*: 1, 10).

The growth of Pentecostalism in Brazil

Pentecostalism in Brazil was founded by two Euro-American missions which were both based in Chicago and arrived in Brazil in the same year of 1910. The Italian mission founded the Congregação Cristã no Brasil (Christian Congregation in Brazil; CCB) in São Paulo, targeting the Italian diaspora (cf. Mariano 2004: 123; Palma 2020: 1, 122, 134). With around 2.3 million members, the CCB is Brazil's second-largest Pentecostal denomination today (cf. IBGE 2010). The largest is Assembléia de Deus (Assembly of God) and was founded among the Baptist population of Belém in 1911 by a Swedish-American mission (cf. Mariano 2004: 123; Palma 2020: 138).

⁹² Evangelicalism is a movement which encompasses different forms of Christianity. For further information on their differences and their development in the US, see for example: Pluralism Project (2020): *Fundamentalism, Evangelicalism, and Pentecostalism*. Harvard University. https://hwpi.harvard.edu/files/pluralism/files/fundamentalism_evangelicalism_and_pentecostalism.pdf (last access: November 10, 2023).

Nowadays, it has around 12.3 million members (cf. IBGE 2010). The third biggest Pentecostal denomination is the Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus (Universal Church of the Kingdom of God; IURD), which has around 1.9 million members in Brazil (cf. IBGE 2010; da Silva and Nalini 2015: 72). Although the number of Pentecostal denominations is high, these three biggest denominations account for 65% of all Pentecostals (cf. IBGE 2010).

The expansion of Evangelicalism⁹³ in Brazil, especially since the 1980s, is considered as globally outstanding. According to the official Brazilian census, evangelicals accounted for only 2.6% of the Brazilian population in the 1940s (cf. Mariano 2004: 121) and reached about 22% today, comprising around 42 million members (cf. IBGE 2010; Oro and Tadvall 2018: 56). The Catholic Church has been losing members to them throughout Brazil (cf. Agência IBGE Notícias 2012). Especially Pentecostals have grown, particularly among the lower middle class, and, making up for almost two thirds of the Evangelicals, became the second biggest religious group in Brazil (cf. IBGE 2010; Mariano 2004: 121, 124; Martes 2001: 30).

Pentecostal churches took advantage of the socio-economic, cultural, political, and religious changes at the end of the 20th century⁹⁴, and nowadays their influence can be seen not only in the religious field, but also in areas such as media, party politics, support, and publishing, thus gaining increasing public visibility, legitimacy, and social recognition (cf. Mariano 2004: 121-122). During the 110 years of its existence in Brazil, Pentecostalism became very complex and diversified. Nowadays, its denominations are classified in three currents: (1) classical Pentecostalism, which encompasses the pioneer churches *Congregação Cristã no Brasil* and *Assembléia de Deus*; (2) Pentecostalism that emerged in the 1950s in São Paulo and focuses on divine cure; and (3) Neo-Pentecostalism, which developed in the second half of the 1970s and whose churches were founded by Brazilian pastors. Its leading church is the *Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus* (cf. Mariano 2004: 123-124). Among the

⁹³ In Latin America, the term “evangelical” encompasses three currents: (1) historic, traditional, or ethnic Protestantism, mostly brought by German and other Protestant immigrants (e.g. *Luterana*, *Presbiteriana*, *Anglicana*, *Metodista*, *Batista*); (2) Pentecostalism, evolving mainly after the Second World War by conversion (e.g. *Congregação Cristã no Brasil*, *Assembléia de Deus*); and (3) Neo-Pentecostalism, characterized by a theology of prosperity and exorcism of Afro-Brazilian entities (e.g. *Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus*) (cf. Mariano 2004: 134; Shoji 2008a: 54).

⁹⁴ These changes include an intensification of the social and economic crises, the weakening of the Catholic Church, religious freedom and the related pluralism, the redemocratization of Brazil, and the fast dissemination of the means of mass communication (cf. Mariano 2004: 122).

Pentecostal churches, the ones of the third group are the fastest growing, the most liberal⁹⁵, the best adapted to Brazilian society, and the ones with the highest visibility in Brazilian television and online media (cf. Mariano 2004: 124; da Silva and Nalini 2015: 69). From the variety of evangelical denominations, I chose the Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus as an example, as this church is – together with Igreja Internacional da Graça de Deus – the biggest Neo-Pentecostal representative from Brazil in Japan (cf. Shoji 2008a: 54).

Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus

The Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus (Universal Church of the Kingdom of God; IURD) is the most important, successful, and controversial Brazilian Neo-Pentecostal church (cf. Mariano 2004: 125; Oro and Tadvold 2018: 54), focusing on healing, salvation, and prosperity (cf. Rosas 2016: 17). It was founded in 1977 by Edir Bezerra Macedo in Rio de Janeiro (cf. Oro and Tadvold 2018: 55). In the 1990s, it already covered all Brazilian states, reaching an annual growth rate of more than 25% (cf. Mariano 2004: 125).

The fast growth of the IURD was facilitated by electronic evangelization, the accelerated formation of new pastors, the high number of volunteers, long opening hours of its temples from 7h to 22h and four worships a day, the church's aggressiveness, persistency, and persuasiveness, its high ability for raising resources, its vertical and centralized structure, its expensive and strategic investments in new congregations and temples, and the acquisition of big companies, such as radio and TV stations, publishers, record labels, construction companies, data processing companies, insurance companies, travel agencies, and financial institutions abroad (cf. Mariano 2004: 125-129, 135; Oro and Tadvold 2018: 60, 65-66). The church established its own radio network and daily television show (in Brazil and other countries) and nowadays is also present in social media (cf. IURD 2023).

⁹⁵ Neo-Pentecostal churches removed some traditional characteristics of Pentecostalism, for which its believers were recognized and sometimes also stigmatized. Neo-Pentecostal churches allow their followers to use fashionable clothes, cosmetics, and other beauty products, to frequent beaches, pools, cinemas, and theaters, to cheer for a soccer team, to do different sports, to watch television, and to play and listen to different musical rhythms. In recent years, most other Pentecostal churches gradually started to allow these things to its followers as well. In all three types of Pentecostal churches, however, a prohibition of the consumption of alcohol, tobacco, and drugs as well as of extramarital and homosexual sex persists (cf. Mariano 2004: 124).

Another proselytism strategy of the IURD is syncretizing beliefs, rituals, and practices of other religions (cf. Mariano 2004: 132).⁹⁶ Moreover, by electing its pastors and bishops who belong to different political parties to the parliaments at municipal, state, and federal levels, IURD gets access to the regulating authorities that deal with the church's interests, such as defense of the traditional family, prohibition of abortion, as well as tax issues and media concessions (cf. Oro and Tadvold 2018: 55-56).

Nowadays, the IURD exists in 135 countries on five continents (cf. IURD 2023; R7 2020). In all of them, the IURD attracts mainly believers from the poorest and most uneducated social classes (cf. Mariano 2004: 125). The number of temples reached 8.773 in Brazil and 3.559 in other countries (cf. R7 2020). Most of them are on the American continent, second most are in Africa, third most in Europe. Asia is, before Oceania, the penultimate continent (cf. Oro and Tadvold 2018: 58). In each country, the IURD adapts to the local society's norms and culture. This includes even the church's name, that is changed in some countries to hide its religious identity and thus escape prejudices and intolerance (cf. Oro and Tadvold 2018: 59). The IURD uses social work, such as emergency support and activities for the church members, as a strategy to attract new believers, especially natives from the respective country. By doing so, social work becomes an instrument for claiming legitimacy and building connections that are essential for the settlement of the religion (cf. Rosas 2016: 18, 20-21, 24).

6.1.2. Pentecostalism among Brazilian migrants in Japan and the Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus in Hamamatsu

Brazil is one of the countries that most export Pentecostalism and other evangelical churches. Wherever Brazilian emigrants go, they take their belief with them (see for example Martes 2001). When the *dekassegui* moved to Japan, they took their beliefs with them, including Pentecostalism (cf. Quero and Shoji 2014: 36).

⁹⁶ However, the IURD's intolerance and its hostility toward Afro-Brazilian cults continue (cf. Mariano 2004: 133).

Pentecostalism in Japan

In Japan, numerous Evangelical and New Religion (*shinshūkyō*) sects emerged since the high influx of Brazilians in the 1990s (cf. Mita 2011: 226). Most of them developed out of a local initiative by a *dekassegui* who started to act as a pastor (cf. Shoji 2008a: 52; Shoji 2014: 36). The number of evangelical pastors in Japan is estimated with 350 (cf. *ibid.*: 64). Of the religions in Japan, evangelical churches have most followers among the Brazilians (cf. Hoshino 2012: 91). Especially Neo-Pentecostal churches have invested much in operating among the *dekassegui* in Japan. Their gatherings are held in Portuguese and they have a high number of Brazilian, even *dekassegui*, pastors. The largest Brazil-derived Protestant denomination in terms of numbers of places of worship is Assembleia de Deus, accounting for almost a quarter, followed by Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus and Missão Apoio (10% each) (cf. Shoji 2008a: 58, 62, 65, 72).

Pentecostal churches offer a high presence in terms of quantity, geography, and media (cf. Shoji 2008a: 56). They often emerge in peripheral areas where many Brazilians live and where the Catholic Church rarely offers service in Portuguese (cf. *ibid.*: 52, 55-56). Relocations and name changes are common (cf. Hoshino 2012: 98). Their number grows rapidly. As they all collect the tithe, even with a small number of believers a church has a financial basis to survive (cf. interview Catholic Church). Moreover, founding of new churches is uncomplicated and divisions are incentivized, as unity has not a high priority (cf. Martes 2001: 29). The repeating process of growth and split-off is also shown by Hoshino (2012: 97-98) in his analysis of a Brazil-derived church⁹⁷ in Hamamatsu. It grew rapidly, but soon the biggest part separated and became independent. The remaining group started to grow again, and the same process recurred three times. Only their pastor always remained the same (cf. Hoshino 2012: 98). As a result, many small evangelical churches exist in Hamamatsu nowadays.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ In Hoshino's book chapter, the term "Brazil-derived church" ("*Burajiru-kei purotesutanto kyōka*") refers to churches that are founded by or for the Brazilian migrants in Japan (cf. Hoshino 2012: 87). Based on his description of the churches he analyzed, I assume that the label "purotesutanto" refers to evangelical and / or ethnic churches.

⁹⁸ Some Pentecostal churches founded by *dekassegui* in Japan even expanded to other countries, such as the Philippines and Honduras, or started a reverse mission in Brazil, which shows not only their growth but also their transnational character (cf. Shoji 2008a: 66, 69).

However, Pentecostal churches in Japan base their theology on similar characteristics as they do in Brazil, namely prosperity through high tithes and exorcism of mainly Afro-Brazilian entities. This doctrine loses much of its plausibility and becomes emptied in the Japanese context, as *dekassegui* are not affected by poverty as they were in Brazil, and Afro-Brazilian spirits are not believed to have travelled to Japan with the *dekassegui*. Thus, Pentecostal theology makes more sense for those who intend to return to Brazil.⁹⁹ However, with the process of a more definite settlement unfolding, the focus of many Brazilians shifts from saving money to integration into the host society and family issues, like their children's education. Even for *dekassegui* whose aim still is to save up money, giving high donations goes against this objective.¹⁰⁰ As a result, the Brazilian community represents a limited market. The progressing process of integration turns into a dilemma, because Pentecostal churches try to preserve the ethnic community. Thus, some churches already started prioritizing to attract Japanese followers and to cooperate with Japanese Pentecostal groups in order to ensure the further expansion of the group.¹⁰¹ One of the biggest challenges for the Pentecostal churches is to adapt their services to the *dekassegui* context in Japan. They do so by presenting themselves as a solution for health, emotional, and family division problems (cf. Shoji 2008a: 70, 72-76).

Japanese followers are very rare in Pentecostal churches. As reasons, Hoshino (2012: 93-94) states that Brazil-derived churches do not care about attracting Japanese people, but only new Brazilian followers. They advertise themselves in Portuguese, especially through ethnic media and word-of-mouth recommendations. As a result, Japanese people do not actively turn to these churches. The few Japanese followers came to the churches because they have a Brazilian spouse or partner. However, while ethnic and linguistic walls seem to disappear with the new generations and despite an increase in mixed marriages, the number of Japanese followers is still low (cf. Shoji 2008a: 71).

⁹⁹ This becomes, for example, visible in the composition of followers of the Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus. Based on a survey conducted by IURD international, Shoji (2008a: 74) concludes that its result – even if not representative – indicates that the majority of the IURD followers intends to return to Brazil ultimately.

¹⁰⁰ Shoji (2008a: 73) has the impression that tithes offered at the Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus in Japan are lower than the ones in Brazil.

¹⁰¹ Like in Brazil, Neo-Pentecostals such as the IURD do not participate in such initiatives (cf. Shoji 2008a: 70).

At the same time, some Brazilians cross the ethnic boundary by leaving their ethnic church and starting to frequent a Japanese evangelical church. This transition is facilitated as often these are parishes within the same church. Main reason is to integrate better. Roxana changed because she wanted to learn more Japanese and study the bible in Japanese (cf. interview Roxana). Hoshino (2012: 96-97) interviewed a Brazilian in Hamamatsu who changed from a Brazilian parish to a Japanese one. About ten of its 100 attendees were Brazilians which had frequented the Portuguese ones in the past. Hoshino's interviewee crossed the ethnic boundary because he wanted his children who could speak better Japanese than Portuguese to develop a Christian consciousness by studying Christian teachings in Japanese (cf. Hoshino 2012: 99-100). In the following sections, I will present IURD and its activities in Japan. Subsequently, I will analyze the church's efforts regarding integration of the Brazilian migrants in Hamamatsu.

The Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus in Japan

The first IURD church in Japan opened in Gunma prefecture in 1995 and in the same year, IURD established its first church in Hamamatsu (cf. Universal Japan n.d.: [2]). Nowadays, the IURD Japan has 23 churches in 15 prefectures. Besides being represented in the major cities Tōkyō and Ōsaka, many churches are located in areas with a high concentration of Brazilian residents, such as Ōizumi and the surroundings of Nagoya and Hamamatsu (cf. *ibid.*: [16]). Worship services are held in Portuguese with interpretation in Spanish, English, and Japanese (cf. *ibid.*: [2]).

In Hamamatsu, the IURD has two churches. One is located in *higashi-ku* and serves Japanese believers. In 2005, they opened a second church in the city center, close to the station, where they serve their Brazilian believers (cf. Mita 2009: 272; Mita 2011: 227). Worship services are held two to four times a day, and the building is open all day long. A Brazilian acquaintance took me to IURD's church close to the station and introduced me to one of its leaders. When I first entered the hall on the first floor, I had the impression of being in a theater: many rows of upholstered folding seats, pillars in between, and a stage at the front.

Soon after, I attended a Sunday service of IURD in Hamamatsu in May 2018. At the entrance, I was welcomed by a few staff members who offered me headphones with

an English interpretation of the worship and assigned a seat to me. Background music made for a pleasant atmosphere. On the wall behind the stage, that day's motto was written on a big poster: "Vale da Decisão. Onde o fraco se torna forte" (The valley of decision. Where the weak becomes strong). The worship was held in a very charismatic way. At the beginning, the pastor blessed water and asked everybody to come to the front and drink. Everyone was given a scarf to carry with them for a week, because then a miracle was supposed to happen. Afterwards, the pastor held his sermon about the strategies of God and the devil. The most important contents were projected on a screen. In order to bring his point across more vividly, the pastor constantly repeated the keywords of what he just said or asked rhetorical questions, and the worshippers muttered the answer to themselves or to their neighbors. Worship songs were sung in Portuguese, accompanied by a man playing the piano. Prayers were accompanied by relaxing music from the loudspeaker. Many believers seemed to be very moved by the service. During prayers, I saw people holding their hands up, praying on their own, with desperate facial expressions. Donations were collected during the service. When the pastor requested to do so, about half of the people put money in an envelope that has been distributed before and brought it to the front. Most of them did so solemnly. At the end of the worship, the pastor asked everybody to walk in a big circle along the walls of the room and to hold a picture of a loved one. When passing one of the pastors, they blessed the picture. He asked the people to ring their bedsheets next time to let them get blessed. After the service, the men gathered at one side of the room and the pastor talked to them. A young woman explained to me that once a month, the men are taught how to behave well, for example by helping with the household.

When I attended the worship on another day, already at the entrance I was asked if I was here for the first time and who indicated the church to me. When hearing that it was my second time, they assured me that I came back because God wanted me to do so. On that day, some people brought old clothes. By command of the pastor, they ripped them, symbolizing the old life they leave behind. Believer testimonies about their faith and how IURD changed their life for the better are an important component of the worships as well.¹⁰² When I attended a worship in May 2019, a video message of an IURD pastor was shown who described how his wife had fallen

¹⁰² Not only during the worship, but also in the IURD written propaganda material, testimonies of how the life of believers changed completely to the better after entering the IURD are presented.

ill and, although no doctor had hope anymore, was miraculously cured. Then, a couple came to the front. The wife reported how she had suffered from domestic violence and how her husband changed from the moment she donated all her savings to IURD. Her husband confirmed that now their marriage was perfect. After the worship, I was assigned to one of twelve 'tribes', named after the Twelve Tribes of Israel. The other members of my tribe explained that frequently, mainly on Sundays, events such as sports games are held, where the tribes play against each other and everyone should go to cheer for the members of one's own tribe. Then, they invited me to have lunch with them in one of the rooms on the upper floors of the building. Together with – mainly Brazilian – youth we had lunch with rice and chicken in a jolly atmosphere.

These impressions show the characteristics of IURD's propaganda strategies: Welcoming new believers warmly and a passionate worship style help retaining people. Newcomers are inserted into smaller groups within the church, such as youth groups or believers' groups who meet regularly. Mariano (2004: 132) explains this preoccupation with newcomers with the intention to create interpersonal relations and to instruct them about the necessity to participate in services regularly. Other strategies are testimonies and blessings of personal objects in order to emphasize the transforming power of God in the lives of human beings (cf. Mariano 2004: 130).

Evangelicals put the emphasize on faith (cf. Martes 2001: 31). In our conversation, the leader of IURD's youth group Força Jovem stressed various times the importance of faith for a successful religious life. This rhetoric corresponds to what Mariano (2004: 129) says about faith in IURD: Only who has faith will be blessed. Having faith means trusting blindly in what the pastor preaches and acting accordingly. Donations are often justified as an expression of that faith, which is corelated with the degree of risk one takes when giving money. The church's doctrine promises that the higher the sacrifice, the bigger the divine retribution. This fits to what Martes (2001: 31-32) found out about the Evangelicals' message: Each person is responsible for his or her own economic condition.

However, as described above, this theology of prosperity lost much of its plausibility in Japan. Thus, the IURD in Japan shifted its focus more on cure, solving problems related to the *dekassegui* situation, and the dissemination of its interpretation of Christian family values. In order to bring them across it does not only use its worships,

but also other gatherings, and its media channels through which IURD does not only disseminate its religious messages, but also provides Brazilian news and topics related to *dekassegui* (cf. Shoji 2008a: 76). In Hamamatsu, IURD offers weekly meetings to teach about a variety of everyday life issues: financial education, physical and mental health, school of faith, love therapy in order to improve relationships, solving of problems, believing in the impossible, family base, and cure of addictions (cf. Universal Japan n.d.: 3-10). Furthermore, various affiliated institutions pass Christian values and teachings to children, adolescents, and elderly people (cf. *ibid.*: 11-14).

One example is Força Jovem Universal (FJU) which is financed by the church and provides social work for youth and adolescents of all nationalities between 13 and 35 years. FJU supports their development and helps them finding their way in life and realizing their dreams (cf. interview FJU; Universal Japan n.d.: 14). FJU also helps young people who struggle with addictions, criminal acts, and social isolation or who even think of suicide¹⁰³ or death. The leader of the FJU Japan estimates the number of FJU participants in Japan with 500 young people. Although Brazilians account for the highest number, Japanese, Chinese, Vietnamese, and Mozambicans participate as well (cf. interview FJU).

Through cultural activities, sports, media projects¹⁰⁴, and discussions, young people who have difficulties in taking their role in society learn how to give their life a new direction, how to overcome their anxieties and traumas, and how to believe in themselves (cf. FJU Japan n.d.; interview FJU; Universal Japan n.d.: 14). University students support the projects as volunteers, help the adolescents deepen their knowledge, and serve as role models (cf. interview FJU). Other social projects include Uniforça, adolescents who help people in need in times of catastrophes, such as fires and earthquakes, and a citizenship project that supports adolescents when they need to apply for documents or search for a job and also helps them becoming responsible citizens (cf. interview FJU). Participants in the activities of the FJU do not necessarily have to be believers of the IURD (cf. *ibid.*). However, it is likely that many

¹⁰³ Although the leader of FJU Japan used the word *homicídio* (homicide), I assume that he meant to say "suicide".

¹⁰⁴ In the media project, the adolescents develop technical knowledge in design, photography, online video edition, and reports. The media project is in charge of disseminating the work done by the FJU (cf. FJU Japan n.d.). The FJU leader stated that some adolescents learned how to take photos and make videos in the FJU media project and nowadays work in this area professionally (cf. interview FJU).

participants of FJU start frequenting IURD, as Força Jovem is closely linked to IURD and in Pentecostal churches social assistance is often interconnected with proselytization.

In summary, evangelical denominations actively attract Brazilian migrants. IURD focuses much on proselytization. Their worships welcome everyone warmly, are easy to understand, appealing, and modern compared to the traditional and ritual-based service of the Catholic Church. IURD addressed everyday life problems and possible solutions. It offers educational projects, a substitutional family, and a place of belonging for all age groups. The next section analyzes, what role the church plays for the integration of Brazilian migrants who frequent IURD or take part in its projects and meetings.

6.1.3. The IURD's role for integration of Brazilian migrants

Brazil-derived Pentecostal churches can be called “ethnic churches”¹⁰⁵. They offer an ethnic religiosity that solves problems through conversion. This attracts particularly Brazilians who are of mixed or non-Japanese descent. Besides preserving the Brazilian identity, by addressing the immigrants' everyday life problems they serve as an ethnic support network, place of belonging, and substitutional family (cf. Shoji 2008a: 51-52, 69). This belonging is also constructed on a discursive level. Ikeuchi (2017a) presents three kinds of mutually inclusive discourses that constitute Brazilian Pentecostalism in Japan: (1) Pentecostalism as *Brazilian* due to the perceived Brazilian warmth and the Pentecostal emotional expressiveness and worship style; (2) Pentecostalism as *Japanese* due to the supposed Japanese orderliness, modesty, and honesty that conform to Christian moral righteousness; and (3) Pentecostalism as *Christian* and thus universal, transcendent, transnational, and transethnic (cf. Ikeuchi 2017a: 218, 223, 225). Especially the third discourse helps many Brazilians “escape the perceived limits of ethnic belonging in two potential homelands” (ibid.: 224) and find an alternative place of belonging as well as proliferate their identities (cf.

¹⁰⁵ Churches which are not connected to the regional society and have almost no Japanese followers can be designated as ethnic churches. Examples which play a role for Brazilian immigrants are Evangelical churches, Spiritist centers, and Umbanda (cf. Hoshino 2012: 92, 96; Shirahase and Takahashi 2012: 67).

ibid.: 225- 226). These discourses are based on stereotypes that many Brazilians hold of their own and of the Japanese culture (see chapter 5.2.3.).

Evangelical churches provide a network which the Brazilians use to obtain reliable information on Japan. Psychological and physical support, for example by distribution of food and consultation regarding human relations at home and at work, serve as buffer to Japanese society. Believers can also relieve stress through singing and dancing in service. Moreover, evangelical churches offer employment opportunities for Brazilians, for example as pastor (cf. Yamada 2011: 214-215).

Pentecostal churches try to give meaning to the migrants' – often still precarious – lives. Many Brazilian migrants in Japan are in a state of personal crisis and thus more susceptible to the Pentecostal doctrine. They might feel attracted by the charismatic worships and the big church family which provides them with the emotional affection and the assistance they need. Through seminars and meetings, the IURD offers advice concerning basic problems such as financial organization and drug addiction. According to the FJU leader, the church strengthens its followers so that they become good persons (cf. interview FJU). The testimonies suggest that the IURD plays a big role in their personal life, for example by turning their unhealthy marriage into a happy one, or by giving them hope despite their hard-working life.

Conversion to Pentecostal churches also serves as a compensation for the failures of progress regarding upward mobility and the project of returning to Brazil, as many migrants manage to break out of the daily routine and start to actually live in the present by taking time for themselves with God (cf. Ikeuchi 2017b: 772-774, 778). Many also start framing their migration decisions differently: The ones staying in Japan tend to see their migration “as a mission driven by higher purpose, for they are to evangelize a modern and yet ‘pagan’ nation such as Japan” (cf. ibid.: 777). One of my interviewees also reinterpreted her migration to Japan after converting to a Pentecostal church as something that was necessary for finding Jesus (cf. interview Roxana). Others who go back to Brazil do so because wanted them to return (cf. LeBaron von Baeyer 2020: 153-154) and therefore, they have more confidence in their future, realizing a successful middle-class life (cf. Ikeuchi 2017b: 777).

Pentecostal churches fill an important gap in the host society's support for migrants by helping them solving problems not already addressed sufficiently by other

organizations, such as conflict prevention and mediation with Japanese residents, as well as the rehabilitation of drug addicts and Brazilians imprisoned in Japan (cf. Shoji 2008a: 52). Although in Hamamatsu, civil society and support for Brazilian migrants are strong, the IURD contributes significantly to this support system, as their assistance reaches people who in times of need first turn to the church. On the other hand, their support function is limited, as their activities are restricted to followers of the own church or linked with proselytization strategy.

Evangelical churches are not separated from a wider religious community. Relations to other Brazilian evangelical churches exist. Especially links to Japanese evangelical churches facilitate the process of adaptation to the local Japanese society (cf. Yamada 2011: 215). Still, direct interaction with the host society is barely fostered by Brazil-derived Pentecostal churches. The vast majority of IURD worshippers in Hamamatsu seem to be Brazilian. Moreover, interaction with other believers during the service has a predominantly ritual character.

Força Jovem plays a bigger role for integration of Brazilian and other youth into the host society, or rather, into society in general. The FJU presents itself as a real family which always has its arms open to help and welcome everyone (cf. Universal Japan n.d.: 14). It assists the adolescents in getting along in their everyday life and encourages them to make their way in society. The FJU leader cited two reasons why young people end up on bad paths: Either they work too much which leaves them without time for themselves, or they do not work at all which leads to them spending much time alone (cf. interview FJU). Many children in Japan spend much time alone because their parents work much, like Cora, the girl from the opening vignette, who told me that she frequents Força Jovem. Some end up spending time on the street, taking drugs, stealing, or getting pregnant early (cf. interviews IIEC, Lápiz de Cor; see also chapter 7.2.3.). Thus, a group that gives them a perspective for their future, provides them with education through its projects, and makes them feel like having a real family life is exactly what they need in order to become adults who lead a stable life. In other words, the FJU fills a gap that arose due to circumstances of *dekassegui* families living in Japanese society. Furthermore, the FJU plays a role in raising a new generation with the IURD's understanding of Christian values. As Roxana said, forming the character early on is important for the

next generation to not get as much interpersonal problems as their parents' generation did (cf. interview Roxana).

In summary, IURD's role as a mediating institution does not consist in connecting Brazilian and Japanese residents. In other words, at IURD, *kyōsei* can be understood literally as coexistence. Still, by offering social networks, education and assistance for the youth, emotional comfort, and belonging, Pentecostal churches help the migrants getting along in the host society and organizing their life in Japan. Another church frequented by a high number of Brazilian residents in Hamamatsu is the Catholic Church. The following chapter introduces the Catholic Church and its branch in Hamamatsu, examines its activities, and analyzes its role as mediating institution.

6.2. Catholic Church

Around 1.3 billion people or 17.7% of the world population are Catholics (Agenzia Fides 2019: 2; as of 2017). While on the American continent, 63.8% are Catholic, in Asia it is only 3.3% of the population (Agenzia Fides 2019: 5). In Japan, 444,441 people are Catholic, corresponding to 0.35% of the population (Catholic Bishops' Conference of Japan 2013: 1; as of 2012). Thus, the Catholic Church in Japan plays a minor role in the religious landscape. Christianity in general is not very widespread in Japan: Only around 1% of the Japanese are Christian (cf. Shoji 2008a: 77).

While the number of Shintō and Buddhist believers decreased much since the 1990s, the number of Catholics in Japan rose significantly¹⁰⁶ together with the wave of new immigrants, because many migrants from Latin America and from the Philippines are Catholic (cf. LeMay 2018: 9; Shoji 2008a: 57). Nowadays, around half of the Catholic parishioners in Japan have a foreign nationality. In some churches, they even outstrip the numbers of Japanese parishioners whose numbers are shrinking due to demographic change. This situation brings about conflicts among Japanese and newcomer migrant parishioners. However, the latter are essential for the continuity of the Church (cf. Shirahase 2016: 100, 107). As a multiethnic religious institution, the Catholic Church is an important actor for the development of interculturalism (cf. *ibid.*: 105). In this subchapter, the Catholic Church and its intercultural efforts are

¹⁰⁶ While the total number of believers decreased from 217,229,831 people in 1990 to 179,560,113 believers in 2022, the number of Christians rose from 1,463,791 to 1,967,584 (cf. Bunkachō [2022]).

examined. Subsequently, the Catholic Church in Hamamatsu is introduced and its role for the integration of Brazilian residents in the city is analyzed.

6.2.1. The Catholic Church and interculturalism

The Roman Catholic Church acts at both the international and local levels. At the latter, church policy can conflict with reality (cf. Hovdelien 2019: 17-18), as waves of new immigration pose a challenge. Thus, local solutions and policies have to be implemented. According to Shirahase (2016: 99-100, 105), the Catholic Church internalized the value of interculturalism. Not only the central administration, but also the individual churches at the local level take concrete actions by actively developing interculturalism strategies. Where the numbers of foreign Catholics are high, parallel congregations emerge, masses are celebrated in different languages, and priests who come from the same countries as the immigrants are appointed, like it is the case in Norway where many Polish Catholics live. The Catholic Church in Norway understands itself as a migrant church and shows a strong commitment to Catholic migrants and their needs. Its policy is based on the guideline “Neither assimilate nor segregate”. This means that the process of integration should not be impeded nor accelerated by the church (cf. Hovdelien 2019: 22-27). In Ireland, where 78.3% are Catholic (CSO 2019; as of 2016), the church runs and initiated a variety of pro-migrant organizations, supporting immigrant social integration at the civil society level. With their activities, they shape much of the national infrastructure of social support for migrants until today, while the state plays only a minimal role regarding funding (cf. Gray 2016: 327-328, 334-336, 339).

The rapidly growing presence of immigrants, their ritual and devotional traditions, their values, and their youthfulness often transform the Catholic Church in the host society, such as in the case of Latin American immigrants in the US (cf. Matovina 2012: 246-247). However, some factors hinder mutual enrichment between Latinos and their fellow Catholics, such as ethnic tensions and language barriers, generational and cultural differences, anti-immigrant attitudes, different opinions on how to share a parish, and power imbalance inside the parish. As a result, participation of Latinos diminishes. At the same time, especially in parishes with a majority of Hispanics where masses are held in Spanish or with Hispanic devotional

traditions and liturgical styles in order to preserve traditional Latino Catholicism (cf. *ibid.*: 248-249), some other Catholics “feel overtaken and leave a parish where they had been active or even abandon their practice of Catholicism” (*ibid.*: 248).

Within the church, tensions arise between the goals of assimilating the Latinos into mainstream US Catholicism and culture, on the one hand, and promoting separate structures for the Latino communities, on the other (cf. Matovina 2012: 46). In his landmark study of 1975, Silvano Tomasi examined the Catholic impact on integration, taking the Italian immigrants in New York from 1880-1930 as an example. Based on the three stages of immigrant group assimilation in American society, Tomasi identified three stages in the development of Italian parishes: (1) “duplex parishes” (incorporation of the immigrants in existing parishes by letting them use the basement of the church); (2) clear separation through creation of Italian national parishes; (3) interethnic, territorial parishes (fusion of Catholics of different ethnic backgrounds into a new social amalgam that developed due to declining immigration and integration of the descendants into the host society) (cf. Matovina 2012: 46-47; Tomasi 1975: 61-102).

Unity can be reached by a gradual integration of immigrants over three generations. Segregating them first in national parishes allows them to practice their faith, preserve their culture, and find meaning in the issues of their new life, while at the same time segregation effectively fosters integration into US society. Forced assimilation by expecting them to participate in the English-speaking parish from the beginning can cause frustration, resentment, abandonment of participation in Catholic parish life, and unwillingness to integrate (cf. Matovina 2012: 47, 63, 66; Tomasi 1975: 105). The national parishes allowed the immigrants to integrate voluntarily from a position of strength and in their own time (cf. Matovina 2012: 48, 55). Thus, integration was reached through separation (cf. Tomasi 1975: 140).

The phase of national parish dynamic among Latinos in the US, equivalent to the second stage identified by Tomasi, seems to get prolonged by two main factors: a continuing flow of immigration from Latin America which reinforces culture and language, and a wider support for diversity within church and society (cf. Matovina 2012: 52-53). Another reason to stick to ethnic solidarity is the discrimination experienced by many Latinos, mainly due to their skin color, that does not allow them and their descendants, even when familiar with language and culture, to easily blend

into US society (cf. *ibid.*: 54).¹⁰⁷ Nowadays, however, Latino participation in English-dominant parishes is increasing and the parish development process entered the phase of the third stage (cf. *ibid.*: 58).

As the examples from these three countries show, the social teaching of the Catholic Church is based on a 'culture of encounter', that is establishing interactions and building a human family, and sees pluralism, hospitality, and welcoming of migrants as core elements for church as well as society (cf. Castillo Guerra 2015: 425-426; Matovina 2012: 53-54). In Japan, these intercultural strategies of the Catholic Church can be observed as well. It became revitalized through the influx of foreign Catholics that settled in Japan (cf. Murai 2018: 33). As early as in 1993, the Episcopal Commission for Social Issues of the Catholic Bishops' Conference of Japan called for *kyōsei* within the Catholic Church (cf. Murai 2018: 32).¹⁰⁸ According to Murai (*ibid.*), the Catholic Church in Japan is on its way to become a multilingual and multicultural church.

Interculturalism in religious institutions is divided into two types: interculturalism within the institution, like changes of procedure due to the encounter of different ethnicities, and the one that goes beyond the institution, such as activities that contribute to interculturalism in the society (cf. Shirahase 2016: 117). According to Quero (2010: 49), the Catholic Church in Japan recently expanded its social role, supporting the adaptation of Brazilian migrants to the Japanese host society. The Catholic Church is an important part of Brazilian immigrants' network which supports especially the adaptation of newly arrived Brazilians to everyday life in Japan through organizing Japanese classes and providing a space of ethnic encounter, information exchange, and recreation (cf. Mita 2011: 224). It is also a place for mental and financial support where people can develop a sense of community and belonging (cf. Murai 2018: 32).

The Catholic Church as mediating institution provides a good frame for interaction and integration support. This is because the Church existed before the *dekassegui*

¹⁰⁷ In the case of Mexicans in the southwest of the US, the proximity to the border as well plays a role in preserving the heritage culture and language (cf. Matovina 2012: 62).

¹⁰⁸ The Catholic Bishops' Conference of Japan (*Nihon Katorikku Shikyō Kyōgikai*) is an institutionalized organization of the Catholic Church that discusses issues concerning the Catholic Church in the country. Its Episcopal Commission for Social Issues (*Shakai Shikyō linkai*) is in charge of investigating the actual situation and anticipating societal developments. One of its associated committees is the Catholic Commission of Japan for Migrants, Refugees and People on the Move (*Nihon Katorikku Nanmin Ijū Idōsha linkai*); another one is Caritas Japan (cf. Catholic Bishops' Conference of Japan 2022).

movement and thus already had a certain number of Japanese parishioners and a standing inside the Japanese society (cf. Shirahase and Takahashi 2012: 68). At the beginning of the *dekasegui* movement, it reacted quickly to the increased demand of everyday life support for the Brazilian and other foreign residents by offering Japanese classes, information exchange and consultation, support with commodities, festivities, and a place for comfort, but also symposia aiming at Japanese believers regarding the rapid increase of *dekasegui* (cf. Hoshino 2015: 101-102; Mita 2009: 269). The Catholic Church had experience with support activities, as institutions such as *Caritas Japan* already existed (cf. Takahashi 2015: 104). Although also discussed at the diocese or central convention level, the support for foreign residents was not organized systematically at a large scale, but every church (parish) reacted to its specific situation. Through trial and error, they organized various support activities (cf. Hoshino 2015: 102; Takahashi 2015: 104).

With the rising number of Brazilian residents in the 1990s, their network extended beyond the church and as a result, these tasks were assumed by other institutions, such as the municipality, the Brazilian community, and the civil society. At the same time, the Catholic Church got an additional role: serving as a place of exercising one's faith also for Brazilian immigrants by conducting service in Portuguese (cf. Mita 2009: 269; Mita 2011: 224).

While continuing their support, from the 2000s, the number of services in Portuguese and pastors speaking Portuguese increased (cf. Hoshino 2015: 102; Mita 2011: 225). Some pastors took measures which laid the groundwork for *tabunka kyōsei* at the church, such as celebrating big festivities from Brazil at church (cf. Hoshino 2015: 102) or organizing social welfare activities, like the Brazilian Padre Evaristo Higa¹⁰⁹ did in Hamamatsu (cf. Shoji 2008a: 60). During the Great Financial Crisis 2008, every parish organized educational support and support with commodities, including support activities in cooperation with the municipality and civil society groups, which were framed as *tabunka kyōsei* measures and discontinued after the situation calmed down (cf. Hoshino 2015: 102; Mita 2011: 226).

In a nutshell, the Catholic Church plays an important role for the integration of immigrants within the church parishes as well as with the wider society.

¹⁰⁹ Padre Higa stayed in Japan from 1993 until 2016 (cf. Diocese de Santos 2023).

Implementation differs at each local context and requires action that gives a sense of belonging to the immigrants and at the same time promotes unity between them and their fellow Catholics (cf. Matovina 2012: 66). The following subchapter introduces the Catholic Church in Hamamatsu and examines its activities.

6.2.2. The Catholic Church in Hamamatsu

The Hamamatsu Catholic Church La Iglesia San Francisco de Asís de Hamamatsu is located in the western part of the city center¹¹⁰. Parishioners from around ten different countries frequent the church, among them Brazilians, other Latin Americans, Filipinos, and Vietnamese (cf. interview Catholic Church). When I conducted my fieldwork, three Padres were in charge of the parish. One is Japanese, but was raised in Argentina. Another one is Argentinian, but speaks Portuguese as well. The third one is Vietnamese, but also speaks English. Service in Japanese is held every day. Although Japanese is the basis, depending on the respective service's composition of people and their language background, the Padre mixes keywords in other languages, mainly in Spanish and Portuguese, or rather Portunhol¹¹¹, into his sermon¹¹² (cf. *ibid.*). According to the Padre, the church was frequented by around 400 Brazilian parishioners in peak times while numbers of Japanese parishioners, traditionally low in numbers, are now even shrinking.¹¹³ After the Great Financial Crisis in 2008 and the Tōhoku earthquake, tsunami, and nuclear accident in 2011, the number of Brazilian parishioners dropped to 250-300 people who frequently come to the services¹¹⁴ (cf. interview Catholic Church).

¹¹⁰ Before moving to its current location in 2005, the church was located close to Hamamatsu station, in the midst of a variety of Brazilian ethnic businesses (cf. Mita 2011: 225; Shirahase and Takahashi 2012: 69).

¹¹¹ Portunhol (in Spanish: Portuñol) is a mixture of the Spanish and Portuguese languages.

¹¹² According to him, most Filipinos understand Japanese well enough, so he does not consider talking in English or Tagalog (cf. interview Catholic Church).

¹¹³ Main reason is the demographic change. The average age in most Japanese Catholic churches is over 70 years. In Hamamatsu, due to the high number of foreign parishioners, the average dropped to around 50-60 years (cf. interview Catholic Church). Other reasons for the decline in numbers of Japanese parishioners are the increase of evangelical churches in Hamamatsu and (interethnic) marriages between a Catholic and a non-Catholic person (cf. interview Catholic Church; LeMay 2018: 9, 22).

¹¹⁴ In 2011, numbers of people frequently attending the service were as follows: Filipinos and Peruvians 100 people each, Japanese 200 people, and Brazilians 300 people (cf. Shirahase and Takahashi 2012: 69).

Within the church, five communities developed along ethnic and language boundaries, or – using Tomasi’s term – a national parish dynamic¹¹⁵ unfolded: a Japanese, a Brazilian, a Latin American, a Filipino, and recently also a Vietnamese community evolved.¹¹⁶ Besides different languages, form of service and prayer also differ (cf. Mita 2011: 225). Service times are divided by language. Services in English, Spanish, and Vietnamese are offered once a month each. Service in Portuguese is held every Saturday evening (cf. Hamamatsu Catholic Church 2020).¹¹⁷ Once a month, an international service is held in which different languages are mixed without interpreting.

The Easter service on April 1, 2018 was such an international service. From the bus stop, a winding path up a very steep hill leads to the church on top. So, I was not surprised to see that few people came by bus. Most arrived by car. At the entrance to the church, everybody got a pamphlet with the text of today’s readings in Japanese. I arrived early enough to get a seat, but the church filled quickly and many people had to remain standing. Around me I noticed a babble of voices in different languages, mainly Japanese, Portuguese, and Spanish. Then, the service began. The Padre, merging Japanese and Christian symbols, emphasized the coincidence that the cherry blossoms in front of the church entrance are fully blooming on today’s resurrection day. During the service, seven baptisms as well as two marriages were celebrated. Most of the sermon was in Japanese, but given the number of foreign attenders, the Padre switched to easy Japanese and mixed Spanish word groups into his speech. In this way, he could bring his message across to everyone. Frequent worshippers had their quadrilingual song books with them; for the others, the texts were projected onto a screen. *Katakana*, the Japanese phonetic alphabet used for foreign words, helped with the pronunciation, for every song was sung in a different language. Only the musical accompaniment stayed the same throughout the service: small organ with guitar. The readings as well were in various languages. For their Japanese translation, those who know Japanese could consult the pamphlet

¹¹⁵ Although in Hamamatsu, ethnic parishes do not have their own church building, I equate the development with Tomasi’s second stage, because the foreign national parishes do not use the basement or a chapel set aside for them, but all ethnic congregations use the same church facilities and have their own church community life.

¹¹⁶ Shirahase and Takahashi (2012: 69) set 2007 as the year when the first four communities came into being.

¹¹⁷ Since 2005, the Catholic Church in Hamamatsu divides services by language (cf. Shirahase 2016: 115). Only service in Portuguese has been offered already before that, namely since 1993 (cf. Shirahase and Takahashi 2012: 69).

everybody had received in the beginning. In this way, everybody could understand at least a part of the service, and seemingly almost nobody could understand all of it. Some nuns were also present. One of them was Filipina. Another one came to say goodbye; she would be sent to Spain. Tearful farewell speeches were held by one of the Padres as well as representatives of the Filipino and Latin American communities, each speech in a different language. Just when I started wondering how much of these speeches the nun understood, she started her own speech: first in Spanish, then in English, and finally in Japanese. After almost two hours, the service ended. However, in front of the church, the Easter commemoration continued: a raffle took place and tables with food and drinks from different countries were set. The mother of my Japanese acquaintance had contributed a cake. Many people from different nationalities stayed a long time. They stood together in small groups, eating and talking. However, I did not observe people of different nationalities mingle.

This insight shows that the Catholic Church in Hamamatsu is a multicultural and multilingual place, as are many other Catholic churches in Japanese cities with a high population of foreign migrants.¹¹⁸ Besides multilingual services, the church holds study group meetings, such as biannual gatherings (*encontros*) of Brazilian parishioners, or weekly discussion meetings, where around 70 people from four different language backgrounds take part. As the Padre assumes Filipinos to understand Japanese, the meetings are divided in three groups (Japanese, Portuguese, Spanish), and depending on the language background of the attendees the Padre mixes words in other languages into his speech, like he does in the services (cf. interview Catholic Church). However, not every Catholic Church in regions with a high concentration of Brazilians has foreign Padres, holding the service in Portuguese. The few Portuguese speaking Padres attend various communities, and thus most churches can only offer one or two services in Portuguese per month (cf. Shoji 2008a: 58).

In Hamamatsu, the organizational structure of the Church also mirrors the high rate of foreign parishioners. Every of the four national parishes has its executive board and the church as a whole has an executive board consisting of around 20 representatives, including three to five non-Japanese members, coming from all

¹¹⁸ Examples are the Catholic Church in Toyohashi (cf. Hoshino 2011a; 2012: 93) and the Catholic Ueno Church in Iga city (Mie prefecture) where four parishes developed as well: Japanese, Brazilian, Peruvian, and Filipino; with the number of Vietnamese Catholics rising (cf. Murai 2018: 32).

national congregations that meet once a month. Language used in the meetings is mixed (cf. interview Catholic Church).

The Catholic Church in Hamamatsu organizes various events throughout the year. Besides common Catholic festivities, such as Christmas, Easter, and the Day of the patron saint Saint Francisco of Assis¹¹⁹ in October, the church organizes events with Catholic origin specific to the countries where many immigrants come from, for example, “Señor de los Milagros” and “Santa Rosa” (Peru), “San Lorenzo Ruiz” (Philippines), and “Aparecida” (Brazil). The church events are multicultural and meant for everyone to participate. According to the Padre, in the past every event was only frequented by the respective immigrant group. Nowadays, however, people from all nationalities increasingly participate and the different parishes mix, showing that to some extent ties between parishioners from different cultural backgrounds are established (cf. interview Catholic Church).

The biggest Brazilian event is called *Festa Junina* (see also chapter 5.3.1.), which is a folk festival celebrated in June for three Catholic Saints. At this opportunity, nominal Catholics and Nikkei gather as well. As Brazilians, they can identify with these festivities as part of their culture. Moreover, as these events are emptied of any deep religious contents, participants do not associate this tradition much with the Catholic Church (cf. Shoji 2008a: 60). For the children, however, the ethnic church events serve to get an impression of their home country’s religious culture and to keep faith traditions alive. Parents and their children participate actively: they dress with typical clothes, sell ethnic food, or participate in typical dances, such as Quadrilha (cf. Murai 2018: 33). In Hamamatsu, the annual *Festa Junina* of the Catholic Church is organized by the Brazilian parish (Comunidade Católica Brasileira Hamamatsu). Between 2,000 and 3,000 people take part every year (cf. interview Catholic Church). I participated on June 24, 2018.

The one-day event took place in a big event hall called Ziva in the east of the city. I arrived in the morning and observed people from all kinds of institutions and organizations setting up their booths along the walls of the room. All of them were

¹¹⁹ It is also called Salesio *matsuri* (*Festa das Nações*), as since 2007, the church belongs to the Roman Catholic congregation Salesio (cf. Shirahase and Takahashi: 82). The annual event aims at collecting money for the support of homeless and migrant children, and at the same time serves as a place for interaction between Japanese and foreign parishioners of different nationalities (cf. interview Catholic Church).

related to Brazilian culture or to the needs of the Brazilians living in Japan, such as HICE, different employment agencies, the Catholic Church, ethnic media, moving companies that offer removals to Brazil, banks, cellphone companies, a bookstore, and a distance university. Typical Brazilian food was offered at food stalls. The room was decorated with banneret garlands and pictures of Santo António, São João, and São Pedro. In front of a stage, chairs and some tables were set up. At 11 am, the hall filled quickly, mostly with Brazilians. On the stage, the Padre of the Brazilian Catholic community opened the event with a reading and a prayer. Subsequently, different groups presented a part of Brazilian and other Latin American culture: dance presentations like Forró, Quadrilha, contemporary dances, and dances from other Latin American countries, and the Padre sang a song. During the event, a bingo took place.

Besides church-internal interculturalism activities, the Catholic Church is also involved in social activities. Once a year, the collection in all Catholic Churches throughout Japan is intended for refugees and migrants: half of the money for support in the own region, the other half is sent to the central board of the Catholic Church (cf. Shirahase 2016: 129). In Hamamatsu, Padre Higa founded the Grupo Esperança (Group Hope) in the mid-1990s. This group was one of the first ones fighting for social rights of Brazilians in Japan, especially for their health insurance. Nowadays, its focus lies on charity. Every Saturday, they distribute “*sopão*” to around 100 homeless people in front of Hamamatsu station, including food, a sanitation kit, and medicine (cf. interview Catholic Church; Rádio Dom 2019; Shirahase and Takahashi 2012: 76-77). This gesture of solidarity, related to charity and the support of the other, is unusual in Japan. According to Padre Higa, in Japan solidarity is more connected to community activities, like cleaning rivers, and less to the support of people (cf. Rádio Dom 2019). Other social projects of the Catholic Church include financial support for foreign children not going to school¹²⁰ as well as cooperation with an institution for handicapped young people¹²¹ (cf. interview Catholic Church).

The Church is close to the everyday life of immigrants and as such a pioneer in supporting them. As it has long been a multiethnic institution, in contrast to non-

¹²⁰ For this project, the church cooperates with an NPO who provides the teachers. Parents and the Church pay 50% each (cf. interview Catholic Church).

¹²¹ This project called “Ángeles” was initiated by parishioners of the Church. Once a week, handicapped children use the Pastoral Center of the Church (cf. interview Catholic Church).

religious support institutions it already had a relation to the Brazilians which made it easier to support them. For example, during the Great Financial Crisis 2008, when many foreign residents lost their jobs and housing, no other church in Hamamatsu supported the foreign residents to such an extent, actively and quickly, while other institutions, such as the local government and civil society, were still trapped in bureaucratic processes (cf. Shirahase and Takahashi 2012: 70, 75-76, 78; Shirahase 2016: 114). The Catholic Church started to support the Latin American immigrants early on, irrespective of their religion, by organizing two projects.

In November 2008, they started to distribute food and other necessities for migrant households that were affected by unemployment¹²² and provided consultation on various everyday life issues. Although the Catholic Church did not use the support to proselytize the people, some of them started to frequent the church afterwards out of their own motivation. Catholic believers worked together as volunteers, crossing nationality boundaries (cf. Shirahase and Takahashi 2012: 70-71, 83). The church's second project was a school for migrant children whose parents could not pay the school fees anymore. In cooperation with Hamamatsu Gakuin Daigaku and financial support by MEXT, the Brazilian Consulate General, and various companies, the Catholic Church opened the school in its facilities from February 2009 to December 2010.¹²³ In total, this project supported more than 100 children, around 20 of which switched to a Japanese school afterwards. Around 20 people from various nationalities, mainly Japanese, Brazilian, and Peruvian, as well as some Filipino people, were involved in the project organization and implementation, most of them working as volunteers and all of them being parishioners of the Catholic Church (cf. interview Catholic Church; Shirahase and Takahashi 2012: 72-74).

Both projects were initiated because of insufficient support measures by the local government and ended in December 2010, when the school attendance support system of the local government was established to a sufficient degree. Thus, the church's stance is to temporarily bridge a gap in the system, but only as long as the

¹²² With the increasing degree of public institutions and the local government responding to the situation, the church reduced their distribution in February 2010 and stopped it in December of the same year, continuing assistance in urgent cases only (cf. Shirahase and Takahashi 2012: 70-71).

¹²³ Most of the time, the school was free of charge for the children. Most children were taught in Portuguese. However, the ones intending to switch to a Japanese school were taught in Japanese. Recognition of the church's school by the Brazilian government ensured a smooth continuation of education for children returning to Brazil or switching to a Brazilian school in Japan (cf. interview Catholic Church; Shirahase and Takahashi 2012: 72-74).

local government cannot fill it (cf. Shirahase and Takahashi 2012: 74). These examples show that the Catholic Church in Hamamatsu is actively involved in projects within as well as beyond the religious function. The following subchapter examines the role of the church and its activities for the integration of foreign immigrants.

6.2.3. The Catholic Church's role for integration of Brazilian migrants

The current motto of the Hamamatsu Catholic Church is written on a banner attached to the reading stand. When I conducted my fieldwork, it read: "Gaudete [Rejoice]. Diversity is a blessing that enriches us". This phrase shows very well the Catholic Church's understanding of interculturalism. In Hamamatsu, intercultural efforts of the church are manifold. Beyond the institution, the church actively engaged in social work, as can be seen in its support projects for immigrants and their children in times of the Great Financial Crisis or in its charity project of distributing commodities to the homeless. Within the institution, the church makes a great effort to include everyone. Internal processes of the Church are adapted to foreign parishioners' needs. National parishes developed in order to provide a space of practicing religious traditions according to customs and language in their respective home country. The language used in the Japanese and international services varies according to the language background of the attenders. Ethnic events are received well beyond the respective immigrant group. A church committee ensures participation of all national parishes. Weekly discussion meetings animate parishioners from all national parishes to interact. According to the Padre, despite their different national, cultural, or ethnic background, people can connect through their mostly similar values and views (cf. interview Catholic Church).

However, numbers of Brazilian parishioners outnumber the ones of native as well as other foreign Catholics while the Japanese Catholics represent only a minority (cf. interview Catholic Church). Integrating a heterogeneous majority into a minority is a difficult task. The future Catholic Bishop of Oslo, Bernt Ivar Eidsvig, even considered it as "not feasible" (Eidsvig 1993: 384, as cited in Hovdelien 2019: 25). In Hamamatsu, the different groups do not constitute one united congregation. As the Padre put it: In this church, four churches exist at the same place (cf. interview Catholic Church).

Tensions along ethnic lines arise and hinder successful integration of Japanese with foreign parishioners. In Tomasi's terms, they reached the second stage of parish development: the creation of national parishes. The third stage, development of interethnic, territorial parishes, can be attained when the foreign Catholics become integrated with the time passing: when they and their children learn Japanese, become accustomed to Japanese culture and values, and participate in the Japanese service, which results in superseding the national parishes.

Indeed, in the long term, the Catholic Church in Japan aims at integrating the generation of the migrants' children into their Japanese congregations, hoping that they can serve as a link between the church and their parents (cf. Shoji 2008a: 60, 82). The Catholic Ueno Church in Iga city (Mie prefecture), for example, offers a church school on Saturdays to teach children about the bible and Christian faith. Although most children are foreign, they communicate in Japanese, as it is the only language they have in common. The preparation team and staff members are international, including all four nationalities. In this way, they can interpret for the children if necessary. This church school serves as an *ibasho* (place of belonging) where children of different nationalities can interact, it teaches the respective culture to the children, and helps them to evolve a sense of responsibility and self-confidence (cf. Murai 2018: 33). For these children, the church serves as a family and teaches them universal values. This shows that some Catholic churches in other places in Japan are already on their way to growing together and building one single parish.

In Hamamatsu, however, it seems that the division into national parishes will not change soon. On the contrary, just like in the US (cf. Matovina 2012: 52-54), the second stage of national parishes is prolonged by the continuing or even increasing influx of Brazilian and other migrants, an aspiration toward multiculturalism in wider society, and experiences of discrimination in the host society. Moreover, Vietnamese Catholics just built a fifth national parish. Most newcomers are not sufficiently familiar with Japanese language and culture yet to follow the service in Japanese. Due to the large Brazilian community, many who have already been living in Japan for a while also do not speak much Japanese yet, and some of their children feel more

comfortable speaking Portuguese than Japanese.¹²⁴ Thus, many migrants still depend on a national parish due to language reasons and to gain ethnic support.

Presumably, national parishes will persist for still a long time in Hamamatsu, but one day they will certainly enter the third stage, as the development of Latino parishes in the US eventually did. It is important to not rush the process, because unity is not uniformity. Instead of forcing the migrants to assimilate to Japanese church practices, both sides need time to adapt and integrate gradually, until they can become one congregation. First signs can already be observed. Foreign and Japanese parishioners' different conceptions of Catholicism and its organization change with the time passing, adapting to each other, leading to compromises, or creating new liturgical forms, such as integrating Brazilian music in the service (cf. Shoji 2008a: 59-62). In Hamamatsu, for example, the Catholic Church assumes that from now on Latin American funerals will take place more frequently and therefore tries to adapt by finding a more appropriate place to celebrate for many hours, eating and drinking, as it is usual in Latin American countries (cf. interview Catholic Church). This receptiveness to change can be a first step towards becoming one united parish.

However, interculturalism means more than only inclusion. Establishing mutual understanding among people from different cultural backgrounds plays a big role as well. This can be reached by campaigns to improve the image of the Brazilians in Japan, like Padre Higa did in Hamamatsu through lectures and social welfare activities (cf. Shoji 2008a: 60). However, distributing food to the homeless can also create tensions. When Pedro participated in the distribution, he noticed that some homeless people did not want to accept food from him and chose to have it handed to them by a Japanese person instead. He has the impression that this was because he is Brazilian (personal communication). Another way to foster mutual understanding are church festivities, such as the Salesio *matsuri* in which between 2,000 and 3,000 people from all parishes participate or the events of the national parishes in which people from other parishes also participate (cf. interview Catholic Church). This is a sign of interest in other cultures and their festivities.

¹²⁴ As children usually accompany their parents to the church service, even the ones who are confident in Japanese end up participating in the Portuguese service where they often do not understand much (cf. interview Catholic Church). For details on language acquisition, see chapter 7.

According to the Padre, in order to become one united group, what matters is not the language proficiency, but how people see the role of the church and what they expect from their faith. He thinks that some people see their faith as something private and individual, but the Catholic faith is not like that (cf. interview Catholic Church). In other words, people are connecting through their perception of church and their vision of what it should be like, rather than through a common cultural or language background. This can be seen in the church committee as well as in the Grupo Esperança which centers around Brazilian Catholics, but in which Japanese believers participate as well. Common faith creates a base for supporting each other and organizing support activities together helps creating trust (cf. Shirahase and Takahashi 2012: 76-77).

The Padre stated that one thing that changed the Church and the relationship between its members significantly was the school that the Church opened during the Global Financial Crisis of 2008 and that was mainly run by volunteers of different nationalities (cf. interview Catholic Church) who supported the project for charity's sake (cf. Shirahase and Takahashi 2012: 75). Quero (2010: 50) emphasizes that especially migrant women are "revitalizing the Roman Catholic Church in Japan, fostering migrants' connections and community". The Padre thinks that confronting the crisis together by running the school built the base the church is grounded on today. Without anyone noticing, ties between the church members from different nationalities were established. Since then, people from different cultural backgrounds mingle more (cf. interview Catholic Church). Shirahase and Takahashi (2012: 77) interviewed a Brazilian and a Japanese Catholic that were involved in the project and both stressed the same point as the Padre did: The crisis changed the church and improved cooperation between Japanese and foreign people. In other words, altruism overcomes nationality boundaries and unity is created through faith.

The numerous differences are not something negative. The Padre thinks that the important point is how to deal with these differences. In his view, it is important to listen to the other, to grow after having had bad experiences, and to build trust. After all, interacting with people from different countries is very interesting. In his opinion, the lack of interaction is not a question of one of the groups avoiding contact with the others. Skeptical people who do not want to interact exist within all nationalities and in every parish, but the majority in his church actively takes part and interacts (cf.

interview Catholic Church). In other words, within the Catholic Church differences between the cultures do not necessarily lead to exclusion, but can offer an opportunity to recognize each other (cf. Shirahase and Takahashi 2012: 77).

In practice, however, interaction of parishioners from different national parishes does not always go well. A Japanese acquaintance who had been Catholic until her marriage admitted that although she thinks that interculturalism in the Catholic Church in Hamamatsu was very successful, the fact that numbers of Japanese parishioners are decreasing might also be an indicator of them feeling pushed out by the influx of foreign parishioners (personal communication). Like in the US, where some non-migrant parishioners feel overtaken and leave the parish (cf. Matovina 2012: 248), in Japan the same dynamic seems to unfold. At the same time, the Catholic Church's focus on the Japanese speaking part of the next generation, the integration of the parishes, connected with the associated assimilative pressure, results in the evasion of many Brazilians, mainly to Pentecostal churches. It is unlikely that their children will return to the Catholic Church one day (cf. Shoji 2008a: 82-83). In other words, as many do not feel picked up by the intercultural measures and leave the church or stay among themselves within their national parish, in terms of interaction of Japanese and Brazilian parishioners, interculturalism is not as successful as it seems at first.

The Catholic Church in Hamamatsu has, due to its manifold contacts and resources, a big potential to contribute to migrant integration, also outside the institution of church, by founding associations or organizing support projects for foreigners (cf. Shirahase and Takahashi 2012: 79). However, the Catholic Church has no such plans. Its focus remains on its faith activities, as the location of the church outside the city center complicates active exchange with human and institutional resources. Moreover, the Japanese Catholics who are the ones who would take the initiative to support the foreign migrants are decreasing in numbers and are reluctant to start new societal activities due to their conservative image of church activities (cf. *ibid.*). Still, as the Catholic Church in Hamamatsu provides structures for both, a place of ethnic belonging within the national parishes and a place of interaction with the host society through international services, festivities, and administrative structure, the parishioners, both Japanese and foreign, can choose to what extent they make use of these opportunities and to what degree they seek interaction with the others.

The existing activities are seen as examples pushed by individuals, as institutional cooperation is impeded by the division of state and church. Still, in Hamamatsu, the Catholic Church managed to develop support activities in large scale and maintains ties with the local government regarding *tabunka kyōsei* and migrant support. In the Hamamatsu region, the Catholic Church is the religious institution which is frequented by the highest number of foreigners and the only one that provides institutionalized migrant support (cf. Shirahase and Takahashi 2012: 68). According to Shirahase and Takahashi (2012: 75-76), one reason is the image the Catholic Church has in Latin America as the predominant institution that one can always turn to when in need of support, irrespective of one's religious affiliation, and that – unlike other religious institutions – does not utilize the opportunity for proselytization.¹²⁵ Compared to other religious institutions, the Catholic Church maintains a relation of mutual recognition and trust with both the Japanese society and various ethnic communities which enables the Catholic Church to serve as a bridge. Thus, the Catholic Church actively pursues its social teaching of “culture of encounter” and in terms of migrant support, its interculturalism policy shows its success.

In conclusion, similar to the Catholic Church in Norway, in Japan the influx of foreign Catholics resulted in the formation of migrant chaplaincies and parallel congregations (national parishes), service held in various languages, and the big challenge of integrating a heterogeneous majority into a minority. Like the Latinos in the United States, the Brazilians in the Japanese Catholic Church revitalize the institutions with their youthfulness and different ritual traditions. Within the national parishes, ethnic networks and support systems established, Brazilian ritual practices are perpetuated, services are held in Portuguese, and Brazilian festivities are celebrated. Tensions between Brazilian and Japanese parishioners, such as language, generational, and cultural differences, anti-immigrant attitudes, and different opinions regarding the church and its administration, still exist and hinder successful integration. However, while in Norway, Catholic migrants and their needs became a core area of concern within the church, in Japan, Brazilian Catholicism, national parishes, and Padres who speak Portuguese still have a low priority (cf. Shoji 2008a: 82). Despite immigrant

¹²⁵ Indeed, sometimes non-Catholics ask for a funeral, and at church events such as the *Festa Junina* many non-Catholics participate (cf. Shirahase and Takahashi 2012: 75-76). The Catholic Church also supported Evangelicals who got into financial problems, like many did during the Great Financial Crisis in 2008, and asked for help, although they always had paid the tithe in their own church (cf. interview Catholic Church).

integration efforts, such as church school, cultural events, and social support projects, the Japanese Catholic Church's social support infrastructure for migrants is not yet developed to such an extent as for example in Ireland where a variety of church-run and church-initiated pro-migrant organizations almost replace the state as actor in this field.

Although in Japan, the church provides a parallel structure for the migrant communities, the long-term goal is integration of the parishes and to create unity. In Hamamatsu, the Catholic Church only partially plays an important role as mediating institution. It does not foster interaction actively, as services divided by language and festivities which end at 3F show. At the same time, the church enables interaction and participation through its international services and festivities, social projects, and the church organizational structure. Moreover, it is actively involved in migrant support activities which in some cases can lay the ground for better integration into society as a whole. Besides Catholic Church and Pentecostal churches, the third religious institution that is frequented by many Brazilians is Spiritism. The following chapter introduces Spiritism and its center in the Hamamatsu region. Subsequently, it analyzes its role as a mediating institution.

6.3. Spiritism

Spiritism¹²⁶ is a set of laws and principles which are revealed by Superior Spirits (cf. CEI 2020). They are contained in the works¹²⁷ of Allan Kardec (1804-1869), a French educator, whose real name was Hippolyte Léon Denizard Rivail. Spiritism is a philosophy, science, and religion at the same time, based on Socrates, Plato, and the Gospels of the Bible. It aims at giving an interpretation of life and its big questions, transforming human morals (cf. CEI 2020; Kardec 1997: 13-15, 27-34), and studying “the nature, origin and destiny of spirits, and their relation with the corporeal world” (Kardec 2010: 48). Spiritists believe in the existence of spirits and the possibility to

¹²⁶ In Brazil, Spiritism (not to be confused with Spiritualism) encompasses a wide range of religions and practices, from Kardecians to religions of African origin, such as Umbanda (cf. Lewgoy 2008: 88). Here, the focus lies exclusively on Kardecian Spiritism.

¹²⁷ The main book of Spiritist doctrine is Kardec's *Le Livre des Esprits*, published in 1857 (cf. Bernardo 2019; CEI 2020).

communicate with them (cf. Hoshino 2012: 100). Spiritist practice is simple, without clergy nor objects and rituals (cf. CEI 2020).

6.3.1. Development and Brazilianization of Spiritism

Spiritism arrived in Brazil in the 1860s and soon evolved in the country, stimulated by the translation of Kardec's work into Portuguese (cf. Lewgoy 2008: 87). As in Europe, persecution in the Catholic country started soon afterwards, in the 1870s (cf. Bernardo 2019). While in France, Spiritism had a mainly scientific and philosophic character, in Brazil it became a religious movement with Catholic traits¹²⁸. In contrast to the also fast-growing Pentecostalism, Spiritism is not focusing on proselytism, but only on doing good and practicing charity (cf. *ibid.*). In a short time, Spiritism became an avant-garde religious alternative to Catholicism, combining experimental science with revealed faith and especially appealing to the literate urban middle class (cf. Lewgoy 2008: 87). In Brazil, Spiritism is practiced mainly by people who – compared to followers of other religions – have a higher level of education¹²⁹ and income, and by people passing difficulties, such as diseases, poverty, divorce, and unemployment (cf. Agência IBGE Notícias 2012; Hoshino 2012: 102; Lewgoy 2008: 99).

Nowadays, Brazil is not only the country with the highest number of Catholics in the world, but also the one with most Spiritists (cf. Bernardo 2019). Although Spiritism, accounting for 2% of the Brazilian population, is only the third biggest religious group in Brazil after Catholics and Evangelicals, the number of Spiritists increased by 65% between 2000 and 2010, and according to Pew Research Center's 2015 data, 13 million people worldwide are Spiritists (cf. *ibid.*; IBGE 2010). While the official number of Spiritists in Brazil is 3.8 million, the Federação Espírita Brasileira (FEB) estimates that Spiritism has up to 30 million sympathizers. Reason is that many do not see themselves as Spiritists, because they are Catholics or because they do not consider

¹²⁸ Spiritists see themselves as rupture and at the same time as renovation of Christianity, Kardec's doctrine being the Third Revelation. Since the beginning, the FEB shifted between opposition and syncretism with the Catholic Church. This created a certain tension within the Spiritist movement (cf. Lewgoy 2008: 86-87).

¹²⁹ While the education level among Catholics and Protestants in Brazil is quite balanced, within other religions the share of adults who have completed high school is higher than the one of those with less education. This holds true especially for Spiritists. Their share of high school graduates is 70% and thus almost double the national average (36%) (cf. Pew Research Center 2013).

Spiritism as religion, but as a type of service that does provide relief from some affliction (cf. Bernardo 2019).

The brazilianization of the international spiritist movement, that is the export of a Brazilian style of the religion, its doctrine, and rituals, led to a Brazilian hegemony, entailing an ambiguous relation to the French origins (cf. Lewgoy 2008: 84). Nowadays, Spiritism is present in more than 30 countries (cf. *ibid.*) and practiced especially in Latin American, Hispanic, and Portuguese communities and in the Brazilian diaspora (cf. *ibid.*: 99). In countries like Japan, Australia, the UK, the Netherlands, Sweden, Norway, and the US, Brazilian names of persons in charge and websites in Portuguese indicate that the respective group consists mainly of Brazilian immigrants and holds meetings in Portuguese (cf. *ibid.*: 93, 95). In some European countries and Latin American countries other than Brazil, evidence exists that there have been Spiritist groups before the ones founded by Brazilians (cf. *ibid.*: 93-94). In France, however, Spiritism is still preserving its independence from the Brazilian movement (cf. *ibid.*: 96-97).

The FEB is the principal institution of Spiritism and tries to unite the movement and define its identity (cf. Lewgoy 2008: 86).¹³⁰ A model for the organization of the centers emerged, including systematic study of the spiritist doctrine, *terapia de passes*¹³¹, “fluidification” of water¹³², fraternal consultation, “desobsession” (ritual practice of exorcism), child evangelization, mediumistic development, and charity activities (cf. *ibid.*: 87, 92, 94).

¹³⁰ The federally organized FEB was founded in 1884 (cf. FEB [2023]). It determines the movement's identity and its intellectual, ritual, and doctrinal base, within and outside of Brazil (cf. Lewgoy 2008: 86, 92). The international equivalent of the FEB is the Conselho Espírita Internacional (CEI; International Spiritist Council) that was created in 1992 by the union of national Spiritist movement institutions and aims at “the unification of the Spiritist Movement in the world” (CEI 2020). Its member states are exclusively countries in Europe and the Americas (cf. *ibid.*).

¹³¹ *Passe* is a type of therapy to regain health and equilibrium when their disharmony is reflected in the physical, emotional, and mental state of the respective person. It is applied in an interactive way, as an act of donation and reception, accompanied by a mediumistic manifestation, in order to contact good spirits and attract divine energies that restore the physical and psychical equilibrium (cf. Projeto Manoel Philomeno de Miranda 2012: 7).

¹³² “Fluidified” water is water magnetized through the addition of healing (medicinal) fluids (cf. Ceabem Natal 2023).

6.3.2. Spiritism in Japan

According to the CEI, the Spiritist movement is present in only two Asian countries: United Arab Emirates and Japan (cf. CEI 2020). In Japan, the first Spiritist center was founded in Tōkyō in 1991 by a Japanese national and his Brazilian spouse and moved to Chiba prefecture in 2000 (cf. Shoji and Quero 2014: 206; TV Mundo Maior 2013). The Japanese National Spiritist Federation is still in the course of formation (cf. CEI 2020).¹³³ Meanwhile, the Associação de Divulgadores do Espiritismo do Japão (ADE-JAPÃO), founded in 2006, aims at the union of the Spiritists in Japan, fosters the study and dissemination of the Spiritist doctrine, and promotes the practice of charity (cf. ADE-JP [2018]). Between 14 and 19 Spiritist groups in around 8 to 11 prefectures exist in Japan (cf. ADE-JP 2015; ADE-JP [2018]).¹³⁴

Gatherings are held in Portuguese, and most followers are Brazilians (cf. Santos 2017; TV Mundo Maior 2013). Still, the foundations for Spiritism's dissemination among Japanese people are laid. In December 2012, a translation of Kardec's "The Gospel According to Spiritism" into Japanese was published and by January 2013 two Spiritists groups, in Chiba and Aichi prefectures, already started to teach the Gospel to Japanese people (cf. TV Mundo Maior 2013). Moreover, compared to Western or Brazilian people, Japanese people can incorporate Spiritist ideas relatively easily, because they can relate them to the similar Buddhist and Shintoist view on reincarnation (cf. *ibid.*).¹³⁵ Especially Nikkei Brazilians are receptive to Spiritism. Shoji (2008a: 80) found out that they consider their parents' or grandparents' abandonment of their relatives when they went to Brazil as a source of negative energy and suffering spirits.

¹³³ The Comissão de Integração do Movimento Espírita do Japão (CIMEJ) is a commission that was created in 2017 in order to prepare the Federation's statute (cf. CEI 2020).

¹³⁴ Aichi is the prefecture with the most groups (8), followed by Saitama (2). Chiba, Gifu, Gunma, Ibaraki, Kanagawa, Mie, Shizuoka, Tochigi, and Toyama have one group each (cf. ADE-JP 2015; ADE-JP [2018]). The exact number is difficult to determine, as there always has been much rotation in leadership of the Spiritist centers (cf. TV Mundo Maior 2013) and many centers in Japan are still in the phase of consolidation (cf. Santos 2017).

¹³⁵ Unlike some Christian doctrines who believe that after death the souls will be unconsciously waiting for the last judgement, Spiritism is predicated on the idea of continuity of life after death, as Buddhism and Shintoism are as well, even if these do not communicate with the spirits. In Brazil, around 80% of the population believes in reincarnation, regardless of their religion (cf. TV Mundo Maior 2013). New Japanese Religions, such as the Church of World Messianity (*Sekai Kyūseikyō*), have similarities with Spiritism as well, as they also interpret the *dekassegui* situation as something related to and influenced by their ancestors (cf. Shoji 2008a: 80-81).

The profile of Spiritists in Brazil is only partly reproduced in Japan. Their level of income is quite balanced, as most are factory workers. Most of them pass difficulties due to the migration experience, the *dekassegui* life, and integration issues. The level of education among the *dekassegui* varies (see chapter 5.1.2. Working life and introduction of chapter 7). I had the impression that people at the spiritist center had higher intellectual aspirations than the ones I met at the IURD.

The spiritist group Centro Espírita Casa de Cáritas is located in Kakegawa, a city around 30 km east of Hamamatsu. As it is the only spiritist group in Shizuoka prefecture, Brazilian Spiritists from Hamamatsu also frequent this center. Like in Brazil, where Spiritism is adopted by Catholics as well and many believe in both (cf. Hoshino 2012: 101), in Kakegawa, many of the followers of Spiritism are or were Catholic. Some frequent the Spiritist encounters, but still let their children become baptized Catholic, such as one of the Brazilian mothers I met at the Forró dance school did with her daughter. However, as the Portuguese service of the Catholic Church in Hamamatsu and the encounters of the Spiritists take place at the same time as the Catholic service in Portuguese on Saturday evening, people from Hamamatsu have to decide on one or frequent Catholic services in other languages or in other neighboring towns of Hamamatsu.

I went to three spiritists meetings and was welcomed very warmly. The small one-story building is situated outside the Kakegawa city center. For a while, my Brazilian acquaintance from Hamamatsu, his friends, and me drove on narrow paths through the darkness on that Saturday evening, and I was surprised to see the building emerging in the middle of fields. Many cars were already parked in the yard, so we could not park without boxing someone in. When we entered the building, we took off our shoes, as it is usual in Japan. We passed a narrow hallway and the room where children gather during the studies, and arrived in the small room where the gathering took place. Among the people who already gathered, I spotted another Brazilian acquaintance which I met at the dance school with her family. We sat down in one of the rear rows of chairs. One of the people who lead the studies welcomed me warmly and briefly explained to me the process of the gathering. However, in contrast to my experiences at IURD, I did not feel pressured to come back or become a believer. A Brazilian woman went to the front and started talking in Portuguese about today's topic: How to deal with people who treat you badly. She presented one chapter of

Kardec's books and related it to the situation of the *dekassegui's* everyday life in the factories. While she was speaking, some Brazilians still entered the room. Instead of apologizing or quietly sitting down, they cheerfully greeted everybody. In total, around 30 people gathered, all of them Brazilians. After the study of the doctrine, the children came to our room for the *terapia de passes*: two people at a time were called to enter a separate room. Children and their parents went first. The room was small and dark. We sat on a stool. Two people trained for serving as a medium stood in front of us and started moving, trying to contact good spirits. After a few minutes, we left the room and got "fluidified" water. After everybody went through this ritual, the leader offered one-to-one consultation for the ones who wanted to talk about a personal problem. The others gathered in another part of the building to conclude the evening. A small canteen sold beverages and Brazilian snacks, such as pastel (fried pastry with assorted fillings) and coxinha (chicken croquettes). The people sat down at small tables, chatting, eating, and drinking in a jolly atmosphere.

The spiritist gatherings in Kakegawa roughly follow the international model determined by the FEB. They include systematic study of the spiritist doctrine, *terapia de passes*, "fluidification" of water, and fraternal consultation. During the studies, the children gather in a separate room (child evangelization). Besides the Saturday meetings, a study group meets at the Center on Fridays. Sometimes, festivities are celebrated at the Center. Charity, traditionally a domain of the Catholic Church (cf. Lewgoy 2008: 87), is an essential part also of Spiritism. Kardec dedicated a chapter of his book *The Gospel According to Spiritism* to it, and its title became a well-known slogan: "Fora da *Caridade* Não Há Salvação" (Without Charity There is No Salvation). Several Spiritist centers in Japan distribute food and other necessities to homeless people (cf. Hoshino 2012: 103; TV Mundo Maior 2013). In Kakegawa, the importance attributed to charity already becomes explicit from the Spiritist center's name: Centro Espírita Casa de Cáritas (Spiritist Center House of Caritas). Similar to what the Grupo Esperança of the Catholic Church in Hamamatsu does every Saturday, the members of the Casa de Cáritas formed the group Grupo Mãos Unidas that provides the homeless with food and other necessities, such as clothes and blankets, every week on Wednesday in front of the Hamamatsu station.

6.3.3. Spiritism's role for integration of Brazilian migrants

Lewgoy (2008: 95) suggests that for Brazilian immigrants in the US, Spiritism serves as Brazilian religious space by consolidating identity, and at the same time as a means to integrate by helping to overcome cultural and linguistic barriers through sessions held alternately in English and Portuguese. In Japan, as the meetings are held in Portuguese, exclusively frequented by Brazilians, and advertised by word-of-mouth, Spiritism serves more as a place of ethnic gathering, networking, and socializing for Brazilians than of fostering interaction with the host society. It targets Brazilian migrants and can be called an ethnic church (cf. Hoshino 2012: 104-105). Interaction among the Spiritists within Japan is relatively high (cf. TV Mundo Maior 2013). Most Japanese people, however, are not aware of the Spiritist movement yet, as it is predominantly covered by Brazilian ethnic media so far. Interested Japanese people are few, although sometimes at presentations simultaneous interpretation is provided for Japanese people who do not understand Portuguese (cf. *ibid.*).

Spiritism combines well with other, especially Japanese, religions. It seems to be common that many Spiritists are affiliated with other churches at the same time, from Catholicism, Evangelicalism, or Japanese religions. Thus, they can also benefit from the opportunities of interaction provided there. Moreover, Spiritism started to mingle with Japanese as well as other Brazilian religions. This process happens by incorporating local Japanese spirits or by mutual influences of the doctrines. One example is the convergence of Spiritism and Umbanda in Japanese cities where they share the same facility, albeit on different worship days (cf. Hoshino 2012: 103; Santos 2017; Shoji 2008a: 80-81). It seems to me that this process of creolization with the Japanese spiritual world can also be understood as a strategy to legitimize its dissemination in the country and to attract Japanese believers. At the same time, Hoshino (2012: 105-106) states that Spiritism disapproves of Pentecostal churches due to their mammonism, and aims at taking a superior position to Catholics and Protestants.

In every country, Spiritist centers develop different strategies of adapting the doctrine to the specific characteristics of the migrants in their respective host country (cf. Lewgoy 2008: 85; Shoji 2008a: 80). In Japan, compared to IURD and the Catholic Church, Spiritism seems to deal better with the struggle of adapting its doctrine to the *dekassegui* context. It provides support for personal life issues of its followers

through individual consultation and helps to deal with the migratory experience and the new everyday life in Japan. For example, by suggesting that communication with the deceased is possible, the Spiritist doctrine comforts the migrants that are far away from home and their family, indicating that they are less separated from the people that passed away than from the ones that live in a faraway country (cf. Lewgoy 2008: 99). Furthermore, Spiritism suggests that adversities as well as successes are part of a plan predetermined in the world of spirits. This narrative provides symbolic resources of dialogue with the host society, because migration processes can be understood as a means of elaborating consanguinity with previous lives (cf. *ibid.*: 100). Maristela Santos admitted that when holding Spiritist lectures, the presenter incorporates local necessities in the speech. For her series of lectures in Japan she chose the topic “worker” (cf. Santos 2017). Indeed, the studies of the Spiritist doctrine in Kakegawa always refer to everyday situations of the migrants and often illustrate their teachings using examples from the factory working life of the Brazilians. In this way, the doctrine is not something theoretical, but a practical help which permits the followers to apply the just learned contents in their everyday life.

Interaction with the host society is mainly limited to the support of homeless people. Besides distribution of food and clothes, the Spiritist community’s social assistance can also encompass helping homeless people to find work (cf. TV Mundo Maior 2013). For example, the Spiritist center in Gifu made two former homeless Japanese people staff members of the center (cf. Hoshino 2012: 103). Another spiritist social project is called *Cinco Minutos de Valores Humanos para a Escola* (Five minutes of human values for the school). It started in Brazil, where it already encompassed 2.000 schools, and was translated to Spanish and English. Without having a religious connotation, the program teaches values such as respect, solidarity, ethics, responsibility, a good living together, and no violence. As schools are the principal place where citizens are formed, such a project can have an important impact there (cf. ADE-JP [2018]). ADE-JAPÃO planned to implement this project in Japan and called for volunteers who could translate the didactic material into Japanese (cf. *ibid.*). However, the website domain of the project expired and it seems like it was never actually implemented in Japan. This project could have become a mediating institution, because it passes common human values to all nationalities and emphasizes similarities instead of differences.

In conclusion, support for the homeless seems to be the only social assistance activity of Spiritist centers in Japan. As in the gatherings solely Brazilians participate, this social assistance becomes the only place of encounter with the host society. However, as the spiritist doctrines are related to the *dekassegui* work and life in Japan, they help the Brazilians finding their place in society and gaining understanding for other people's perspective.

6.4. Discussion and Conclusion

While in other areas of everyday life, the decision to stay or to return affects the integration process, in the field of religion, religious mediating institutions play an important role irrespective of this decision. Brazilian immigrants integrate into the respective church structure of their religion, if any, and find a place of belonging and support. In contrast to most institutions of host society or Brazilian community which mainly provide a space of interaction and encounter either with the host society or with their own community, some religious institutions provide both. As such, they have an impact on the integration of migrants into the local community. The degree of integration with the society as a whole, however, varies from church to church.

6.4.1. Role for integration

Different aspects determine the role of religious mediating institution for integration of the Brazilian immigrants: the significance the immigrants give to a certain church, the churches' ability to attract the next generation, and the function they offer for their believers.

Decision for a religion

The role of religious institutions for integration is not only determined by what they provide, but also by the number of people who make use of these opportunities. The migration experience changed their religious needs. Evangelical and New Religion churches seem to appeal to Brazilian migrants most. Especially Pentecostals like the

IURD offer a doctrine that is plausible for Brazilians without Japanese descent who plan to return to Brazil. At the same time, they adapted their teachings to the *dekassegui* situation and through Força Jovem offer activities for supporting young people finding their way in society. Nikkei, on the other side, feel more attracted by churches that make sense of their migratory experience in relation to their ancestors. They often frequent Spiritism and Umbanda, which creolized with Japanese cultural elements or spirits, or Japanese New Religions and even traditional Buddhism, which do not only offer an ethnic link for the Nikkei, but provide them with the opportunity to integrate better into the Japanese society (cf. Shoji 2008a: 84). As shown in chapters 6.1. and 6.3., IURD and Spiritism manage to pick up people with their everyday problems by adapting their teachings to the *dekassegui* life and issues regarding the host society. Moreover, as Pentecostals with their easy-to-understand doctrine which teaches pursuing happiness and prosperity in this life (cf. Mita 2011: 227) have grown especially among the lower middle class (cf. Mariano 2004: 124; Martes 2001: 30), migrants might feel more welcome in a Pentecostal church than in a Catholic one, where most of the members belong to the higher middle class. Furthermore, with their “charismatic leadership, anti-organizationalism, and experience-driven spirituality” (Palma 2020: 141), the Pentecostal churches offer a “counterbalance to the hierarchical and dogmatic emphasis of the Catholic Church” (ibid.). With many Brazilian migrants turning to ethnic churches, numbers of Brazilian Catholics are declining. In other words, through their high number of believers, ethnic churches gain importance in the integration process.

Other reasons for the departure of believers from the Catholic Church is that few Catholics have a strict faith (cf. Hoshino 2012: 95). Like in Brazil, in Japan especially nominal Catholics convert to Japanese New Religious or Pentecostal groups (cf. Shoji 2008a: 53). Some of my interviewees said that they were Catholic, but since coming to Japan do not frequent the service regularly or at all. Thamara, for example, made negative experiences at the Catholic Church and decided to stop frequenting the church because she had the impression that the Padre used his position to put himself above the others and to make everyone who does not frequent the service regularly feel guilty (cf. interview Thamara). Another reason is that compared to Pentecostal churches, the Catholic Church has a low number of Portuguese speaking Padres. As a result, its capacity to offer services in Portuguese, to represent a Brazilian religiosity, to offer an ethnic space, and to commit itself to the

Brazilians sufficiently is limited. By aiming at a multicultural church without a real integration into the clerical hierarchy or the church community, Japanese Catholicism did not manage to preserve the symbolic capital it had among the Brazilians (cf. Shoji 2008a: 57-58, 61). In Hamamatsu and other cities with a high number of Brazilian residents, however, this point does not hold true, as Portuguese speaking Padres exists and national parishes developed. In short, the Catholic Church is mainly frequented by Catholics who already had a strong faith in Brazil. Especially non-Nikkei Brazilians tend to be Catholic, although many Nikkei also frequent the Catholic Church. Nominal Catholics also turn to the Catholic Church at certain occasions, as the Church is an institution they trust and traditionally turn to when in need.

Moreover, many Brazilians feel an ease of changing churches when they cannot frequent a church anymore for some reason. For them, evangelicals are all the same. This means that they also consider the option of changing to a Japanese evangelical church, especially when it is linked to their Brazilian evangelical church (cf. Hoshino 2012: 108). Fernanda, a Catholic Brazilian, recently had contact with different evangelical churches, but does not frequent any of them regularly (cf. interview Fernanda). In some cases, their reasons to change to a Japanese church are related to language aspects: helping the children to understand the Christian teachings better or improving the own Japanese skills by reading and learning the Bible in Japanese (cf. Hoshino 2012: 100; interview Roxana).

Some Brazilians search for a while for the religion that suits them best. Roxana's search started already in Brazil and took her to many different believes: Catholicism did not satisfy her, at the Japanese New Religion Seichō-no-le she did not understand anything, in Spiritism she only did not immerse herself because she then went to Japan. There, she started frequenting a religious sect in Yokohama. Then, she joined Nova Era¹³⁶ and in the end became Baptist. First, they frequented a Brazilian evangelical Baptist church in Japan. Then, they changed to Life River Church, its more traditional split-off with service in Japanese. Thamara imagines that for many Brazilians in Japan, religion is like a garment that they can change anytime.

¹³⁶ New Age beliefs include for example "belief in reincarnation, astrology, psychics and the presence of spiritual energy in physical objects like mountains or trees" (Pew Research Center 2018). They are common not only among many Christians, but also among religiously unaffiliated people (cf. *ibid.*).

Where is the focus? When you lose yourself in the middle of the way, you will take anything. Today you are Catholic, tomorrow you'll be protestant, possibly you'll be there at Spiritism and, where will that end?

In her opinion, the fact that many Brazilians in Japan left behind the religion they had in their childhood is a sign that these people lost their focus. In other words, through a religious institution, they are searching for a foothold amidst an unsteady *dekassegui* life.

While for Japanese migrants in Brazil, the choice of conversion to Catholicism is a social strategy of integration (cf. Shoji 2008b: 15-16, 25), among Brazilian immigrants in Japan, only few think of integration issues when deciding on a church. Rather, criteria for the decision-making process are the social and financial problems they experience in the host society, their Japanese descentance, where applicable, which can help them making sense of the migratory experience, or simply chance encounters. The modified conditions of a migrant's life and, in the case of many Catholics, a nominal affiliation are the main reasons why many change their religious behavior after coming to Japan. Another factor is the personal definition of religion and expectations each person has. For some, socializing is a main reason to go to church. Others prefer to believe in God frequenting several churches or without frequenting any church. It is remarkable, however, that none of my interviewees stated to be atheist. It seems that each person creates his or her own understanding and sense of God, religion, and church.

Focus on the next generation?

Another aspect that churches need to consider for their continuation is to what degree they respond to the needs of the next generation. Less parishioners signifies a diminished importance as a mediating institution as well as a threat to continuation of the church. As continuation of the religions is intertwined with language skills of the migrant children (cf. Hoshino 2012: 109), the focus on the next generation becomes crucial for some churches. The three religious institutions deal differently with this future challenge.

The Catholic Church assumes that the second generation will already be fluent in Japanese and socially more integrated in Japan (cf. cf. Shoji 2008a: 82). However,

many young people leave the church. LeMay (2019: 12-14) argues that the persistence of the *mushūkyō* (having no religion) discourse in Japanese society, defining the norm as all Japanese being non-religious, creates a religious ideological homogeneity, suppresses alternative views, and exerts assimilative pressure. Especially Catholic children (both Japanese and foreign) attending Japanese public school experience 'othering' as well as psychological, social, and time pressure. As a result, many hide their Christian identity and even stop frequenting church. According to the Catholic Commission of Japan for Migrants, Refugees and People on the Move's survey of 2002, reasons for migrant children not to come to church include lack of time, lack of interest, the language barrier, parents not going, and having other commitments at service time, such as sports, work, or caring for siblings (cf. Catholic Bishops' Conference of Japan 2003).

The exodus of young Brazilians from Catholic Church became clear from my interviews as well. Yuriko, Akane, and Keiko are Brazilian university students who grew up in Japan and are all Catholics. Yuriko said that religion was not important to her. Sometimes she goes to the Shinto shrine. In the past, her parents often took her to the Catholic Church. However, nowadays they find it a nuisance to go to church on Sundays and as they are not very religious, they stopped going (cf. interview Yuriko). Akane does not commit herself to one religion. As her grandparents are originally from Okinawa, a part of her family in Brazil continues practicing the Okinawan religion. Although she is Catholic, when coming to Japan she stopped going to church. Sometimes she goes to a Shinto shrine (cf. interview Akane). Keiko said that she does not really have a religion. The maternal side of her family is Buddhist, but her mother became a believer of the Church of World Messianity (*Sekai Kyūseikyō*), a Japanese New Religion that is also popular in Brazil. Her father is Catholic, but does not frequent the church (cf. interview Keiko). It seems like the Catholic Church is not doing much to retain the younger generation.

In Brazilian ethnic churches, services are held in Portuguese. Few Japanese groups exist, and children are also taught in Portuguese. Especially for these Brazilian churches, the next generation might bring about drastic changes, as they increasingly speak only Japanese and understand less Portuguese. The churches face a choice: They can continue to offer services in Portuguese and hope for the next generation to not forget their heritage language or for new migrants to arrive in Japan; or start

imparting their doctrine also in Japanese and amplifying the target group. While many Pentecostal churches still opt for the first alternative, most Spiritist centers decided in favor of the second option. As Spiritism has few followers, for them, keeping in touch with the next generation is a question of survival of the religion in Japan. By now, at many places it is a matter of course to hold even rituals mixing the Portuguese and Japanese languages (cf. Hoshino 2012: 108). The person in charge of children at the Spiritist center in Mie prefecture teaches Brazilian children in both languages: in Japanese to prevent the doctrine from extinction in Japan; and in Portuguese to ensure that the children do not forget their heritage language and to pass on Brazilian and Christian religious cultural knowledge. One day, the children can disseminate the doctrine in Japan, as they speak Japanese. Thus, Spiritism in Japan is not tied to the Portuguese language anymore (cf. *ibid.*: 106-107). Out of necessity, integration became a virtue. However, the Spiritist center in Kakegawa still holds its gatherings exclusively in Portuguese which shows that it has not yet embarked on this path of integration of the next generation.

Three important functions for immigrants

The three mediating institutions analyzed in this chapter confirm the four important functions of religious institutions for immigrants that were identified in the literature (see introduction of chapter 6). While the second function, providing a place of encounter of different nationalities, seems to play a minor role for churches in the Hamamatsu region and their Brazilian believers, the other three functions are very important. First, they serve as a place of belonging and networking where many Brazilians gather. Second, they provide support. In times of societal crises, they react faster than the local government, as they already have established a close relationship with the foreign residents and are aware of their difficulties. Examples are the distribution of necessities and the school project of the Catholic Church during the Great Financial Crisis 2008. This shows that religious institutions can fill the gap until the municipality and civil society institutions organize support for the immigrants and thus serve as a safety net for them. Like IURD through its *Força Jovem* or Spiritists through individual consultation, religious institutions also support immigrants to solve personal problems that are not already addressed sufficiently by

other organizations for which some issues stay *kao no mienai*¹³⁷ (invisible). Roxana stated that after converting to the Baptist church, she learned how to deal with people who wish her ill. The Christian teachings strengthen herself from within and even helped her overcome the desire to die. Her faith took away sadness, insecurity, and doubts (cf. interview Roxana). Third, by adapting their doctrine to the *dekassegui* context, religious institutions help making sense of the migration experience of having no time for oneself, being stuck in routine, and being excluded.

Besides these three functions, many of my interview partners mentioned other factors that also play a role for them. Thamara considers religion as a guiding principle. She thinks that somebody who is rooted in one religion from childhood on will not lose the focus in life (cf. interview Thamara). Roxana started frequenting a Japanese church in order to improve her Japanese language skills. She also stressed the importance of moral education by the church. In her opinion, personality is formed during childhood, but many children were not taught what is right and what is wrong, and that is why they are doing things like *ijime* (for *ijime*, see chapter 7.1.2.) (cf. interview Roxana). Yumi learned about Japanese culture and values, such as respect, through Buddhist customs she grew up with. This knowledge later helped her integrating into the Japanese host society (cf. interview Yumi). The teachings of all three religious institutions aim at a similar goal: making sense of the migration experience, forming a good character through moral education, and helping the Brazilians finding their place in society. However, most of my interviewees do not attribute much significance to religion and church as institution, but are nominal Christians or – like it is common in Japan – do not have any religion (*mushūkyō*), or rather frequent different religious institutions. Still, faith seems to be important for all of them, and the ones who frequent a certain church can benefit from the offered support, place of belonging, and opportunities of networking and interaction.

6.4.2. Four dimensions of social integration

This chapter examined the role of the three above-mentioned religious mediating institutions in Hamamatsu for the social integration of Brazilians. Esser's (2001) four dimensions of social integration show to which degree they fulfill this role.

¹³⁷ For a definition of *kao no mienai teijūka*, see chapter 2.2.3.

Culturation takes place in a limited way. In all three institutions, knowledge and competences for successfully acting and interacting in society are especially passed through networking with other Brazilians. Language proficiency and other cultural skills can barely improve, as contact with Japanese people is rare. Although some Spiritist centers decided to start using Japanese as one of their languages of instruction (cf. Hoshino 2012: 96), this is not (yet) the case in Kakegawa. At that Spiritist center as well as at IURD, almost only Brazilians gather. The Catholic Church provides more opportunities to get in touch with the Japanese language as the facility as such is shared by all national parishes. Examples of such opportunities are the monthly international service, Japanese services, church festivities, participation in the executive board of the church, and weekly discussion meetings. Social projects also provide opportunities for improving Japanese language and cultural skills, such as the school which the Catholic Church opened during the crisis and the weekly distribution of food and necessities to homeless Japanese people, which the Spiritist center and the Catholic Church do. Although culturation in relation to the Japanese culture does barely take place, culturation in general terms happens. The Força Jovem helps young people dealing with Japanese bureaucracy and earning competencies, such as computer skills, which they can apply at their job later. Furthermore, at all three churches, general values are conveyed, including respect and altruism. They can serve as a basis for mutual understanding, and thus for integration. Still, adaptation of language plays a crucial role, for the continuation of the church as well as for the integration of the immigrants. Therefore, religious mediating institutions might shift their focus on this topic.

Placement does only happen in a very limited way as well. Apart from placement within the institution, such as Brazilians who join the church committee of the Catholic Church, who become pastor at an evangelical church, or leader in a Spiritist center, placement within the host society takes only place through educational support and moral education. Educational support, such as the Força Jovem's projects or the Catholic Church's school project activities, helps young people finding their place in the host society. This place, however, does not necessarily mean integration. Rather, the support is aimed at helping them to cope in the host society. Moreover, the Catholic Church, Pentecostal churches, and the Spiritists are aware of the importance of moral education of children for becoming conscious residents, based

on principles such as altruism. They all offer evangelization courses for children, aiming at teaching them Christian values.

Interaction with the host society mainly takes place through social work. Charity becomes a frame of interaction. All three religious institutions have social welfare projects which involve both Japanese and foreign people, believers and non-believers. However, some kinds of social work are improper for an encounter at eye level, as they create a certain (perceived) hierarchy. Rather than fostering integration, at the most, these projects can contribute to a more positive reputation of foreign residents among the Japanese, at least in the case of altruistic charity that is not related to proselytization, such as the distribution of food and necessities for the homeless that is organized by the Catholic Church and Spiritist centers. Even there, however, tensions can occur, as shows the fact that some homeless people do not want to accept food from Brazilian residents. Other activities which foster interaction are the support of young people by Força Jovem or the international service of the Catholic Church followed by a lunch. However, at these opportunities of interaction, no real mixing and mutual orientation of the groups happens. Apart from that, integration strategies are not related to the host society as such, but to the church community.

Rather than interaction, segregation happens in all three religious mediating institutions. In the Catholic Church where parishes for every ethnic group developed and in Nikkei *shinshūkyō* (New Religions) where Japanese and foreign followers only share the building, ethnic boundaries increasingly consolidate (cf. Hoshino 2012: 107), leading to a similar situation as in ethnic churches: An ethnic service is offered by ethnic resources – that is, the Brazilian community – and thus contributes to the segregation of Brazilian and Japanese residents (cf. Hoshino 2012: 93). Services are held in Portuguese and interaction with other ethnocultural groups is rarely encouraged. IURD holds its worships in Portuguese, but provides headphones with interpretation in other languages, including English and Japanese. In this way, service is not split by language and all nationalities can gather at the same service. In practice, however, few non-Brazilians come to the services. The only religious mediating institution among the ones analyzed here that clearly shows endeavors regarding the creation of a multicultural environment is the Catholic Church. A monthly international service, events of national parishes, a church committee with

representatives from all national parishes, and social projects like distributing food to the homeless are possibilities to join an activity where all groups can participate and which can foster mutual understanding and create a multicultural environment.

However, interaction does not only depend on the opportunities provided by mediating institutions, but also on the individuals' objectives and strategies in this respect, that is, how much and in which way they make use of these opportunities. Some actively decide in favor of an interaction strategy, for example by quitting an ethnic church and entering a Japanese (evangelical) church instead. Followers of IURD and Spiritism, but also many Catholic Brazilians who only integrate in their national parish, separate from the host society in the field of religion. They help each other and seek refuge within their religious community. Incentives for participation beyond this community, and as a result, also for integration with members of the host society, are low.

Identification with the host society does barely happen as well. Even if people identify with a certain project, such as distributing food to the homeless, the identification is limited to that occasion and does not necessarily broaden to an identification with the host society as such. The school in times of crisis, however, seems to have changed the involved people and brought them closer together. It is striking that in all three religious mediating institutions, instead of identification with the host society or with a certain culture or ethnicity, the identification as Christian is of bigger importance. Limits of ethnic belonging are overcome and people connect through their values. This can serve as a basis for the integration of Japanese and Brazilian residents with each other.

As observed in the community chapter, in the religious field, as well, the aspect of **emotional support and belonging** plays a role for integration of the Brazilian residents. Pentecostal churches, Spiritist centers, and the Brazilian parish of the Catholic Church are in fact a part of the Brazilian community and as such places which preserve a Brazilian (religious) identity and foster the building of ethnic networks. These assist especially newly arrived migrants by offering protection, advice, and emotional support. They help dealing with the migratory experience, the hard work life, and the long distance from family and home country, and are also a source of information and assistance regarding everyday life issues in the host society. In all three churches, support and socializing are main characteristics.

However, within ethnic churches, followers support only each other, not non-believing foreigners (cf. Shirahase and Takahashi 2012: 67). The IURD in Hamamatsu and the Spiritist center in Kakegawa are not providing support for the Brazilian residents in general, but for their own believers. Although Força Jovem is open to non-believers as well, its activities are linked to proselytization.

Integration efforts do not only aim at the immigrants. Mediating institutions also play a **role for the host society**. Japanese people get in touch with Brazilian and other foreign parishioners: in the Catholic Church at the service or church festivities, and at social work such as the support for the homeless of the Spiritist center and Catholic Church.

Religious institutions fill a gap in the institutional landscape of the municipality. From the point of view of the host society, ethnic churches are “*kao no mienai*” churches (Hoshino 2012: 94-95). As ethnic churches do not interact with the local society and residents, many people are not aware of their existence. Even the local government hardly grasps the existence and activities of these churches (cf. Shirahase and Takahashi 2012: 67). This is also related to the separation of church and state which is embodied in the Japanese constitution (cf. LeMay 2019: 3). At HICE’s consultations as well, it is not allowed to suggest religious institutions as a possible point of contact (cf. interview Roxana). The Catholic Church, on the other side, is not a “*kao no mienai*” church. As multiethnic and time-honored church, it built a trust relationship to both foreign communities and the Japanese host society and its institutions. In cooperation with different actors from the civil society as well as other institutions, such as the local government and various companies, the Catholic Church also conducts social activities that benefit not only Catholic but all immigrants.

Mediating institutions do not only foster integration. In some aspects, they also **hinder** this process. The religious landscape of Hamamatsu shows that the whole field of religion is one more area of the Brazilians residents’ life that can be lived without Japanese language skills or interaction with Japanese people and that does not create a necessity to study Japanese or interact more with Japanese people. In other words, in the field of religion, integration of Brazilian and Japanese residents is not necessary, but possible. Furthermore, although these three religions do not foster interaction between host society and Brazilian community, they are important mediating institutions, as they connect their mainly Brazilian believers with the host

society by helping them dealing with their *dekassegui* life and finding their place in society.

In summary, religious mediating institutions in Hamamatsu help the Brazilian residents to preserve their heritage culture and provide a space of belonging and networking among themselves. Although some events and small projects foster interaction between Brazilian and Japanese people, in most cases, the effect does not last very long, because they are based on the 3F idea or the contact is superficial and only temporary. Among the mediating institutions in the field of religion in Hamamatsu, the Catholic Church provides most opportunity structures of interaction among the different ethnic groups. But even then, it depends on the own ambitions of every person to interact and seek integration. Thus, the religious mediating institutions do not really foster interculturalism.

7. The role of educational institutions for integration of Brazilian immigrants in Hamamatsu

Some schools in Hamamatsu invite former students who have foreign roots to talk about their experiences and the difficulties they had after finishing school. Many serve as examples that give hope and confidence to the students. One alumnus talked about how he studied *kanji* in elementary school together with his mother. He became a firefighter. Another one, a Brazilian young man, was placed second at a speech contest that was not aiming at foreign participants, but also at Japanese ones. When he came to his former school, he asked the students what they want to become one day, and encouraged them to pursue their dreams. Even when they mentioned dreams which are difficult to realize, like soccer player, he told them: “You can make it!” Afterwards, the children were asked to write an essay about their impressions of the presentation. Some had realized through these experiences of their predecessors: Even as a foreigner you are allowed to have dreams!

This anecdote I was told by an employee of the Hamamatsu Board of Education during our interview in spring 2018. It shows that many Brazilian students in Japan think that as a foreigner they have limited opportunities for their future. Still, some Brazilians managed to pursue their objectives and reach their goals. Passing on experiences to the younger generation becomes a way to open their minds for new perspectives, make them aware of their dreams, and give them confidence for pursuing them.

The key for pursuing one’s dreams is education. Education is also an essential field for living together in an intercultural society as it plays a big role in integration into the host society, especially for the generation whose parents migrated. Especially language is important for exchange and dialogue, making language courses part of intercultural measures (cf. Loobuyck 2016: 234-235). According to Dustmann and Glitz (2011: 397) “[u]nderachievement of immigrant children is often seen as a major factor for the long-term segregation of immigrant communities, and educational achievements of immigrant children in comparison to their native-born peers are considered an important indicator of successful immigration policy” as well as “one of the key determinants of the success of the children of immigrants” (ibid.: 412), as “educational credentials are necessary, if not always sufficient, for entry into the labor

market and particularly the highly skilled occupations” (Alba and Holdaway 2013: 254). At the same time, practitioners often stress that preserving the heritage culture and language is important in order not to lose one’s own identity. The recent development of initiatives related to PLH (Portuguese as a Heritage Language) in Japan is an indicator of this concern.

Education is a process ongoing not only the whole life but also every day in all kinds of settings. It also effects decisions on future paths. As Dustmann and Glitz (2011: 413) state, “educational choices and the accumulation of skills are inherently connected to migration and remigration decisions”. In Japan, “public schools have been provided for and concerned with Japanese children only, not foreign children” (Watanabe 2010: 168). However, some local governments and boards of education developed their own education policies (cf. *ibid.*). Still, Japanese schools and the education policies by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT; *Monbu kagakushō*) have a “very narrow vision of Brazilian pupils’ and students’ problems” (*ibid.*: 169). Watanabe (2010: 170) suggests schoolteachers being trained more for teaching foreign children and multicultural classes.

Not only for the children, but also for their parents’ generation, education is an important issue. Brazilians who come to Japan have diverse backgrounds. Contrary to Japan, where the education standard is equal, as all Japanese went through the same education system, in Brazil, due to the size of the country and the disparity of education within it, people have different levels of education, different cultures, and a different consciousness for integration issues. Even among Nikkei who grew up in Brazil, differences in these fields exist (cf. interview HICE). Some Brazilian do not command their native language Portuguese properly. The director of the NPO Arace told me about one of her student’s Brazilian father in his 40’s who had only completed two years of elementary school in Brazil. She calls him a “semi-analphabet”, because he could barely read and write in Portuguese. As he was too embarrassed to tell her, she only realized when he did not respond to her messages and later justified himself by saying that he did not understand them. She only found out the reason when she asked him to fill out a form and he asked her to write the words on a piece of paper for him to copy. He could imitate the letters and read some things, but he did not understand what he was reading (cf. interview Arace). In the

course of the edition of the church bulletin, the Padre of the Catholic Church also realized that Brazilians as well as other Latin Americans make language mistakes in their mother tongue and also do not have the proficiency of reading about a topic and summarize important points (cf. interview Catholic Church). Most Brazilians who came to Japan did not complete high school in Brazil, but only middle or even elementary school (cf. interviews Arace, Catholic Church). The director of E.A.S. thinks that many Brazilians living in Japan did not finish junior high school in Brazil. He calls them “semi-analphabets” as well (cf. interview E.A.S.).

This deficiency becomes obvious in their everyday life. Amanda thinks that many other problems, such as health, financial organization, cultural organization, matrimonial behavior, social behavior, and a lack of respect toward compatriots, are related to their low level of education (cf. interview Amanda). The semi-analphabetism is also linked to their ability and motivation to study foreign languages. Although Japanese skills can enable the Brazilian immigrants to find a job outside the 3K-sector and execute their original profession or open up new possibilities (cf. interview Vitor), many live in Japan for many years or even some decades now and still have barely proficiency in Japanese. Most speak a little, but cannot read or write. Moreover, they often have difficulties of differentiating between formal and informal Japanese.

Moreover, the educational background of the parents has an impact on their children’s performance in school (cf. Esser 2001: 60), as “formal education in schools is always complemented by learning in the home and community” (Alba and Holdaway 2013: 260). Immigrant parents who have limited education and language skills of the host society cannot prepare their children adequately for school, assist them with homework or educational decisions, and pay for supplemental education (cf. *ibid.*). Amanda told me that many Brazilians think: I did not have much education, why does my child need it (cf. interview Amanda)? The director of Arace summed up how many Brazilian parents think about their children’s education and which implications this thinking can have:

‘We return to Brazil and he studies there’. You will go there to the first grade with 10 years? No, you won’t. [...] So, this means they have to think about this. The growth of the child does not stop. And unfortunately, if we don’t take care, we will have a generation of semi-analphabets in both Japanese and Portuguese.

The return plans of the parents can result in the children not making an effort to study or not going to school at all, because they believe that they will return to Brazil soon. However, in many cases, return does not take place as soon as thought, if at all (see chapter 5.1.3.), and the children end up with no education at all. Furthermore, many Brazilian children take their parents as a role model in planning their own life (see chapter 7.1.3.).

This chapter analyzes the role of various educational institutions in the Brazilian residents' integration with the Japanese host society. Following the educational life cycle, chapter 7.1. introduces the educational path of Brazilian children in Hamamatsu, from nursery school until higher education, and possible paths for Brazilians after finishing school. In chapter 7.2., the role of bilingual education and language choice are examined. I analyze the role of educational institutions of the civil society as mediating institutions in the integration of Brazilian children in Hamamatsu, the role bilingual children play for their parents, and the consequences of failed bilingual education. Subsequently, educational opportunities of the parents' generation are analyzed. This includes language education, education regarding their life and future planning in Japan, as well as access to information therefor. Lastly, educational institutions, civil society organizations, and local government institutions are examined regarding their role as mediating institutions in the field of education.

7.1. School education

While Japanese children are obliged to attend school¹³⁸, there is no compulsory education for foreign children living in Japan. However, they have the right to attend Japanese public elementary and junior high schools, regardless of their Japanese language proficiency (cf. Fujita-Round, Maher 2017: 3). In 2018, 1,727 foreign children attended Japanese public elementary and junior high schools in Hamamatsu. 49% of these children had Brazilian nationality (Furuhashi 2019: [4]). Others attend ethnic schools. In the fiscal year 2022, 8.1% of foreign residents' children did so (cf. Hamamatsu City 2023a: 9). A few, however, stay at home without getting any education. One reason is the objective of their parents' stay in Japan, that is earning

¹³⁸ Compulsory education in Japan consists of six years of elementary and three years of junior high school (cf. MEXT n.d.).

much money, which leads to a complete devotion to work (cf. Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi 2005: 73). Moreover, their plans to return to Brazil soon and the unimportance some attach to education play a role (see above).

In order to ensure that foreign children do not miss their chance of getting any education at all, Hamamatsu City¹³⁹ implemented the “Zero School Refusal” project in 2011 within the framework of the city’s “Intercultural City Vision” and from 2014 entrusted it to HICE. As a result of conducting surveys and providing information, personal support, and counseling for the parents, the numbers of foreign children in Hamamatsu who were not attending school nor studying at a support class organized by an NPO nor having concrete return plans dropped significantly from 16 children in 2011 to 0 children in 2013. In order to keep the number of children not attending school at zero, the “Hamamatsu model” was established by using the know how attained in the three first years of the “Zero School Refusal” project and by cooperating with the institutions concerned, such as ethnic schools (cf. Furuhashi 2019: [7-8]; Hamamatsu City 2014a: 38-39; HICE [2018]: 18; see also Hamamatsu City 2018c). This shows that in the field of education of foreign children as well, Hamamatsu is a pioneer city in Japan.

Brazilian parents can send their children to a Japanese school, but also have the option of sending them to a Brazilian school. However, no international or bilingual school which provides education in Japanese and Portuguese (or English) is available.¹⁴⁰ The following sections present these two options and their implications for integration.

7.1.1. Brazilian schools

Ethnic schools are an option for many foreign parents in Japan. This shows their uncertain future orientations. Most of these schools are accredited overseas, but not recognized as legally incorporated educational institutions (*gakkō hōjin*) by the

¹³⁹ Divisions in charge are the International Affairs Division and the Education Development Division of Hamamatsu City Hall (cf. Hamamatsu City [2012]: 37).

¹⁴⁰ In 2015, Hamamatsu International School (HIS) was founded as unincorporated non-profit school. The school is situated in Naka-ku and offers classes in mathematics, arts, programming, and social / global studies. Moreover, Portuguese and Tagalog are taught as heritage languages. The school also provides study support. Classes takes place twice a week as hybrid learning: once a week online and once a week in the classroom (cf. St. Misha International School 2020). However, the school does not provide an encompassing range of subjects. Moreover, main target of the school are Filipino children.

Japanese government. Some are even registered as NPOs or private enterprises (cf. Liu-Farrer 2020: 160).

Brazilian nursery schools

In Hamamatsu, three Brazilian nursery schools are registered at the City Hall: Lápis de Cor, Pimentinha Kids, and Reino da Alegria. They were founded between 2002 and 2009 and aim at Brazilian and Peruvian children (cf. Hamamatsu City 2018a: 37-39). The language used predominantly is Portuguese and the children are raised within an environment of Brazilian culture (cf. interview Lápis de Cor). Not only Brazilian children frequent these nursery schools, but also others, such as Paraguayans, Filipinos, and children of mixed marriages (cf. interviews Catholic Church, Lápis de Cor).

Longer opening hours compared to Japanese nursery schools and a pick up / bring service before and after (about 6 am to 9 pm) enables the parents to work extra hours (cf. interview Lápis de Cor; Espaço Pimentinha Kids [2023]; Reino da Alegria [2021]; Hamamatsu City 2018a: 37-39). They can also work on Saturdays, as Lápis de Cor is also open on Saturdays until 5 pm. Moreover, if the children are sick, they can still come to nursery school which would be impossible at a Japanese nursery school. The teachers care for them and if necessary, accompany them to a doctor (cf. interview Lápis de Cor). However, Brazilian nursery schools are expensive. While Japanese preschools cost around 25,700 yen a month and are even free for low-income parents, Brazilian nursery schools in Hamamatsu charge between 35,000 and 45,000 per month (cf. Hamamatsu City 2018a: 37-38; Nikkei Asia 2017).

Due to the Portuguese language environment, Japanese language development is not sufficient. Two of the nursery schools mentioned above do not offer Japanese language activities. Lápis de Cor started offering Japanese language classes in 2017 that take place once a week only. Thus, most of the children who frequented a Brazilian nursery school enter Brazilian schools afterwards (cf. Hamamatsu City 2018a: 37-39; interview Lápis de Cor).

In order to raise awareness for educational issues of foreign children, to identify problems, foster cooperation, and exchange ideas, meetings of the managers of the

Brazilians nursery schools (*takujisho keieisha kaigi*) were organized by HICE in 2018 for the first time and held four times in that year. Representatives from the Brazilian Consulate General in Hamamatsu, the Hamamatsu Board of Education, Hamamatsu City Hall Kokusaika, and Seinen Christopher University also participated. Topics discussed were the development of toddlers, the problems of foreign children enrolled in public schools, the role of their parents, and the difficulties for Brazilian nursery schools to become approved, (cf. Kikuyama 2019: [7]-[11]). According to Kikuyama (2019: [11]), a *tabunka kyōsei* coordinator of HICE, as a result of discussing these topics, the ambition of the Brazilian nursery schools to actively engage with these difficulties rose.

The parents also need to be aware of important facts regarding their children's education in Japan. Therefore, HICE initiated different means of parent training. In November and December 2018, for example, they held one lecture in each of the three Brazilian nursery schools about child rearing aiming at foreign parents (cf. Kikuyama 2019: [13]). According to Kikuyama (2019: [13]), for most parents it was the first time that they attended a seminar about child rearing and it let them reconsider the relation to their children, even when busy at work. At the same days, respectively, storytelling by Janelas do Mundo for the children in the three nursery schools took place in order to let the parents feel the effect of reading aloud to the children (cf. Kikuyama 2019: [14]).

In cooperation with Seirei Christopher University, HICE provided information for Brazilian parents with children in preschool age by creating a DVD about two Japanese approved nursery schools¹⁴¹ (cf. Kikuyama 2019: [12]) and by releasing a bilingual edition of the famous Brazilian *manga* “Turma da Mônica” about school preparation and school life in Japan (cf. *ibid.*: [15]). In its preface, the creator of “Turma da Mônica” appeals to the parents to think about the importance of education and the opportunities that speaking both languages would open to their children. He calls on them to speak in their native language at home but let their children learn Japanese at school (cf. de Sousa 2017: [2]).

In summary, the role of Brazilian nursery schools is to provide children with education and at the same time to disburden their parents by being organized around the

¹⁴¹ Each nursery school is introduced for ca. 15 minutes with narration in Portuguese.

factory working schedule. They also play an important role in the children's' identity formation, as they help preserving their heritage language and culture. In doing so, they affect the future path of the children, as they become socialized in a Brazilian environment. Thus, Brazilian nursery schools especially aim at children whose parents plan to return to Brazil soon. Important first steps have been done aiming at developing cooperation between the Brazilian nursery schools in Hamamatsu and raising awareness about things that need to be considered among the parents who send their children to these nursery schools. However, cooperation of nursery schools with HICE (and with each other) only started recently (cf. interview Lapis de Cor), and thus the results shall remain to be seen in the future.

Many Brazilian nursery schools close down (cf. interview Lapis de Cor). This might be an indicator that increasingly, Brazilian parents consider it important for their children to get in touch with Japanese language and culture early on. As Brazilian nursery schools do provide few opportunities for that and also do not foster integration with the host society in any other way, most parents who plan to stay decide to send their children to Japanese nursery schools.

Brazilian schools

When children become six years old, they usually enter elementary school.¹⁴² Here as well, Brazilian parents have to decide between Japanese and ethnic school. Brazilian schools are an “educational apparatus set up specifically as a kind of holding place for the children of temporary migrants until they returned to Brazil” (LeBaron von Baeyer 2020: 123). That is, they prepare Brazilian children for higher education in Brazil (cf. LeBaron von Baeyer 2020: 134; Liu-Farrer 2020: 160-161).

In 2000, the Brazilian Ministry of Education (MEC) started recognizing the certificates issued by some Brazilian schools in Japan (MEC 2018). In 2008, the number of Brazilian schools in Japan reached their peak of 110 schools, 52 of which were recognized by MEC (cf. Sera 2019: 9). The economic crisis and the resulting unemployment and wage reduction of many Brazilian parents led to a decrease of

¹⁴² At Lapis de Cor, children can stay until they are in 5th grade (11 years old). However, most parents decide to send their child to an elementary school when they turn six years old (cf. interview Lapis de Cor).

50% in student numbers and to a default of payment. Consequently, 30 schools had to close. The remaining ones depended on financial support from NPOs (cf. Minami 2012: 228). Nowadays, 33 Brazilian schools in Japan are recognized by the Brazilian government. Most of them are located in Shizuoka and Aichi prefectures, namely nine schools each (cf. MRE 2023a).

However, Brazilian schools are not automatically recognized as schools by the Japanese government (cf. Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi 2005: 250). That means that their certificate is valid in Brazil, but not necessarily in Japan (cf. interview Consulate General). Starting from 2007, some Brazilian schools transformed into *kakushu gakkō* (miscellaneous school) in order to obtain exemptions and governmental incentives (cf. Nakagawa 2018b: 37) and being recognized as educational institution by the Japanese government. Currently, 15 Brazilian schools in Japan have this status (cf. AEBJ 2017). However, many school directors do not want to enter the process of becoming a *kakushu gakkō*, because the incentives are few and the requirements numerous (cf. Nakagawa 2018b: 37).

Hamamatsu has three Brazilian schools recognized by MEC: Escola Alegria de Saber (E.A.S.), Colégio Mundo de Alegria, and Escola Alcance. They offer education from elementary through high school. The school Alegria de Saber is a network of Brazilian schools in Japan consisting of six schools located in the four prefectures Aichi (Toyota, Toyohashi, Hekinan), Gunma (Ōta), Mie (Suzuka), and Shizuoka (Hamamatsu). The school was founded by a group of teachers in 1995 and recognized by MEC in 2000. Nowadays, approximately 2.000 students frequent the schools (cf. E.A.S. [2020]). The Hamamatsu branch is located in Higashi-ku, Handayama (cf. E.A.S. [2020]), which is not far from Takaoka. It was founded in 2001 (cf. interview E.A.S.) and recognized by MEC in 2006 (cf. E.A.S. [2020]; MRE 2023c). It is also recognized by the Japanese government. The director at the time of my fieldwork was a Brazilian who had arrived from Brazil one and a half years before our interview. Around 200 students attend the branch, most of which are Brazilians (cf. interview E.A.S.).

The school Mundo de Alegria is located in Nishi-ku, Yūtō-chō, in the same building as U-ToC. It was founded in 2003 by a Japanese woman who is headmaster of the school until today (cf. Mundo de Alegria [2023]). It was recognized by MEC in 2009 (elementary and junior high schools) and 2012 (high school) (cf. MRE 2023c) and is

the first South American ethnic school in Japan which acquired a certification as miscellaneous vocational school (cf. CoE 2017b: 12). Originally aiming at Spanish-speaking students, the school was officially certified by the Peruvian government. In April 2005, however, the school established a class for Brazilians. The textbooks used in class are approved by the Peruvian and Brazilian governments, and classes are held in Spanish and Portuguese. Currently, the school employs more than 20 educational staff members (cf. CoE 2017b: 12) and is frequented by more around 300 students, 270 of which are Brazilian (cf. record of school tour 08-01-2018). The school's aim is to provide education that transmits Latin American as well as Japanese customs and values and thus enable the students to continue their studies in Japan or in their Latin American home country (cf. Mundo de Alegria [2023]). By providing education in the children's mother tongue and at the same time teaching Japanese, the school aims to not only be a school for students who intend to return to their country of origin (cf. record of school tour 08-01-2018).

The school Alcance was established in 2004 and recognized by MEC in 2007 (cf. Escola Alcance 2020; MRE 2023c). Originally situated in a small building in Takaoka with a warm and familiar atmosphere, the school moved to Tomitsuka, an area between Takaoka and Sanarudai, in 2020 (cf. Escola Alcance 2020). The director is a Brazilian woman. At peak times, the school had 120 students. Nowadays, around 60 students attend the school (cf. interview Alcance).

The Brazilian schools in Hamamatsu follow the Brazilian curriculum of subjects and teaching methods and are recognized by MEC. However, only two are recognized by the Japanese government. Thus, the third one does not get any subsidies from the Japanese state. Tuition fee is expensive: Full-day schooling costs around 40.000 to 60.000 yen, while Japanese public schools are free (cf. interviews ABRAH, TIA). Thus, not every Brazilian family who wants to send their children to a Brazilian school can afford it (cf. interview TIA). Asked if her parents hesitated when deciding on a school, Akane told me: "They did. At first, when we came [to Japan], I was told: 'It's ok, there is also a Brazilian school.' But in the end, the expenses were high. Well, I entered Japanese school" (interview Akane). During the Great Financial Crisis many Brazilians lost their job and could not pay the school fees anymore, resulting in many Brazilian children dropping out of Brazilian schools at that time, such as Keiko who did not go to school for five years (cf. interview Keiko). However, the Japanese

government is concerned with education of the foreign students and thus invests in scholarships for Brazilian students (cf. interview E.A.S.). The Hamamatsu local government refunds part of the costs for school materials the parents pay (cf. interview Alcance). Some companies also offer financial support for Brazilian parents with children in a Brazilian school. The Japanese company Mitsui Bussan¹⁴³, for example, offers scholarships for parents who have more than one child attending the school Alcance or whose child studies at the school full-time (cf. interview Alcance). Moreover, some Brazilian schools in Japan offer half-day schooling, like it is common at public schools Brazil. This enables the students to work part-time (*arubaito*) at the same time (cf. LeBaron von Baeyer 2020: 122-124).

Like Brazilian nursery schools, Brazilian schools facilitate the parents' aim to work as much as possible. The academic calendar of the school in Toyota where LeBaron von Baeyer (2020) conducted research was designed around Toyota's factory schedule. She also observed other signs of a labor migration culture that was very present in the school: The number of students and staff changed depending on the ebb and flow of production in factories, many of the staff members had worked in factory before, and Portuguese language magazines and newspapers filled with job advertisements by *empreiteiras* were deposited in the reception area (cf. *ibid.*: 121-123).

For the children, Brazilian schools offer a place of comfort and reassurance, as they can spend their days with children in a similar situation as themselves (cf. LeBaron von Baeyer 2020: 124). Moreover, children who attend a Brazilian (nursery) school manage to maintain their heritage language on a native level (cf. interview Mikako). Many parents who chose to send their children to a Japanese school hazard the consequences of the emerging culture gap between parents and children (cf. Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi 2005: 301), which manifests itself especially in the language gap and resulting communication problems between them (cf. interview Consulate General). Rafaela, a Brazilian woman who worked as an interpreter in a Japanese school, told me how sad she felt when she had to interpret between parents and their

¹⁴³ The company "Mitsui Bussan", assuming its Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), is committed to the support of Brazilian children in Japan since 2005 (cf. Nakagawa 2018c: 7). In Brazil, the company established the Mitsui Bussan do Brasil Foundation in 2008 which supports educational, environmental, and international exchange projects between Japan and Brazil (cf. Mitsui 2023), such as the "Projeto Kaeru" which is a (re)adaptation program at public schools in the State of São Paulo for children of Brazilian workers in Japan who returned to Brazil (Nakagawa 2018a: 15; Projeto Kaeru [2019]).

children. Once she interpreted between a mother and her son who could not communicate with each other as they were lacking a common language. This caused misunderstandings: The son had the impression that his mother was selfish and did not worry about him. His mother could not explain to him that she was working a lot in order to provide for two children as a single mother. When Rafaela told her what her son thinks about her, she decided to return to Brazil with her children as soon as her son finishes school to make him learn Portuguese (cf. interview Rafaela).

When explaining something to their parents again and again and the parents still do not understand, many children become frustrated, tired, and in the end give up trying. In some cases, children do not want to live with their parents anymore. Social problems can arise, as some start stealing or taking drugs (cf. interview IIEC). Troubles also arise when parents do not understand their children's career objectives. The director of IIEC told me of a young Brazilian whose dream had been to enter a *senmongakkō* (vocational school) or art university after finishing school. However, as he could not communicate his ambitions to his mother, he ended up entering a factory after finishing Japanese junior high school. When the director of IIEC heard of this trouble, she explained to his mother what a *senmongakkō* is (cf. interview IIEC). Keiko told me that her mother also hesitated to let her enter Japanese school because she was afraid that she would forget Portuguese.

For me it would have been okay to enter [Japanese school], but my younger sister, well, she did not want to enter, and my mother also thought, because one day we will maybe go back to Brazil, well, [and] because I was small, well, she wondered if I would only be able to speak Japanese if I entered Japanese school, and she had such a fear and now I wonder if she maybe did not let me enter Japanese school [because of that].

Especially the fear of not being able to communicate with the children anymore made the mother decide to not send them to a Japanese school. Pedro's daughter told me that when she started frequenting a Japanese nursery school, she started only speaking in Japanese, even at home, where they normally speak Portuguese. Pedro who did not understand Japanese feared that he would not be able to communicate with her anymore. So, he decided to return to Brazil and enroll her in a school there (personal communication). Another option would have been a split family. Cases are not rare in which the man stays in Japan in order to save money and his wife returns to Brazil with the child in order to ensure higher education (high school or university)

(cf. Mita 2009: 266-267). Akane told me that cultural problems other than language can also occur at home (cf. interview Akane).

Thus, Brazilian (nursery) schools are especially suitable for Brazilians who want to return to Brazil one day; not only because they prepare the children for a life in Brazil by passing language and culture to them and preserve their heritage language, but also because their schedule is arranged according to the factory schedule which enables the parents to work more.

The director of U-ToC regards Brazilian education as good, as long as the children study Japanese at the same time (cf. interview U-ToC). However, few students of Brazilian schools speak Japanese well (cf. interviews E.A.S., U-ToC). These few do so because they were attending a Japanese school for a while or studied Japanese elsewhere (cf. interview E.A.S.). The local governments endeavor to improve the offer of Japanese language classes at Brazilian schools, for example by paying subsidies to the schools where Japanese is taught (cf. interview Aichi prefectural office) or by paying Japanese nationals who teach in Brazilian schools (cf. interview Consulate General). Still, Japanese language proficiency stays low, as Japanese classes at Brazilian schools take place only once a week are not sufficient to reach a high level (cf. interviews Alcance, clinic, E.A.S., Hamamatsu Kokusai Rikai Kyōiku Netto). Moreover, the children are more likely to have Brazilian than Japanese friends. Thus, they do not get in touch with the Japanese language sufficiently in their everyday life in order to obtain a command of the language that enables them to participate in society, to enter a Japanese university or to compete with Japanese children on the Japanese job market (cf. interviews E.A.S., Thamara). Searching for career options in Japan with using Brazilian academic credentials is difficult, as at the Japanese job market, work experience and Japanese language education are important (cf. Haino 2011: 170). Children with limited Japanese language and cultural skills might encounter a problematic future in Japan (cf. interview Hamamatsu Kokusai Rikai Kyōiku Netto). They get caught up in a vicious circle, working in factories as their parents' generation does.

Besides Japanese language education, I did not hear complaints about Brazilian school education during my fieldwork. Yumi is satisfied with the quality of the education at Brazilian schools in Japan. In her opinion, they are comparable with private schools in Brazil. She also likes that English classes start early on (cf.

interview Yumi). Languages taught at Brazilian schools besides Portuguese and Japanese are English and also Spanish, which is mandatory in the Brazilian educational system (cf. interview Alcance). Students who change to a Brazilian school without having a basis of the Portuguese language study in an extra class for one year on the fast track where they learn everything they need to follow the class in the grade that they belong to according to their age (cf. interview Alcance). An aspect still to improve is collaboration between the schools. The three Brazilian schools in Hamamatsu do not cooperate, exchange ideas, or have joint events. Instead of interacting, joining their resources to find solutions for common problems, and bringing together the community, each school works on its own (cf. interview Alcance).

This shows that with their lack of Japanese language development and opportunities of interaction, Brazilian schools hinder integration. As Brazilian children live in a Brazilian bubble, with their everyday life consisting of Brazilian homes and Brazilian schools, they are isolated from Japanese society and interaction with non-Japanese children hardly takes place (cf. LeBaron von Baeyer 2020: 124, 126). Gabriela, a former teacher of a Brazilian school in Hamamatsu, is in favor of the Brazilian children going to a Japanese school. She states that “who goes to Brazilian school is locked in that world. Learning only that. Does not develop Japanese friendships” (interview Gabriela). She thinks that Brazilian children should learn about Brazilian culture, but not in a school context (cf. interview Gabriela). Megumi, a Japanese former English teacher at a Japanese junior high school in Hamamatsu’s neighboring town Iwata, has the impression that Brazilian children feel happier in a Brazilian school. She considers Brazilian schools in combination with Saturday Japanese classes as the best option. Some do so. Still, many young Brazilians who graduated from Brazilian schools are aware that although Japan offers material wealth and comforts, in the long run, their occupational and educational opportunities in Brazil are better (cf. LeBaron von Baeyer 2020: 136).

However, some good reasons exist to send the child to a Brazilian school. They prepare the children for a life in Brazil (cf. interview TIA), as children can acquire a Brazilian academic record and credentials (cf. Haino 2011: 170) which facilitates the transition to the Brazilian school system after going back. For example, Yumi’s oldest son who went to Brazilian school in Japan experienced a smooth transition to school

in Brazil (cf. interview Yumi), while children who attended Japanese school are not prepared to attend school in Brazil and enter the job market there due to language difficulties (cf. interview Consulate General). Some teenagers come directly from Brazil to Japan for the first time¹⁴⁴ and enter Brazilian schools in order to smoothly continue their education according to the Brazilian curriculum (cf. interview Alcance).

Some parents who plan to stay in Japan still send their children to a Brazilian (nursery) school because their child did not get a place in a Japanese nursery school¹⁴⁵. In this case, the child often enters Japanese elementary school later (cf. interview Alcance). Others did not manage to enter Japanese high school after finishing Japanese junior high school and therefore switch to Brazilian school in April (cf. interview Alcance). Yet others have parents who overextended themselves on the school fees. They were striving for sending their child to a private Japanese high school, because in Brazil the quality is better than a public one and they do not know that in Japan, actually the public high schools are of better quality (cf. interview Arace). The director of Arace told me of a Brazilian student who went to a private Japanese high school, but then he could not continue because his parents had not the conditions anymore to pay the fees. But he could also not change to another (public) Japanese high school, because they did not accept him, as he was amidst high school period. So, he entered a Brazilian school (cf. interview Arace). Another common reason is that the child did not get along in Japanese school, for example because of bullying (cf. interview HICE; Liu-Farrer 2020: 160) (see chapter 7.1.2. Social issues) or difficulties in adaptation due to lacking language skills and differences in school culture (cf. interview Arace). In other words, Brazilian schools also serve as safety net and place of belonging for Brazilian children who did not manage to adapt in a Japanese school. Without Brazilian schools, these children would stay at home without frequenting any school (cf. interview U-ToC).

However, Brazilian schools do not only serve as a safe space in a comfortable ethnic environment, but also leave the children with ambiguous feelings regarding their future (cf. LeBaron von Baeyer 2020: 124) and “channel or in some ways limit

¹⁴⁴ Especially fourth generation Nikkeijin (*yonsei*) whose parents already are in Japan migrate with the age of 15 or 16. Often, their parents make them come before they reach the age of majority at 18, because afterwards they cannot come as family members anymore, and the *teijūsha* visa for Nikkeijin is only issued for Japanese descendants up to the *sansei* generation (cf. interview Arace), while for the *yonsei* visa, various conditions have to be fulfilled (see chapter 4.1.1.).

¹⁴⁵ A shortage of childcare facilities in Japan leads to more than 20,000 children being on the waiting list (cf. Nikkei Asia 2017).

students’ understanding and aspirations of what is possible for the future” (ibid.: 142), as becomes clear in the opening vignette of this chapter. Especially Brazilians who plan to stay in Japan – or finally decide to do so – send their children to a Japanese public school for them to acquire Japanese language skills and cultural knowledge, build social contacts with Japanese people, and have more job opportunities in the future (cf. interviews Alcance, Megumi). The following subchapter analyzes these children’s integration processes.

7.1.2. Japanese schools

The Japanese national government expects foreign children to attend mainstream schools. However, it did not determine compulsory education for them nor did it develop a comprehensive national policy that responds to the increasing cultural and ethnic diversity of the students (cf. Okano 2018: 40). Figure 10 shows the number of foreign students enrolled in Japanese public elementary and junior high schools in Hamamatsu. After the Great Financial Crisis, numbers of Brazilians in Hamamatsu went down, and so did the number of foreign children attending Japanese schools, but since 2014 the numbers of the latter are rising again and reached 1,846 children in 2022 (cf. Hamamatsu City 2023a: 9).



Figure 10: Number of foreign students enrolled in Japanese elementary and junior high schools in Hamamatsu (own figure; source: BoE 2018: [3])

Foreign students in Japanese elementary and junior high schools in Hamamatsu come from 24 different countries and 49.4% of them are Brazilians (as of 2017; cf.

BoE 2018: [4]).¹⁴⁶ Up to Japanese junior high school, foreign language education is limited to English, apart from schools which are specialized in foreign languages and electively offer languages other than English (cf. Fujita-Round, Maher 2017: 6). English is promoted due to its status as global language (cf. Okano 2018: 40). It is offered once a week in grade 3 and 4 of elementary school and twice a week thereafter (cf. Wakamatsu Juku 2022).

Public Japanese schools are free of charge. Besides, the most common reason for Brazilian parents to send their children to a Japanese school is helping their integration by interacting with Japanese children and acquiring Japanese language and cultural skills. However, minor other reasons exist as well, such as Brazilian schools suspending the *mukai* (here: fetching children up and driving them home) (cf. interview Yumi), Brazilian children not adapting to Brazilian school, such as Yara's son, or Brazilian parents not being satisfied with the Brazilian school, such as Amanda (cf. interviews Amanda, Yara). Yara especially likes that in Japanese nursery school more activities are done with the children (interview Yara). Amanda noticed that the teachers in the Japanese nursery school support especially children whose parents care about their education. The school noticed that Amanda is very demanding when it comes to her daughter's education and development. That is why they send her a mail when something happened at school, every week they send her a list of five books for children on different topics, and they propose her classes that stimulate the development, such as ballet, languages, and handicraft (interview Amanda).

Entering Japanese school

Entering a Japanese elementary school means high initial costs for the parents: They need to pay the school bag, the uniform, among others. Some parents prefer to send their child to a Brazilian school, where they pay the monthly school fees, but do not need to pay for a uniform (cf. interview BoE). The BoE does not support the parents financially. However, a scholarship is available for foreign children attending Japanese school, depending on the income of their parents. Another possibility is to

¹⁴⁶ In some regions with a high number of Brazilian residents, the percentage is even higher. For comparison, in one of the elementary schools in Toyota's Homi Danchi, 70% of the students are foreign children (cf. interview TIA). This is related to residential segregation.

acquire the necessary equipment second hand, from friends and acquaintances or schools that are attended by many foreign children and that collect used uniforms for their new students (cf. interview BoE). Some NPOs, such as Arace, also help collecting school bags and uniforms for their students who are in financial difficulties. Besides asking institutions for help, such as the Hamamatsu BoE, the City Hall (Kokusaika), HICE, and N-Pocket, Arace receives much support from within the Brazilian community. The director asks for help on *facebook* and soon receives school related things for her students in need (cf. interview Arace).

A remaining challenge is that many foreign parents have a lack of knowledge about the Japanese educational system (cf. interview HICE). Yuriko, a university student, describes how when she entered elementary school in Toyota, the school provided her mother with documents in Portuguese, but still she felt that the information provided for Brazilian parents was insufficient. Her mother did not understand much Japanese and got advice from other Brazilians. Also, not all schools provide information in Portuguese (cf. interview Yuriko). Nowadays, the situation improved. Local governments and civil society institutions provide foreign parents with information on educational issues.

The Hamamatsu Municipal Board of Education (BoE) provides booklets in various languages, including Portuguese, that include all information necessary for foreign parents whose children are about to enter elementary or junior high schools. BoE also offers orientation for parents after their child entered the first year, orientation about one's options after finishing junior high school, and lessons about Portuguese language and Brazilian culture on Saturdays for Brazilian students attending Japanese schools (cf. BoE 2018: 11). The BoE is also in charge of enrollment of foreign students in elementary and junior high schools which includes filling out forms, orientation for parents and students about the Japanese school, as well as an examination of the situation of the student. In case the student needs language support at school, the BoE dispatches a bilingual consultant. They have six bilingual consultants: three for Portuguese and one for each Spanish, Tagalog, and English (cf. BoE 2018: 8; interview BoE). However, as nowadays it is also possible to enroll foreign students directly at the school, not all foreign parents get orientation from the BoE.

It seems like many Japanese elementary school teachers consider foreign children as unprepared for Japanese school life. According to a survey HICE conducted with elementary school teachers in 2017, this does not only apply to language skills and cultural knowledge of foreign students, but also to competencies like independence of life habits, such as changing clothes, and response to group behavior, for example the ability to observe their environment and behave according to what others are doing, both of which are not as developed as they are with Japanese children in the same age (cf. Hamamatsu City 2018a: 44-45; Kikuyama 2019: [2]). The survey results show very biased thinking. Not all Brazilian children are like that. Especially children who went to a Japanese nursery school are accustomed to Japanese language and school culture. Differences might arise due to their parents' lacking Japanese language and educational culture skills. For example, it is assumed that parents teach their children Japanese school manners as well as writing and reading *hiragana* (Japanese syllabary) before entering elementary school. Most Brazilian children do not have this opportunity because their parents often do not know themselves and in Japanese nursery school, as well, these skills are not taught. As a result, foreign children enter elementary school already with a disadvantage (cf. interviews Aichi prefectural office, Arace).

In the survey, the teachers claimed that some foreign parents do not consider elementary school as a place to learn, but as a place to care for their children, and thus let them stay at home for minor reasons already (cf. Hamamatsu City 2018a: 44). Megumi told me of one incident when a Brazilian family called the school to say that the child would not come to school that day because of the typhoon (cf. interview Megumi). Such instances, however, arise due to cultural differences: While in Japan the children go to school even when a typhoon is coming, in Brazil it is normal to stay at home when it rains heavy, as my Brazilian interlocutors explained to me.

Moreover, according to the teachers, some foreign parents overestimate their Japanese skills, and some do not even comprehend material that is translated into their native language (cf. Hamamatsu City 2018a: 44-45). Although in some cases, this might be true, the director of Arace points to another reason for that: Often, Japanese material is translated literally into Portuguese by people who know both languages, but who lack cultural knowledge on Brazil and the ways of expressing

things in Portuguese. In some cases, the translation is correct, but uses very complicated words which indeed few people understand (cf. interview Arace).

Some strategies to solve these problems were also addressed in the survey: First, foreign parents should engage with the Japanese school life and rules before their child enters elementary school and beyond the orientation held by the BoE. Second, parents should let check their child's Japanese language ability before entering elementary school for the school to prepare appropriate support. Third, more cooperation between foreign nursery schools and Japanese elementary schools is needed. The schools need to know about the children's situation in order to react appropriately. Lastly, opportunities of exchange between Japanese children and children attending foreign nursery schools need to be established. This would also give foreign parents the opportunity to learn about the "Japanese way of child rearing" (cf. Hamamatsu City 2018a: 44-45).

Although these strategies seem promising, they disregard the fact that many Brazilian parents have long working hours and limited Japanese skills which make it difficult for them to access information on the Japanese education system, the more so as public authorities and civil society groups which provide information are closed on the weekends (cf. interview Arace). Moreover, many are not aware of differences about which they should gather information. The strategies also indicate that cooperation among educational institutions is insufficient. In other words, the survey results show that instead of developing effective measures, schools blame Brazilian parents for the arising problems and consider them as responsible for solving them by adapting to the Japanese standard. This shows that Japanese schools are ambivalent mediating institutions which do not aim at bridging the gap between Japanese and foreign children.

While Japanese schools seem to sit idle, local governments and civil society develop projects that prepare the children for their Japanese school life.¹⁴⁷ A project that developed to better prepare foreign children for a school life in Japan and that is available in Hamamatsu is the "Projeto Chōchō", a weekly training of socioemotional development for eight months for Brazilian children between four and 14 years.

¹⁴⁷ The local government of Aichi prefecture established a preschool for foreign children at already 16 places in order to teach the children things like how to sit on the chair, to raise the hand when saying something, and writing *hiragana* (cf. interview Aichi prefectural office).

Besides improving the children's self-confidence, social competences, emotional control, and emotional intelligence, the project also helps them to adapt to Japan and Japanese school (cf. Projeto Chōchō 2022).

Another initiative in Hamamatsu providing support for foreign children who are about to enter Japanese elementary school is a project called "Piyo-piyo kurasu". This mock class takes place every year in March¹⁴⁸ and simulates the classroom situation for foreign children who did not experience a (Japanese) kindergarten or nursery school. From 2004 until 2011, the project was realized under the lead of HICE. Since 2012, it is organized by WISH (Wide International Support in Hamamatsu), an NPO composed of over 40 students from local universities, with the support of the association "Gurōbaru jinzai sapōto Hamamatsu" which aims at a coexistence society without discrimination (cf. CoE 2017b: 12; Global Jinzai [2023]). According to Hori Hikino, the representative of the board of directors of "Gurōbaru jinzai sapōto Hamamatsu", such children lack experiences with and knowledge of the Japanese language, songs, chopsticks, Japanese style toilets, group behavior, and so on. These cultural differences can hinder the children's adaptation to Japanese schools and in some cases lead to school refusal. By linking them with the school, the "Piyo-piyo kurasu" project aims at reducing the children's anxiety as well as their parents' worries regarding the school (cf. Global Jinzai [2023]).

In 2018, they realized the project at six schools. Akane, at the time a student with Brazilian roots in her third year at Shizuoka University of Art and Culture (SUAC), was the leader at one of these schools. In her "Piyo-piyo kurasu", 11 children from Brazil, Peru, and Indonesia took part. For four days they rented the school and simulated classes in order to practice everyday life at school, teaching Japanese, mathematics, and music, among others. They also accompanied the children to school in the mornings, went home together with them, and let them experience cleaning and school lunch (cf. interview Akane). Other things taught to the children are greetings, *hiragana*, songs, and handicraft (cf. Global Jinzai [2023]). Akane described the merit of the project as follows:

I also thought it would have been good if I would have had this when I was young. [...]
The class, for me as a student, was very much worth doing it. The Japanese students

¹⁴⁸ In Japan, the school year starts in April.

also learned a lot, and the children could remove some fears, frightening things before entering school, so it was a very good activity, an activity very much worth doing it.

As during the one-month long summer break many children stay just at home and forget some things already learned, in September or October of the year in which they entered elementary school, the university students of the project come to school to encourage and support the foreign students (cf. interview Akane). The school teachers consider the assistance of the students as helpful (cf. CoE 2017b: 12; Global Jinzai [2023]).

In Hamamatsu, 65.4% of foreign students in elementary and junior high schools need support in the Japanese language (cf. BoE 2018: [5]).¹⁴⁹ In Japanese schools, four different types of language support for foreign students, provided by the BoE, are available: (1) bilingual support (mobile): initial support during the first ten days; (2) bilingual support (fixed): six hours a day, five days a week¹⁵⁰; (3) bilingual supporter (mobile): four hours in the mornings, one to five days a week¹⁵¹; and (4) Japanese language and subject teacher. Depending on the school, all these support types are available or only some of them (cf. BoE 2018: 9; interview BoE). Moreover, according to a representative of “Hamamatsu Kokusai Rikai Kyōiku Netto”, in almost all schools in Hamamatsu, volunteers come to teach Japanese to foreign children (cf. interview Hamamatsu Kokusai Rikai Kyōiku Netto). Although the Brazilians dispatched by the BoE support the children’s adaptation, this practice also has negative implications. Some children rely on the supporter and do not feel the need to make an effort to study more Japanese. Consequently, some become dependent on the assistant (cf. interview HICE).

Mechanisms of exclusion

Liu-Farrer (2020: 174) states that “the easiest educational choice available to them [foreign students], Japanese public education, falls short in facilitating immigrant children’s education mobility”. Although national curriculum guidelines advocate

¹⁴⁹ Support is seen as necessary when a student speaks little Japanese or has difficulties to follow in class due to limited vocabulary in relation to his or her grade (cf. BoE 2018: [5]).

¹⁵⁰ In the school year 2017/2018, the BoE dispatched 13 Portuguese speaking supporters and one for Filipino students (cf. BoE 2018: [9]; interview BoE).

¹⁵¹ In the school year 2017/2018, the BoE dispatched 36 mobile bilingual supporters (cf. BoE 2018: [9]; interview BoE).

'cultural adaptation', special educational treatment, and heritage language learning opportunities, the local level situation shows much variation in accommodating children of foreign immigrants. While this is a sign of them responding to their unique circumstances, some localities lack enforcement of national standards (cf. Okano 2018: 41-42).

Megumi thinks that Japanese junior high schools do not care enough about their foreign students. In her opinion, some schools accept foreign children without having a concept or method of teaching them which could justify the designation "*tabunka kyōsei*". The most important measure would be to hire more professionals who teach Japanese to the children in a methodical way (cf. interview Megumi). At the moment, however, many schools seem not to be eager to provide good Japanese language education to their foreign students. Megumi observed at her school that most teachers seem not to care about foreign students, but only want them to graduate after three years of junior high school without causing trouble. The headmaster of her school was always busy with other things and also seemed not to be interested in the education of the Brazilian students (cf. interview Megumi). The director of the NPO Arace thinks that Brazilians would need more guidance on how to behave in the host society in order to understand cultural differences (cf. interview Arace). Some schools, however, are conscious of their important role in integration. The school where Caroline works decided to sensitize the teachers for a necessity of more integration, so that they can share their experiences in the class room. As teachers are a role model for the students, respected by them, and considered as credible, they play an important role in promoting ideas of integration and living together with foreign people (cf. interview Caroline).

In Japanese schools, students of different nationalities encounter each other and are taught together. Especially in the beginning of the *dekassegui* movement, prejudices occurred regularly. For example, many Japanese students considered the Brazilian students as lazy. The director of Arace told me about a time when Brazilian students left school after class while Japanese students still did the cleanup (*sōji*). The Japanese students had the impression that the Brazilians were shirking *sōji* and therefore called them *zurui* (sneaky). However, they did not know that the Brazilians had to leave in order to take extra classes in Japanese at another place, because nobody explained this to the Japanese students. The prejudice was solved when the

Japanese students got to know the real reason (cf. interview Arace). This demonstrates how schools have failed to play their role as mediating institutions, which not only includes fostering interaction, but also explaining differences and sensitizing the groups for each other's situation. Although this prejudice diminished, a representative of "Hamamatsu Kokusai Rikai Kyōiku Netto" thinks that Japanese children still consider Brazilian children as different from themselves. As a result, many Brazilian children have unpleasant sentiments. This shows that the consciousness of most children did not change yet (cf. interview Hamamatsu Kokusai Rikai Kyōiku Netto). My data suggests that at Japanese public schools, still two main issues lead to the exclusion of foreign students: extra classes, *ijime* (bullying), and the diagnosis of autism.

A. Extra classes

Extra classes aim at facilitating the adaptation to school education. In some schools, such a system already existed before the influx of Brazilian immigrants.¹⁵² Others had to create such a system to ensure the children's Japanese language education and 'cultural adaptation' (cf. Okano 2018: 38). These extra classes are taught during normal classes, in some cases also after classes. Japanese language and subject lessons for which students are taken out of their normal class are realized with the permission of the student's parents or guardian. The content taught is the same as in the normal class, but using easier words. For each student a program is developed and the student's progress is evaluated after each phase to decide whether he or she still needs to continue with the support lessons. The goal is to let the students return to their normal class soon. In Hamamatsu, 31 schools offer such support classes for all subjects (cf. BoE 2018: 10; interview BoE).

For children who just arrived in the country and struggle with language difficulties, extra classes are a good option, as long as quick reintegration into normal class happens (cf. Esser 2001: 70). For Fernanda's son, this system worked well. She

¹⁵² With the arrival of *kikoku shijo* (children who have returned to Japan after living abroad) and grandchildren of wartime displaced orphans from China in the 1970s, international classes (*kokusai kyūshitsu*) developed. Some schools implemented human rights education (*jinken kyōiku*) which referred to children with a *burakumin* background (descendants of Japan's feudal outcast group) and *zainichi* Korean children (Korean national with permanent residency in Japan and their descendants). Newly arriving migrant children, including Brazilians, were put in one of these two extra class systems (cf. Okano 2018: 37-38, 41).

made him change to a Japanese nursery school one year before entering elementary school in order to let him accustom with the Japanese language and culture. After entering elementary school, he spent his first and second grade in the adaptation class and afterwards was allowed to switch to normal class (cf. interview Fernanda).

However, quick reintegration is not always the case. As the extra Japanese class often takes place at the same time as the normal classes, the students who take the extra class miss contents from the normal class in the meantime (cf. interview Aichi prefectural office). Indeed, Megumi observed that children who frequent the extra class not only for Japanese lessons, but for all subjects, might stay there forever, because they cannot manage to keep up with the students in the normal class (cf. interview Megumi). For that reason, some parents object to their child going to an extra class. Akiko, a Japanese volunteer at HICE, thinks that the Japanese government has to find a better solution (cf. interview Akiko).

Megumi thinks that the extra classes at her school were not helpful for the children. While the idea of having an extra class is good, in practice, teaching quality is low and Japanese lessons are not well-structured (cf. interview Megumi). Visiting Japanese classes of Japanese public schools, Hatano (2011: 71) found out that contrary to other school subjects, for Japanese classes often expertise is not necessary. Moreover, teaching methods are not profound. In some cases, teachers do not distinguish between Japanese as a foreign language and Japanese for native speakers. Indeed, Megumi observed that the teachers who taught the extra class at her school did not have a special qualification for that. They also did not know Portuguese or English. Many teachers were sent to the extra class because they had difficulties when teaching a normal class due to a lack of assertiveness and teaching abilities (cf. interview Megumi). Other teachers who teach Japanese in the extra classes are teachers of subjects other than Japanese who happen to have time at the time of the class. Thus, they do not have the necessary know-how of Japanese language education and its methods. As a result, they do not really teach, but let the children just read and write *hiragana* or do some mathematics (cf. interviews Aichi prefectural office, Megumi). Once, Megumi went to an extra class, because she was interested in seeing what it was like. A Brazilian boy was sitting alone in the room, writing something. Twenty minutes after the class started, the teacher still did not arrive. When Megumi went in the direction of the staff room, she saw the teacher

coming, walking very slowly. But even then, instead of teaching him, the teacher let the boy just write something the whole time, while the teacher was doing something else (cf. interview Megumi). Hatano (2011: 71-72) observed that many children still do barely speak Japanese but have much cultural knowledge, such as folding *origami* or knowing about Japanese festivities, that they acquired during Japanese class. Although including Japanese traditions and culture in the class makes sense, Hatano (2011: 72) cautions that it is necessary to think about what should be taught and why in Japanese class.

At the same time, people who have professional knowledge of Japanese language education but no official teacher's training or license cannot teach these classes (Hatano 2001: 71). One of the language supporters at Megumi's school had the qualification to teach Japanese to foreigners. However, as she is not a teacher, she is not allowed to be in charge of the extra class. She always told Megumi: "If I could become in charge of this class, these children would become good in Japanese within one year" (cf. interview Megumi). In other words, the extra class system at Japanese schools is not as effective and helpful as the one year fast track extra classes at Brazilian schools.

Instead of taking an extra class, attending the normal class might foster integration better. Generally, children who enter Japanese school without Japanese language skills manage to learn the language quickly. Akane told me that in the beginning, she did not understand anything, but learned the language automatically (cf. interview Akane). When the director of the NPO SOS Mamães no Japão (SMJ) came to Japan as a child, she entered a Japanese school which was frequented by no other foreign students. She was received well and supported much by the teachers, which enabled her to learn the Japanese language quickly and after six months she could already participate in normal classes (cf. interview SMJ).

Japanese schools as mediating institutions can affect their foreign students' integration and their future path. According to Liu-Farrer (2020: 173), "the Japanese education system is not equipped to receive foreign children. Not only is it ideologically oriented toward cultivating monocultural Japanese nationals, as critiqued by many scholars, but the amount of learning support provided by Japanese schools varies greatly". The director of SMJ was lucky to enter a school with a low number of foreign students and teachers who had the capacity and know-how to

support her Japanese language acquisition and integration. Others do not have this opportunity. Megumi's observations show that although the will to provide the foreign students with adequate support exists, the school system sets barriers. By frivolously deciding on sending a child to an extra class, they hinder its integration process with its Japanese classmates. Especially when extra classes are mainly comprised of foreign children, their chances of achieving high learning goals are lower (Esser 2001: 57). They have less contact with Japanese children. Furthermore, as the extra classes are taught on a lower level than the normal classes, their lack of knowledge compared to their comrades in the normal classes increases every day. Making such a decision is a high responsibility and thus has to be made after careful consideration. Also, children have to get the opportunity to return to the normal classes as soon as possible. Both seems to not be the case. Hence, the extra classes often do not support the foreign students, but serve as mechanism of exclusion. This again shows that Japanese schools are ambivalent mediating institutions.

B. Ijime

Many Brazilian parents think that their child would suffer from *ijime*, if they put it in a Japanese school. Some foreign parents even refrain from using their mother tongue with their children, because they are afraid that their child might not adapt to Japanese school culture or become a target of bullying (cf. Liu-Farrer 2020: 167). However, the director of IIEC argues that bullying exists everywhere in the world, also in Brazilian schools (cf. interview IIEC). As Liu-Farrer (2020: 158) put it: "Not all children were bullied, and not all children who were bullied were bullied because they were foreigners. Many of them could rationally understand that. However, children of immigrants, whether they were born in Japan or not, are made aware of their foreigner, and therefore outsider, status early on." As a result, they might feel discriminated against or excluded.

Ijime concerns both Japanese and foreign students. Megumi told me that among Japanese students at her junior high school, truancy was quite common and that the main reason for them to not come to school was *ijime* (cf. interview Megumi). Brazilian students also experience bullying at Japanese schools. An employee of TIA told me that she heard of Brazilian children being called names in Japanese schools

in Toyota, such as “butajiru-jin”, a compound of the Japanese words “*buta*” (pig) and “*burajirujin*” (Brazilian). Moreover, Brazilian children are being bullied for their *bentō* (lunchbox) which often contains *feijão* or *feijoada* (Brazilian black beans). Some Japanese children who do not know this dish call it disgusting (*kimochiwarui*), because it is not colorful. As a result, the Brazilian children do not want to bring it to school anymore (cf. interview TIA). Others get harmed or threatened, such as the (at that time) six- or seven-year-old son of the director of Lápiz de Cor who had problems with two boys who waited for him outside to harm him. She had to pick him up inside the classroom two times (cf. interview Lápiz de Cor).

Megumi did not observe this type of *ijime* toward Brazilian students by being insulted or bad-mouthed. Rather, they were just ignored by most Japanese students. For Megumi, this is a sign of a lack of interest (cf. interview Megumi). However, ignoring is another common type of *ijime*. Brazilian children often seem to experience that Japanese children do not want to play or to talk with them at school. The school of the daughter of Lápiz de Cor’s director was frequented by only one other Brazilian child. The director assumes that this is the reason why the thinking “because it’s a foreigner” was still very strong (cf. interview Lápiz de Cor). Keiko, a Brazilian university student, also experienced this ignoring when she still went to school. As her Japanese was not very good, the Japanese children did not talk to her (cf. interview Keiko). It is not only the fellow students who do *ijime*. Megumi even observed how a teacher at a Japanese junior high school in Iwata abused his power to offend a Brazilian boy. Every time when a problem occurred, the teacher immediately called the boy’s mother and asked her to come to school. As she did not speak Japanese, the teacher let the boy interpret between him and the boy’s mother. Megumi had the impression that the teacher enjoyed observing how the mother started crying and scolded and slapped the boy (cf. interview Megumi).

As a result of their negative experiences, the director of the nursery school Lápiz de Cor took her children off the Japanese school after one year and sent them to a Brazilian one instead (cf. interview Lápiz de Cor). Indeed, the director of U-ToC observed that many Brazilian children start frequenting a Brazilian school due to the bullying they experience in a Japanese school. She stated that although some Brazilian children who just arrived in Japan enter a Brazilian school, most enter a Japanese school first (cf. interview U-ToC). However, because of *ijime*, some desist

from studying. Others continue but due to language difficulties, cultural differences, and them being labeled as 'deficient' do not reach the same level as their Japanese fellow students (cf. Sawaguchi 2018: 67).

On the other side, Brazilian children who frequent Japanese school from a young age assimilate rapidly to Japanese culture due to assimilative pressures in Japanese school (cf. Tsuda 2009: 222). The pressure to conform in Japanese schools is high, as "monocultural educational institutions produce an oppressive environment" (Liu-Farrer 2020: 199). Hatano (2011: 70) feels that Japanese language education, unlike other language education, requires the children to become "Japanese" (*nihonjin-ka*). Japanese teaching becomes a tool to enforce assimilation and suppress other cultures. This is not only the responsibility of the teachers, but also of the school education system (cf. Hatano 2011: 72).

In order to avoid bullying and marginalization, many foreign students hide their ethnic background and try to pass as Japanese as much as possible (cf. Liu-Farrer 2020: 158, 181; Tsuda 2009: 223) (see also chapter 5.2.3.). Megumi observed many Brazilian children who actively interacted with Japanese children the same way as Japanese children did with each other and behaved like one of them (cf. interview Megumi).

Rafaela said that her daughters never experienced *ijime* in Japanese school. On the contrary, their friends at school thought that it was amazing that their mother is Brazilian. Rafaela's daughters brought home Japanese friends who could experience Brazilian food. Such occasions serve as 3F events in a private setting and can contribute to raising awareness for interculturalism in the individual environment. Rafaela concluded that her daughters "never had any problem due to them being foreigners. Nothing. I think it's because they don't are like: 'Ah, I'm Brazilian, that's embarrassing.' They are proud, so these friends of theirs also think that it's a good thing to be Brazilian" (interview Rafaela). Indeed, in Japan, many feel ashamed to be Brazilian and seek renouncing their Brazilianness and assimilating to the Japanese environment (cf. Sawaguchi 2018: 67). Rafaela thinks that this is because most Brazilian parents tell their children about the negative aspects of Brazil (cf. interview Rafaela).

In everyday school life, children are confronted with the image their Japanese classmates have of Brazil. Yuriko and Akane, two Brazilian university students, also stated not to have experienced *ijime* at Japanese school: Yuriko remembered that when she went to school in Toyota, she was often called *gaijin* which is a pejorative form of *gaikokujin* (foreign national). Although she thinks that this might be some form of *sabetsu* (discrimination), at that time she did not care much about it. Still, she sometimes felt treated a bit like a nuisance (cf. interview Yuriko). Akane told me that in the third or fourth grade she always had to explain to the other children why her name was written in *katakana* (Japanese syllabary used primarily for foreign words and names). As her appearance and language proficiency were not much different from the other children, they thought she was Japanese. However, she did not feel discriminated (cf. interview Akane). This shows that although being a type of *ijime* or *sabetsu*, these situations were experienced as marveling at the Other.

At schools with many foreign children, they often build a group. At her previous job at the BoE, the representative of HICE observed how Brazilians in Toyohashi tended to form groups of Brazilians (*panelinha*), even at Japanese schools, and stayed only among themselves, speaking in Portuguese. As a result, Japanese children did not want to interact with them. She thinks that this building of groups is the reason why some Brazilian children, albeit frequenting Japanese school, still do not speak Japanese properly when they are in junior high school (cf. interview HICE). She also observed that many Brazilian children longed for returning to Brazil and study there, because in Japan they suffered *ijime* (cf. *ibid.*).

These examples show that regarding *ijime*, Japanese schools fail to effectively mediate between Japanese and foreign students. The schools do not manage to combat stereotypes and prevent *ijime*. On the contrary, the monocultural school environment makes differences even more visible. As a result, many Brazilian students change to ethnic schools, although they plan to stay in Japan. By doing so, they compromise their education and possibly also their social advancement.

C. Mental health: the autism debate

Another social issue is the relatively high rate of autism diagnoses among Brazilian children in Japanese schools. According to data from the Japanese government,

compiled by a group of activists and divulged by the NGO “Serviço de Assistência aos Brasileiros no Japão” (SABJA), 6.15% of Brazilian students would have autism, while among Japanese ones the rate is 1.49% (cf. Tobace 2016). Although the percentage of people diagnosed with autism in both Japan and Brazil lies between 1 and 2% and thus corresponds to the world average, as psychologist Kyoko Yanagida Nakagawa states, the number of Brazilian children in Japan is that much higher (cf. CIATE 2018). The NPO ABIC (“*Kokusai shakai kōken sentā*”) investigated the numbers of children attending special support classes and came to similar results: In elementary schools in areas with a high number of foreign residents, the number of foreign children attending a special support class is twice as high as the number of Japanese children¹⁵³ (cf. Hirayama 2018).

There is still no explanation for this high number of diagnostics among Brazilian students. The division for special needs education of MEXT states that they did not investigate the actual conditions, thus they do not know the causes (cf. Hirayama 2018). One possible explanation for the rise in numbers of Brazilian children with autism is the change of the classification system DMS (Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders). With the advent of DSM-5, four types of mental disorder which formerly were classified as separate categories were merged into this one classification of ASD (autism spectrum disorder), leading to an increase of individuals reclassified in this diagnostic category (cf. APA 2013; interview Mikako; Oliveira 2018: 104-105).¹⁵⁴ However, this change of categories does not explain the gap in numbers between Brazilian children in Japan and in other parts of the world classified as autistic (cf. Oliveira 2018: 105).

In their investigation funded by SABJA, Freiermuth *et al.* (2022) identified factors that affect the placement of Brazilian children into special education classes for autism and emotional disturbances, such as misunderstandings and insufficient information from schools or teachers, parents’ poor understanding of system, language, and culture, parents having a tight work schedule and therefore offering only limited attention to their children’s educational needs, anxiety among parents that their child

¹⁵³ In 2017, ABIC investigated 355 elementary schools with a high number of foreign students in six prefectures (Mie, Aichi, Gunma, Shizuoka, Gifu, and Shiga) and found out that 2.26% of the Japanese children were attending special classes, while among foreign students 5.01% were doing so (cf. Hirayama 2018).

¹⁵⁴ These four types are autistic disorder, Asperger’s disorder, childhood disintegrative disorder, and pervasive developmental disorder not otherwise specified (cf. APA 2013).

might be stigmatized if attending a special needs class, children lacking Japanese language and cultural knowledge during the assessment, non-existence of guidelines to deal with special education cases for foreign students, non-specialized interpreters during the evaluation process, personnel scarcity, importance of NPOs, partnerships of Brazilian and Japanese psychologists, and professionals with language and cultural skills of foreign families, and importance of a second opinion (cf. Freiermuth *et al.* 2022: 9-24).

Some psychologists and teachers working with Brazilian children in Japan consider as reasons the process of migration itself and the stress it brings about for the children, leading to a higher vulnerability for mental issues, the cultural shock at Japanese school, and the fact that many parents are working between 12 and 16 hours a day, leading to a lack of attention to their children's development which is accompanied by a lack of incentives, stimuli, and support of the children (cf. CIATE 2018; Nakagawa 2018b: 33-34; Tobace 2016). According to Oliveira (2018: 109), although not all cases of Brazilian children diagnosed with ASD in Japan are due to a lack of stimuli, their number has been rising recently.

Another reason could be the children's insufficient language skills which can result in them being judged as having a disorder. As the exam for diagnosing ASD is based on children's behavioral reactions, and Brazilian children in Japan do not always manage to express themselves adequately in Japanese or even understand the instructions by the doctor or psychologist during the evaluation, their non-adequate reaction can already lead to a diagnosis of autism (cf. Hirayama 2018; Oliveira 2018: 107-108; Tobace 2016).

Furthermore, sometimes the evaluation is conducted with tests based on questionable norms and standardizations, with professionals who are not attentive or lack qualification for this diagnosing process, or with non-qualified interpreters (cf. Nakagawa 2018b: 33; Oliveira 2018: 105-106). Some tests are standardized according to the respective country and do require a certain familiarity of the child with the culture of the country whose test is used which is not always the case for Brazilian children in Japan (cf. Oliveira 2018: 106-107). Moreover, much of the communication between parents and doctors is done by a community interpreter.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁵ Community interpreters are people who take the role as bridge between linguistic or cultural minorities and the host society by supporting them by translating and interpreting. They do not only

In some cases, these interpreters are not qualified enough, lacking terminology in the respective area as well as knowledge on infantile development and language acquisition (cf. interview IIEC; Oliveira 2018: 108). As a result, they cause misunderstandings or even give a wrong advice to the parents with fatal consequences for the children. The director of IIEC told me of a case where the interpreter suggested¹⁵⁶ accepting the diagnosis of autism, because in that case the child would get money from the government. However, the child would have a handicapped status for the rest of his life (cf. interview IIEC). As a result, these children are prescribed drugs that could affect their physical and hence their mental development. Some children with diagnosis or even suspicion of development disorder are excluded from regular classes at Japanese public schools (cf. Nakagawa 2018b: 33-34).

When asked by BBC Brazil, MEXT did not want to position itself toward the investigation of SABJA. However, they stated that the director of a school is entitled to make the decision to send a student to a special class (cf. Tobace 2016). In some cases, this has severe consequences. In their investigation, ABIC came across a director of a school with a high number of foreign children, who stated that students not knowing Japanese are a case for special support (cf. Hirayama 2018). In Japan, psychologists and even teachers can evaluate a child as having ASD (cf. Oliveira 2018: 106). Indeed, a significant number of students in special support classes¹⁵⁷ are foreign students (Nakagawa 2018c: 100). Practitioners of the Brazilian community criticize that children in a special support class do not have access to a regular class and that even if the diagnosis does not prove true, it is difficult for them to return to a regular class. In other words, the decision to send a child to a special class can compromise his whole future (cf. CIATE 2018).

speak the minority's language, but are also familiar with cultural characteristics (cf. Sugisawa 2011: 203). Inside the Brazilian community in Japan, community interpreters are respected people. They play an important social role as intermediaries between Brazilian and Japanese residents (cf. Arakaki 2013: 266).

¹⁵⁶ Community interpreting, also called dialogue interpreting or public service interpreting, aims at communication in form of a dialogue. Interpreters are not a neutral entity, but participate in and shape as a third party the conversation. Instead of just being service providers, interpreters produce and transform meaning (cf. Busch 2017: 158).

¹⁵⁷ According to the School Education Law, the special support class (*tokubetsu shien gakkū*) is established for mentally and physically handicapped persons. In a notice in 2013, MEXT demands that the decision of sending a child to a special support class should be taken both comprehensively and thoughtfully. From eight children it is possible to deploy a teacher and establish a class (cf. Hirayama 2018).

According to the leader of the NPO FRECTiVE, a child that does not speak Japanese at the same level as others in the same age is often flippantly labeled as retarded which might result in the child being treated as such for the rest of its education time, irrespective of this statement's validity. However, in practice, the reason often lies in the fact that children are raised multilingually and tend to have one language that is developed stronger. He considers the missing awareness regarding the process of multilingual education as problematic (cf. interview FRECTiVE).

The Board of Education in Hamamatsu seems not to be aware of these problematic circumstances. When asked about this issue, a representative of the BoE in Hamamatsu stated that the ones who decide about such a diagnosis are professionals who examine the children for months and try to find the place that is adequate for them. However, schools only send them to a special class with the parents' consent. If the parents want their child to attend a normal class despite its difficulties, it is allowed to do so. The representative added that in Japan, financial support for children with special needs is available (cf. interview BoE).

The Brazilian government criticized and questioned Japanese authorities. The Brazilian Ministry of Education views these diagnostics as false and, in many cases, only rooted in the children's difficulties of adaptation to culture, language, and the local education system. The Brazilian government sees in the high number of Brazilian children classified as autistic a lack of a policy integrating foreigners in Japan and claims that this shows the incapacity of Japanese schools to deal with diversity (cf. Tobace 2016). On the other hand, some children indeed have special needs, but their parents do not want to admit that their child could have autism or another type of disorder (cf. Tobace 2016). In such a case, parents limit the potential of their child, because it does not get access to the treatment and support it needs (cf. CIATE 2018).

As shown above, extra classes hinder integration of the foreign students. In case of a diagnosis of autism, return to normal class is almost not possible. The questionable process of deciding on a diagnosis, including the power of community interpreters and the role of Japanese language skills during the examination, as well as the resulting practice of separation of these children in extra classes once more shows the ambivalent role of Japanese schools and the Board of Education as mediating

institutions. Still, opportunities for interaction and integration of foreign children do exist at Japanese schools.

Interaction and mutual understanding at school

Joining *bukatsu* (extracurricular club activities) is an important opportunity for integration which offers a variety of sports and culture activities that do not exist at Brazilian schools (cf. interview IIEC). The director of the NPO Arace told me that many of her students stop frequenting Arace after entering a Japanese junior high school because of *bukatsu* trainings which in some cases also take place on Saturdays. However, she thinks that for her students, taking part in *bukatsu* is more important than continuing Japanese lessons with her, because through *bukatsu* they get the opportunity to pass time with the people from the school and to make (Japanese) friends (cf. interview Arace). At the school where she taught, Megumi saw Brazilian students in the soccer, swimming, and tennis clubs and said they seemed to enjoy the activities (cf. interview Megumi). Besides interacting with Japanese students, *bukatsu* teaches foreign students a part of Japanese culture, such as the *senpai-kōhai* system: the relationship between senior and junior students, based on seniority. Diego, a Brazilian JiuJitsu teacher, thinks that it is essential for Brazilian children to go to a Japanese school, because they learn about Japanese traditions and culture. They especially learn to respect each other. For Diego, respect is a fundamental ability that children at a Brazilian school cannot develop the same way, because it is part of the Japanese culture, while the Brazilian culture has other strengths (cf. interview Diego).

Although many Japanese schools play an ambivalent role as mediating institutions, other institutions use them as a space to create opportunities for fostering mutual understanding by organizing projects. The NPO SMJ is planning projects related to social inclusion of children. Their basic idea is to make children who do not pass any difficulties in their everyday life understand the others' problems, learn to put oneself in the others' position, and develop empathy. The director of SMJ hopes that these children will become adults who are more empathetic and that as a result, the problem of lacking social inclusion will be reduced. One of the projects that SMJ intends to implement in schools is called "*gaikokujin no kimochi*" (foreign people's

feelings). In the classroom, a certain setting is created, such as a supermarket or a hospital. The Japanese children enter the classroom, where instead of Japanese, another language is spoken. In this way, the children experience by practical example the difficulties that foreign children encounter in Japan. They learn to identify situations in everyday life that are difficult for foreign residents and to put themselves in their place (cf. interview SMJ).

Another project fostering mutual understanding at schools is a class which introduces cultures of other countries from all over the world and was organized for six years by Shiori and three other Japanese mothers at the elementary school that their children frequented. All the children liked these classes, for which the mothers invited foreign friends and asked them to present some aspects of their country. When they organized a class on Brazil, they invited a capoeira teacher. The children were impressed by his capoeira performance. Shiori thinks that it is important to teach the diversity of cultures and people in the world to children while they are still young (cf. interview Shiori).

Schools also offer opportunities of interaction for the parents, for example at school festivities and projects, like the team of parents at Caroline's school which organized an international school event (see chapter 5.2.1.). Another possibility is participation in the Parent Teacher Association (PTA). The concept of Parent Teacher Associations (PTAs) was introduced to Japan after World War II. Structure and duties vary from one school to the other. President of the PTA often is a man, especially in traditional areas. Duties of the PTA members often include "arranging parental get-togethers, producing school newsletters, organizing rosters for road safety patrols, [...] helping out at community events [...] [, and] cleaning toilets during the annual sports day" (Kittaka 2013). Although the number of dual income households rises, PTA meetings are still often held during the day. It is assumed that the members somehow manage to participate in the meetings. It is expected that during the six years of elementary school, a parent (in most cases the mother) volunteers to be a PTA member once for every child (cf. *ibid.*). Especially in schools with a high number of foreign students, PTAs become a forum of interaction between foreign and Japanese parents and teachers, and thus serve as a mediating institution.

Louise George Kittaka (2021) asked twenty foreign mothers with children in the Japanese school system about her experiences in the PTA. Kittaka herself did not

manage to live up to three small children and her job and at the same time fulfilling her duties as a PTA member. She had to resign and thought that it was “ironic that a volunteer role, which was supposed to help me integrate, left me seriously contemplating transferring my kid to another school district” (Kittaka 2021). A mother she talked to stated that in the PTA, everyone is assimilated, even if one tries to resist. As a foreign parent, it is possible to be exempted from the PTA duty, especially if Japanese language skills are low and if it is the oldest child. However, most mothers interviewed by Kittaka agreed that it is best to participate in the PTA and that despite frustrating moments and mostly time-consuming activities, overall, it was a positive experience: Other mothers help with language difficulties and show their respect for doing ones best. Moreover, the PTA can help building new friendships and give access to useful information, not only about the school, but also about the community. One of the mothers interviewed by Kittaka felt that her participation in the PTA broke down barriers between her and Japanese mothers and made them treat her like one of them (cf. Kittaka 2021). On the other side, PTA work can be frustrating. All mothers experienced long meetings with few outcomes. Making changes is not the aim of the PTA, but rather fulfilling their obligations without troubling anyone. Kittaka sees the PTA as “a microcosm of Japanese society, where things are done a certain way because that’s the way they’ve always been done” (Kittaka 2021). However, some mothers achieved small changes by saying their opinion (cf. *ibid.*).

My interlocutors made different experiences with PTA activities. Rafaela told me that her Japanese was good enough to participate in the PTA when her daughter entered Japanese nursery school (*yōchien*). For her, the PTA was a good opportunity to become friends with many Japanese people. In the end, she even became the leader of the PTA. Until today, the people who were members of the group at that time meet twice a year and bring their children with them. In elementary and junior high school, she also participated in the PTA, also because it is mandatory to participate once per child (cf. interview Rafaela).

When Caroline, a Brazilian mother who works at the elementary school that her son frequented, was asked by one of the teachers to enter the PTA, she was reluctant. Then, however, she thought: “I will enter to show them that they have to treat people considering the value and the differences that people have. And unless somebody

does it, they will always keep thinking that their way is the right one: of not welcoming, or you integrating yourself” (interview Caroline). Caroline experienced many difficulties in the beginning, such as being called *gaijin*¹⁵⁸ by the leader at a PTA meeting, having to sit at the last table in the rear, and being expected to adapt to the Japanese way of doing things, as it was suggested to them that the Japanese way is the correct way. Other foreign mothers did not want to go to the meetings anymore, because being treated like that, they felt offended. Caroline, however, decided to go and tell her opinion. She describes her experiences as follows:

The men there, everybody holding the meeting, and then he said: “*Gaijin*.” Then, I said so: “Hey! Not *gaijin*. You [better] say *gaikokujin*. Because *gaijin* is the form that is used in the countryside, you know.” [...] Because over there in Tōkyō they already don’t use [this term], they say *gaikokujin*. I think they should learn the correct form to speak. “[...] It’s *gaikokujin*, *gaikokuseki no kata* [person of foreign citizenship]”, I said to him. “And we don’t like when we are called *gaijin*”. [...] I said so: “I think that it is all the same. It doesn’t have to be *gaijin* who is not *nihonjin* [Japanese national]”, I said. “I think it’s all the same and we need to unite in order to change something. Because if you continue to call us *gaijin* [who are] littering in the corridor, in the park, so you say this, only say so, but what will you change that way? Only cleaning? No, you need the force of us, Brazilian mothers, who go there and also talk in the language of the children who are there spraying in the park, in order for us to [...] do the cleaning together. Right, isn’t it like that?”, I said. Then he: “Ah, yes.” Then, after the meeting ended, he already called me, said: “Ah, sorry for calling you *gaijin*, I didn’t know that.” I said: “No, no problem. I know that [in] Hamamatsu, sometimes people who are really from *inaka* [countryside] [laughs], who are really from the countryside use these words”, I said to him. In order to not hurt myself, as well. And also them. [...] So, I said this in a more delicate way, so that he can understand. And he understood. Then, they moved on to not call me like that anymore. So, that side of integration, I learned a lot in that committee of parents and teachers, as a minority.

In this quote, Caroline describes the difficulties she had as a PTA member and how she managed to solve them. She took action and pointed to the harassment, explaining it with her impression of Hamamatsu being still *inaka*. Calling the foreign children and their parents “*gaijin*” was something that made the foreign members of the PTA feel excluded, but the Japanese members did not know that. Some did not even realize or pay attention to their word choice. Explaining to them in a kind and respectful manner helped them becoming aware of the problem without them losing

¹⁵⁸ *Gaijin* is an obsolete and pejorative form of *gaikokujin*, which literally means “foreign national”, “alien”, “non-Japanese”, or “outsider”.

their face and made them change their wording. This also contributed to integration, because now these Japanese PTA members will probably also pay attention on their wording in other contexts of their everyday life, whenever they come in touch with foreign residents or talk about them. With her courage to speak up for the treatment of foreign parents in the PTA, Caroline achieved a small change that can deepen the relationship of foreign and Japanese PTA members and increase mutual understanding.

In summary, PTA serves as a mediating institution which can contribute to integration of foreign parents and their children into the school community. At the PTA, Japanese and foreign parents negotiate their role and standing. Therefore, it is important that foreign parents are part of PTA. Only by doing so they can represent interests of foreign children, raise consciousness for their difficulties, foster mutual understanding, get into dialogue, and “earn” respect. They can also break stereotypes and show that foreign nationals are not all the same and not like many Japanese think how they are. Caroline’s example shows that small changes are possible and important. At the same time, the PTA serves as a way to make Japanese friends and acquire information on the Japanese education system and everyday life in the city.

In summary, in the field of Japanese school education as well, the *tabunka kyōsei* process is progressing, but still is far from enough (cf. interview Megumi). The main reason is that Japanese schools – although offering a space of interaction for their students – design their education on the assumption of having a monocultural group of Japanese students and fail to provide the necessary assistance for foreign students in order for them to be able to accompany the classes and get an education with which they can compete with Japanese children for entering higher educational institutions and the job market. In other words, Japanese schools fail in their role as mediating institutions for the integration of Brazilian children.

7.1.3. Options after junior high school: entering a factory vs. pursuing higher education

If Brazilian children enter a factory or pursue higher education depends on various factors. This chapter sheds light on the options, their implications, and the role of mediating institutions for making an informed decision.

Entering a factory

A third of the Brazilian students leaves school after junior high school (cf. Higuchi and Inaba 2018: 572). Many Brazilian adolescents enter a factory when they turn 16, which is the minimal age for work in Japan. Reasons are manifold: Having their parents' life style as an example for a possible path of life and seeing that blue collar workers earn enough money in order to live a decent life, many want to start earning money as early as possible and do not see a reason to pursue higher education (cf. interviews ABRAH, Catholic Church; Higuchi and Inaba 2018: 574-575). As they even gain similar wages as their parents do, and some also encounter difficulties to insert themselves in Japanese schools, this option seems easiest and most tempting, also to students who graduated from a Brazilian high school (cf. LeBaron von Baeyer 2020; 127, 135; Nakagawa 2018b: 32). Amanda deplors that many young Brazilians who finish Brazilian school have the idea in mind that they need to have a car and branded clothes in order to be someone (cf. interview Amanda). Freedom and easy money make many young Brazilians work in factories instead of realizing the long-term significance that education has both in Japan and Brazil (cf. Green 2010: 526; Linger 2001: 134-135). Linger (2001: 135) considers the factory job "as a honey trap, a seductive dead end for Brazilian youngsters". The fact that some young migrants live in and for the moment instead of investing in a future relationship with Japan is also an expression for their feeling of displacement (cf. Green 2010: 530).

Green (2010: 522) considers their parents' wishes as another reason for young Brazilians compromising their own education and limiting their future employment options by leaving school without high school diploma and working early in a factory. Indeed, many parents do not encourage their children to continue with their education nor are they concerned about their children's opportunities to improve their

social status. Many Brazilians in Japan are “semi-analphabets” (interviews Arace, E.A.S.) who have a relatively low educational background (high school or less) (cf. Higuchi and Inaba 2018: 574) and think that their children can work in a factory and earn money the same way as they themselves do (cf. interview E.A.S.).

Others, especially the ones who graduated from a Brazilian school, see the factory as their only option. Limited resources of many Brazilian schools lead to a lower quality of education. Their students are not adequately prepared for the competitive entrance exams of Brazilian public universities, but also have insufficient Japanese language skills to enter Japanese universities (cf. LeBaron von Baeyer 2020: 127, 131-132). Keiko thinks that although some Brazilians go to Brazil to study there after finishing Brazilian high school in Japan, most stay in Japan and start working in a factory like their parents do (cf. interview Keiko). Brazilian children who come to Japan during adolescence have much more difficulty to assimilate to Japanese culture and keep up with school. Many of them drop out of school early, start to work in a factory and are trapped in this low socioeconomic position (cf. Tsuda 2009: 223). LeBaron von Baeyer (2020: 137) observed that even children who are fluent in Japanese and / or graduated from Japanese school mostly continued to work in unskilled factory jobs. Irrespective of the language education they got, “for those Brazilians staying on in Japan after school, they tended to reproduce the labor / social positionings of their parents” (ibid.: 137-138).

Without finishing their studies, these adolescents lose the opportunity to get a good qualification, and consequently another generation of non-qualified workers is created (cf. Nakagawa 2018b: 32). When they become parents, their children often have an insufficient vocabulary and do not dominate any of the two languages. Some even show a delay in speaking ability and cognitive development, which results in problems in school life, such as them being sent to extra classes (cf. ibid.: 32, 37). The director of Arace met a Brazilian mother who moved back and forth between the two countries during her compulsory education age. As a result, she did not finish even junior high school. The director fears that her child will meet the same fate, if the mother is not aware of this danger (cf. interview Arace).

This shows that schools do not manage to insert Brazilian children into Japanese society and fail to provide an education that gives them the option of social advancement. However, Higuchi and Inaba (2018: 574-575) argue that, as the

migration history is still short and numbers of students who are advancing to high school and university are rising already, the phenomenon of leaving school early might also be only a transitional stage.

Pursuing higher education

Referring to the situation in Germany, Esser (2001: 55, 60) states that chances of pursuing higher education for immigrant children depend on age at the time of migration, age at the time of entering an educational institution, degree of ethnic concentration at school, and cultural environment at home. In other words, access to higher education is allegedly not affected by discrimination of foreign children. However, as meritocratic aspects are the basis for access to higher education, disadvantages in the preconditions for high achievements due to ethnic inequalities are reproduced in education and as a result, also at the job market, as structural social integration into the job market at a progressive rate requires attendance of higher education (cf. *ibid.*: 60, 63). Especially “young adults from immigrant families are generally more likely [...] to have left school without any credential useful in the labor market” (Alba and Holdaway 2013: 255-256).

In Japan as well, meritocratic aspects control access to higher education, as advancement to high school and university is influenced by the entrance examination system (cf. Higuchi and Inaba 2018: 577). As shown above, probability of passing the exam depends on school choice, language acquisition, and extracurricular preparation efforts. For all that, the parent’s knowledge about the Japanese education system and their interest in their children’s education are preconditions. By conducting research among 79 second generation Argentinians and Peruvians who passed through Japanese education, Higuchi and Inaba (2018) found out that rather than age and the time of having passed through compulsory education, it is the human capital of their parents which influences children’s educational advancement (cf. *ibid.*: 575).

According to the “Japanese and Foreign Citizens Social Awareness Survey” (2021), 65.9% of foreign children’s guardians want their children to go to Japanese high-school (cf. Hamamatsu City 2023a: 9). Indeed, after graduating from junior high school, most foreign students continue their studies at a Japanese high school, and

their numbers are rising (see figure 11). In 2009, after the Great Financial Crisis, 72.9% entered a Japanese high school. In 2017, their numbers reached 86.4% (cf. BoE 2018: 6).

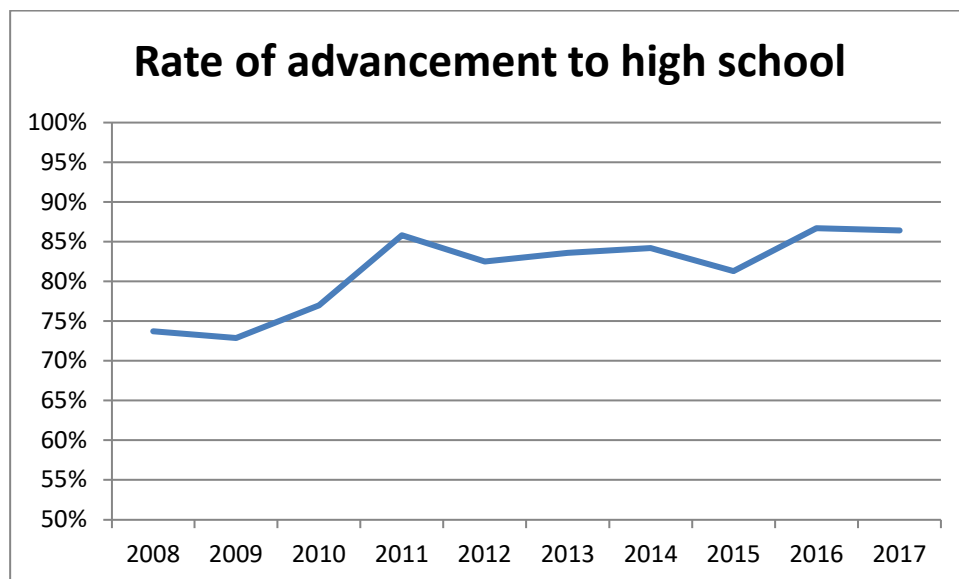


Figure 11: Foreign students who continue their studies at Japanese high school (own figure; source: BoE 2018: 6)

Among Brazilian junior high school graduates in Japan, more than 50% pursue their studies after junior high school and some even frequent tertiary education in Japan or in Brazil (cf. interview HICE; Nakagawa 2018b: 32). The decision on a Japanese high school (and university) depends on the students' skills and hard work as well as their home environment, namely parents' positive attitude towards Japan, and reinforcement in school (cf. LeBaron von Baeyer 2020: 138-139).

However, several mechanisms of the school system disadvantage foreign children. As in Japanese schools it is not possible to stay down a year, some do not pass the high school entrance exam or have to enter a lower ranked high school due to their insufficient Japanese language ability (cf. interviews HICE, IIEC). Moreover, the Japanese education system disadvantages migrant children by raising high tuition fees. Migrant children's families often do not have enough financial capital to enable the children to enroll in higher education institutions (cf. Higuchi and Inaba 2018: 570). Furthermore, making a strategical decision on the type of high school requires detailed information on the Japanese education system. As can be seen in figure 12, most foreign students who pursue higher education enter a public high school. In 2016, 34.6% entered a public all-day high school, 34.0% entered a public part time

high school, 17.9% chose a private high school, and 7% entered a technical school (cf. BoE 2018: 7). The latter includes Brazilian schools (cf. interview BoE).¹⁵⁹

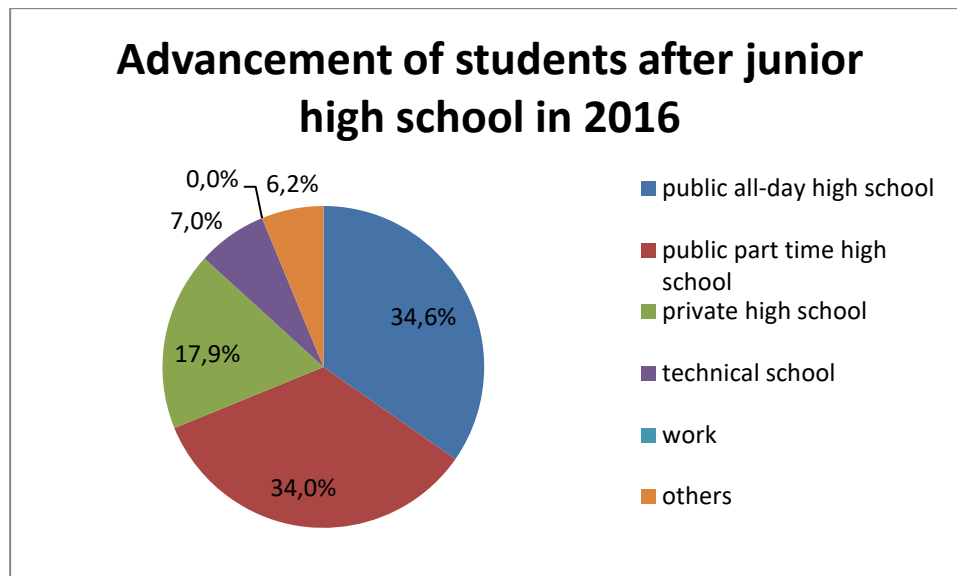


Figure 12: Advancement of foreign students after junior high school in 2016 (own figure; source: BoE 2018: 7)

The reason why many foreign students enter a part-time high school (*teijisei kōkō*) is that this system enables them to work at the same time, as lessons are only in the mornings (*ichibu*), only in the afternoons (*nibu*), or in some cases only at night (*sanbu*). However, finishing high schools takes longer¹⁶⁰ in the end than at an all-day high-school (cf. Tsūshinsei kōkō nabi 2023). Students who plan to enter a part-time high school have to decide if they apply for *ichibu* or *nibu*. Most enter the *nibu* track, studying at night and working during the day (cf. interview HICE). This might also be related to the assumption that the chances to enter the high school are higher when applying for *nibu*, because most students want to work in the evenings and therefore take the morning period *ichibu* as first option. The director of Arace told me that one of her students did not pass the high school entrance exam of Ōhiradai high school because he chose the wrong period. Although she recommended him to choose *nibu* as first option, when he took the test, for some reason he put *ichibu* as first option and did not pass the exam. He put *nibu* as second option, but students who chose it as first option have priority, so he could not get any place at all (cf. interview Arace).

¹⁵⁹ They do not count as private high schools, because their curriculum is not recognized by the Japanese government (cf. interview BoE).

¹⁶⁰ Most students graduate after four years. However, as schools are increasingly based on a point system, graduation after three years is possible (cf. Tsūshinsei kōkō nabi 2023).

Many teachers do not know much about the options of foreign students. Civil society institutions, such as Arace, can give orientation. The director of Arace individually recommends high schools to her students by keeping in mind both the respective child's educational performance as well as the family's budget (cf. CoE 2017b: 13; interview Arace). N-Pocket published a guide about career options of foreign children and adolescents (see: N-Pocket 2013).

Brazilian students who graduate from a Japanese high school take various paths afterwards. Some plan to study abroad, such as Fernanda's son. A girl I met at the dance school soon afterwards started studying at a university in the United States. Most, however, stay in Japan. Some enter a Japanese university, such as Yuriko, Akane, and Keiko. However, tuition is high. Others enter a Brazilian distance learning university, such as Pedro's daughter. Yet others consider studying at a university as too laborious and prefer opting for factory work, where they do not need to think much (cf. interview Vitor).

Besides Japanese high school, another option to pursue higher education is Brazilian high school. As in Japan, it is difficult for migrant children to maintain their heritage culture (cf. Higuchi and Inaba 2018: 569), here as well, home environment as well as school and language choice determine ethnic capital. While some students pass through Brazilian school education from elementary until high school, others switch to Brazilian schools after graduating from a Japanese junior high school (cf. interview Alcance). Reasons are manifold: Some did not pass the entrance exam for Japanese high school, others want to return to Brazil later. A Brazilian high school diploma can also be obtained by taking the *Encceja* (Exame Nacional para Certificação de Competências de Jovens e Adultos; engl.: National Examination for the Certification of Skills for Young People and Adults).¹⁶¹ In Hamamatsu, it can be taken once a year and certifies the completion of Brazilian high school. With this certificate, they are eligible to enter a Brazilian (distance) university (cf. interview IIEC).

After graduating from Brazilian high school, many students return to Brazil to enter a (public or private) university there. Others stay in Japan and enter a Japanese

¹⁶¹ The *Encceja* was established in 2002 by the Brazilian Ministry of Education (MEC) and serves as a national reference for education. The exam is free of charge and targets adolescents and adults living in Brazil or abroad who did not conclude middle or high school in the appropriate age. It can be taken to receive a certificate on the level of a middle or high school degree. With its contents being based on the Brazilian curriculum, the exam consists of four subjects (cf. MEC [2023]).

university or start to work at a factory. A few even plan to study at a foreign university, such as in the United States or in Canada. While some start to study soon after graduating from high school, others save money working in a factory in order to study later (cf. interviews Alcance, E.A.S.). Yumi's oldest son is 22 years old and graduated from a Brazilian high school. She wanted him to study at a Brazilian university, but he was afraid to go to Brazil alone. Instead, he started working in a factory to save money, buy an apartment in Brazil, rent it to somebody, later enter university and pay the expenses of the university from this rent (cf. interview Yumi).

Students in Japan also have the option to enter distance education in affiliation with a Brazilian university. This is also an option for Brazilians who came to Japan to work and then decide to study. In this way, some people manage to leave the factories and enter other jobs (cf. interview Alcance). Brazilian distance learning universities exist especially in Japanese cities with a high number of Brazilians. Some courses are available online, others (semi) on-site. Three Brazilian distance learning universities are located in Hamamatsu: the Japan campus of UNIP (Universidade Paulista), Universidade Brasil, and Cruzeiro do Sul (cf. Campus Virtual Cruzeiro do Sul Educacional 2023; interview Alcance; interview IIEC; UNIP – Polo Japão [2023]; Universidade Brasil [2023]). Brazilian high school graduates in Hamamatsu who want to continue their education without entering a university can enter the vocational school Senac which offers technical courses of 17 months in Management and Marketing in cooperation with E.A.S. since 2013 (cf. Alternativa Online n.d.; NIKKEYWEB [2016]; Scholze, Giacomelli, Rossi 2016: 4-5).

According to the director of IIEC, many of the Brazilians who graduated from a Brazilian distance university work within the Brazilian community or with Brazilians. One of the teachers at IIEC, for example, studied education and is now working as a teacher at a Brazilian school (cf. interview IIEC). The majority of the teachers at Alcance did their university degree in Japan and only worked in Japan. Some are preparing for returning to Brazil one day (cf. interview Alcance). Those who have adequate Japanese (or English) language skills, however, can work outside the community, such as in institutions or in administrative positions, like in an office of a factory (cf. interview IIEC).

Entering Japanese university is an option which only few students graduating from Alcance try. In the past, Japanese universities were very inaccessible, as they did not

recognize Brazilian high school degrees (cf. interview Alcance). Nowadays, this situation changed. In 2006, the Japanese government granted the right of taking Japanese university entrance exams to graduates from 19 Brazilian schools in Japan that were recognized by MEC (cf. Nakagawa 2018b: 32), including the three Brazilian schools in Hamamatsu (cf. MEXT 2022).¹⁶² As Japanese schools seem to be one of the few channels of insertion into Japanese society, this attempt can lead to an advancement for Brazilian students (cf. Nakagawa 2018b: 32-33). Still, passing the entrance exam is difficult for graduates from Brazilian schools, as they did not study as much Japanese as they would have at a Japanese school (cf. interview Alcance). For public universities, a strong academic background in Japanese is necessary. Private universities, on the other side, are expensive (cf. LeBaron von Baeyer 2020: 132). While numbers of migrant children which enroll in universities are rising, big differences exist between different nationalities. Only 11.8% of Brazilian students study at a university (cf. Higuchi and Inaba 2018: 570, 572).

For immigrant children, rather than the mainstream path, that is taking the usual entrance examination, other paths are important to reach higher education. Many make use of the various alternatives by taking special entrance examinations which became the only gap in the competition of scholarly ability and realistic options for the newcomer's second generation. This applies especially to lower and middle ranked high schools and universities, while high ranked ones stay exclusive (cf. Higuchi and Inaba 2018: 577-578 579). One of these other paths available for foreign students nowadays is taking the exam in English and having most of the curriculum in English. In this case, they need to take the TOEFL exam to enter university (cf. interview Alcance). Entering Japanese university via the quota for people taking the entrance exam in English provides a good opportunity for foreign students without a high proficiency in Japanese, especially because many students of Brazilian schools have a higher proficiency in English than in Japanese (cf. interview Alcance). Yumi plans to let her son take this path, because she thinks that a university degree nowadays is necessary to find a good job (cf. interview Yumi).

¹⁶² For a list of ethnic schools currently accepted by Japanese universities, see: MEXT 2022.

Keiko studies at Shizuoka University of Art and Culture (SUAC).¹⁶³ According to her, many students with foreign nationality study at SUAC. However, among them only few are Brazilians. Keiko noticed that many Brazilian adolescents think that their academic performance is too low to enter a Japanese university or they assume that they could not afford the fees. However, in her opinion, both is not the case. Moreover, she thinks that most Brazilian parents are interested in sending their children to a Japanese university, but as the director of Arace also stated, they do not know how to gather information on the topic (cf. interviews Arace, Keiko).

To counter this situation, the director of IIEC organizes an annual Education Fair in Hamamatsu, in cooperation with the Brazilian Consulate General in Hamamatsu. The first one took place in November 2016 and was the first Education Fair of a Brazilian Consulate worldwide. Since then, it takes place annually. Already at the first fair in 2016, 500 visitors came, some even from other prefectures. Thus, the Brazilians made widely use of this rare opportunity to gather information on the education of their children. In 2017, the fair had 780 visitors and 34 educational institutions presented themselves, most of them Japanese ones. Besides universities, schools took part which organize exchanges in English and Japanese with other countries (cf. interview IIEC).

Another mediating institution that provides guidance for foreign adolescents in Hamamatsu is COLORS (Communicate with Others to Learn Other Roots and Stories), a group of around ten young people with foreign roots, mostly university students, which was founded in 2014. Acting as a role model for other foreign youth, the COLORS members encourage them to seek higher aspirations. Under the lead of HICE, COLORS organizes exchange events, workshops, training on career planning and job search, and job seminars where young people with foreign roots share their work experiences. COLORS members also go to Japanese high schools where they hold presentations on their experiences and give tips to adolescents with foreign roots for planning their future (cf. CoE 2017b: 12; HICE n.d.; Mondwurf 2021: 284; Timmerarens 2018: 53). In July 2018, I accompanied them for a presentation in front of a class at Ōhiradai high school in Hamamatsu. They told the students about their experiences and about career options for foreigners. The presentation has not met

¹⁶³ Hamamatsu has five universities: Hamamatsu University School of Medicine (Hamamatsu Ika Daigaku), Shizuoka University of Art and Culture (SUAC), Hamamatsu Gakuin University, Seirei Christopher University, and Hamamatsu University.

with much interest. In the following group work, however, some foreign students have participated actively and asked questions (cf. Mondwurf 2021: 286). Besides the effect of combatting the lack of information on options for the future, the work of COLORS is also important from the perspective of integration. The fact that the presentations are not held only in front of adolescents with foreign roots, but in front of all students, helps raising awareness among the Japanese students for their fellow students' situations (cf. Mondwurf 2021: 13). With this, COLORS encourages intermixing (cf. CoE 2017b: 12).

Thamara, who taught at SUAC, thinks that the main problem is not to enter university, but to compete on the labor market after graduation. Thamara states that many spent much money on a university degree and in the end never make use of it (cf. interview Thamara). Pedro says the same about his daughter, who studied at a Brazilian distance university. After graduating, she tried working in her profession first, but as the Japanese job was not flexible enough for her, she quit it and started working in a factory to save money for continuing her studies abroad (personal communication). Keiko also thinks that even foreigners who have a Japanese high school degree can often only do simple jobs, also due to discrimination. She heard many people say that it is recommendable to naturalize before doing *shūkatsu* (job hunting). Indeed, Yuriko naturalized during her studies at university, right before starting *shūkatsu*. Keiko, however, does not want to naturalize (cf. interviews Keiko, Yuriko).

The director of IIEC has another perspective on studying at a university. She thinks that besides the degree, another important reason to enter a university is to make this experience: "I think that, [it's] not only studying, but there is an enrichment of education, of life, of exchange. It's so good, you can get to know other people in your age" (interview IIEC). Her hope is to see all her students enter a university in order to have a good life: "Not so much financially, which is important, sure, but they will be better persons. They will be able to dream [...] and reach these dreams" (ibid.). In other words, who has the opportunity to study at a university should do so, as they can also serve as mediating institutions, fostering interaction and integration.

Overall, the educational situation already improved. While until recently, Japanese local governments were concerned about bringing foreign children into Japanese junior high school and high school, nowadays, some enter even university and work in a Japanese company (cf. interview Aichi prefectural office). This shows that

nowadays, the problem of foreign students' advancing to the next stage of education is not limited to high school enrollment anymore, but a stage is reached where enrollment in universities also needs to become a task (cf. Higuchi and Inaba 2018: 571).

In summary, lack of information on how the Japanese education system works is a big issue. Providing Brazilian parents with this information is important, as most Brazilians seem to stay in Japan longer than expected and students who graduate from a Japanese school have better opportunities to become integrated in the host society and to compete with Japanese students on the labor market outside the Brazilian community. Mediating Institutions such as IIEC, Arace, and COLORS combat this situation by providing support and information, but also by raising awareness of educational issues.

7.2. Bilingual education

The development of bilingualism is affected by the school choice, home environment and community life (cf. Hélot and Mejía 2008: 4). For most multilingual children, entering school means deciding on one language in which written competences are to be developed, as schools often only provide monolingual literacy. The children experience this process as the languages being hierarchized (cf. Busch 2017: 51). This also affects their identity, as language is an instrument for the formation and negotiation of their identities as well as a constitutive element thereof (cf. Liu-Farrer 2020: 166, 168; Souza 2010: 85-86, 89). A big range of definitions and typologies of bilingualism developed (cf. Busch 2017: 44). Hélot (2008: 205) defines 'bilingual education' as teaching the students the school subjects in two different languages. However, nowadays, monolingual school education is still the norm, even in multilingual societies (cf. Busch 2017: 176).¹⁶⁴

As in Hamamatsu, no Japanese-Portuguese bilingual school is available, children and their parents have to decide on one type of school education. The choice between ethnic and Japanese schools is a unique one: Among the foreign residents of the city, because only Brazilians (and Peruvians) have the option of an ethnic

¹⁶⁴ For bilingual education within mainstream public schools in France, see: Hélot (2008: 213-216). For two-way dual language programs in the United States, see: García (2008: 43-53).

school (cf. interview U-ToC). Also, many Brazilians living in other parts of Japan do not have this option. Thus, Japanese schools are the only option for these children to get education. Although they do not have this safety net which ethnic schools represent in case of non-adaptation in Japanese school, these children have higher chances of integration, as they do not have an easy other option than Japanese school if they want to get education. In other words, the number of Brazilian children who can frequent a Brazilian school is limited, both geographically and financially (cf. Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi 2005: 282).

Both school and language choices determine future (career) options and depend much on future plans regarding the country of residence (cf. interviews Caroline, Lapis de Cor). Some parents take a conscious decision for one of the languages, which in case of no concrete plans to return often is Japanese. As a result, the children develop language abilities which constrain them in their decision where to live one day (cf. interview TIA). Fernanda, for example, sent her son to a Brazilian nursery school, but then decided to raise him with Japanese only and made him change to a Japanese nursery school. At the time of our interview, he was 17 years old and his Japanese was better than his Portuguese. Fernanda admits, however, that it was good to let him develop basic skills in Portuguese first, because this enables him to communicate with his relatives in Brazil (cf. interview Fernanda). The representative of HICE told me that young Brazilians who study or studied at a Japanese school and who dissociate themselves from other Brazilians and spend their time with Japanese students develop Japanese skills on a native level. However, most of them do not speak much Portuguese anymore, and their identity is more Japanese than Brazilian (cf. interview HICE), such as Yuriko. Her parents did not hesitate over sending her to a Japanese school. Nowadays, she speaks Japanese on a native level, but her Portuguese skills are very limited (cf. interview Yuriko).

Brazilian families who did not decide on their mobility plans yet or who change their plans, might make a school choice which in retrospect was not the right one. Some of these parents opt for bilingual education¹⁶⁵ to enhance future options for their children. Moreover, the goal to get integrated into the host society and at the same

¹⁶⁵ As it does not only include the different languages, but also the different cultures, Mejıa and Rodrıguez (2008: 113-114) call it 'intercultural bilingual education'.

time not lose sight of one's heritage language makes it reasonable to aim for bilingual education (cf. interviews Consulate General).

Precondition of reaching a bilingual status and a positive attitude toward both languages is a supportive attitude by parents and surroundings regarding the child's bilingualism (cf. Souza 2010: 89-90). Multilingualism is considered as an advantage by most immigrant parents, regardless of their plans to stay or to return. Due to global inequality, different languages have different statuses. Immigrant parents in Japan emphasize the English language and also consider Chinese as useful. Deciding on cultivating the heritage language Portuguese depends on the parents' future mobility plans, the importance they give to acquiring the heritage part of their children's identity, and their perception of Portuguese as a resource for socioeconomic development (cf. Liu-Farrer 2020: 166-167). Other factors are the children's professional future and the communication with relatives (cf. Souza 2010: 86).

In order to preserve the mother tongue in everyday life, a suitable environment is indispensable. Strengthening the community is a condition for the education of the children (cf. Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi 2005: 301-302; Portes and Rumbaut 2001: 126-127), because community schools, churches, and social clubs are justifications which incentivize children to maintain their heritage language (cf. Hamel 2008: 59). This condition is given in Hamamatsu, as the Brazilian community is fully developed and therefore a variety of opportunities to use the Portuguese language exists. Brazilian children learn Portuguese at home in their families or in a community language school. Heritage language schools can enable the children to develop both languages at a high proficiency (cf. Hamel 2008: 59). In Hamamatsu, Brazilian community institutions offer a range of possibilities to improve Portuguese as well as Japanese language skills. This subchapter sheds light on Brazilian children's options to reinforce their language skills through weekend classes of community institutions, their role as interpreters for their parents, and consequences when bilingual education fails.

7.2.1. Language education of children through civil society

The choice of language acquisition is a difficult one for many Brazilian parents in Japan. Within the Brazilian community in Hamamatsu, some NPOs developed, which provide remedy for this language dilemma. The NPO Arace and the International Institute of Education and Culture (IIEC) offer additional language classes for Brazilian children.

The NPO Arace developed out of the project *Canarinho*, a classroom implemented by the local government as an anti-school-refusal measure in 2002 which provided support and guidance for children in Japanese and Portuguese (cf. MIC 2006: 22). When the project ran out, one of the Japanese teachers and a group of Brazilian mothers decided to continue supporting foreign children by teaching them Japanese and prevent them from dropping out of school. In 2007, the NPO Arace was founded. It is located in Sanarudai, in the same building as the Yamaguchi International Heart Clinic and the Hamamatsu NPO Network Center N-Pocket. Arace provides educational support for foreign children in the Japanese school system, Japanese classes for children and adolescents not yet attending Japanese schools or having problems attending them, and preparation classes for the Japanese Language Proficiency Test as well as for high school examinations. However, as the NPO's capacities are limited, it does not attend children from Brazilian schools. While in the beginning, the classes aimed only at Brazilian and Peruvian children, with a change in the directorate in 2013, the NPO opened for all foreign children. Currently, besides Brazilian students, many Filipino children as well as Indonesian, Chinese, and Nepalese students frequent the classes (cf. CoE 2017b: 12-13; interview Arace). Besides offering classes, the NPO supports the students with other issues related to their education, such as giving consultation and collecting school bags and uniforms (see: 7.1.2. Entering Japanese school and 7.1.3. Pursuing higher education).

The NPO offers classes on Saturdays as well as on weekdays. The profile of the students of these two classes differs. On Saturdays, classes aim at children who frequent a Japanese school and feel they have language difficulties as well as at children in pre-school age, that is from one year before entering a Japanese school, in order to help them diminishing the language disparity with which they already enter elementary school (see: 7.1.2. Entering Japanese school). Around 30 children frequent the Saturday's classes. Their parents pay 2,000 yen a month; HICE covers

half of the expenses. The teachers are all volunteers and only receive a small expense allowance. Most of them are university students. Besides Japanese classes, a Japanese etiquette teacher teaches children in middle and high school what they need to know for a Japanese job interview (cf. interview Arace). When I visited Arace on a Saturday in

The classes on weekdays aim at children who do not frequent school or who are in transition, that is children who just arrived from their home country and need to study a bit of Japanese before entering a Japanese school or children who are about to change from a foreign to a Japanese school. Pre-school children are also accepted during the week. Around 20 children attend the class. All the teachers have teaching experience in Japanese schools and some even have a *kyōin menkyo* (teacher's license). As the weekday classes are a local government project, it bears most of the expenses, that is compensation of the teachers, rent of the classroom, and allocation of a budget for school material, including books and pencils.¹⁶⁶ However, as the budget is pruned every year, the time period in which pre-school children can attend the class as well as the duration of classes every day decrease each year (cf. interview Arace). The results show that Arace's classes are successful. Almost all Arace students of both Saturday and weekday classes manage to pass the high school entrance exam. Furthermore, the students at Arace who took classes with the etiquette teacher did well in their interviews afterwards (cf. interview Arace).

The International Institute of Education and Culture (IIEC) also provides educational support for foreign children. It is located in the city center in Zaza City building, a shopping center close to Hamamatsu station. When I first visited IIEC, I went with an employee of HICE. On that day in March 2018, Janelas do Mundo held a storytelling event for Brazilian children at IIEC. When we reached the fifth floor of Zaza City, I already saw some parents sitting in a seating corner, waiting for their children. We walked through a glass wall and entered the area of IIEC. In one corner, a student received one-to-one English tutoring. Next to the table where he was sitting was a banner with the inscription Friendz. Three classrooms branched off from the adjoining corridor. The director of IIEC showed us around: In one room, seven children were taught Portuguese. Japanese was taught in another room to around 20 children. In

¹⁶⁶ In 2017, the budget for school material was 100,000 yen. According to the director of the NPO, this is not much, as especially books are very expensive, and she thinks that in the year of our interview (2018) the budget will decline further (cf. interview Arace).

the third room, mathematics classes took place for adolescents. The director explained that at certain times of the year, preparatory tutoring for the JLPT takes place as well. One boy in particular was singled out by her. She explained that he was brought up speaking Japanese, but when he found out that he was Brazilian, he wanted to learn Portuguese. At the age of nine, he took the train from a neighboring city to Hamamatsu to take Portuguese lessons. After this short tour, the storytelling event started in the anteroom. Despite the many background noises caused by the English tutoring, and people passing, chatting, and taking pictures, the children listened intently to the story about African slaves who were brought to Brazil by ship and their feelings.

By providing Japanese as well as Portuguese lessons, IIEC supports foreign children in the Hamamatsu region who have difficulties accompanying the class at Japanese school and children who want to learn or maintain their heritage language Portuguese (cf. IIEC 2023). The goal of IIEC is to enable as many children as possible to enter high school and university. When children have organizational problems related to their education, the director of IIEC discusses issues with parents, universities, *senmongakkō*, or even the bank to borrow money (cf. interview IIEC).

The director of IIEC started by teaching Portuguese to children of friends. In 2014, she formalized the Institute where Brazilian children are taught Japanese and Portuguese on Saturdays for four hours. Most of the teachers are volunteers and only get 1000 yen per Saturday for the traveling expenses. Only three teachers are paid, because they have a degree. The director stated that it is important to also have professionals as teachers. Some university students also work at IIEC as a side job. Currently, 40 children are enrolled in the Institute's three classes. In the elementary school class, the children take classes in both Japanese and Portuguese languages. In the junior high school class, Portuguese is not mandatory, but about half of the students take Portuguese classes in addition to the Japanese ones. The high school class students take classes together with the students from Brazilian schools who want to study more Japanese, for example to take the *Japanese Language Proficiency Test* (JLPT). Some students already speak Japanese and do not come to enroll in the project, but only to take the Portuguese lessons. Once a year IIEC also offers a three months intensive preparation class for the high school entrance exam,

which takes place at the end of each year. Most students pass the exam after taking the preparation class (cf. interview IIEC).

I met two mothers who send their sons to IIEC on Saturdays. Yara's son just entered elementary school. He takes Japanese and Portuguese classes at IIEC. Yara claims that her son speaks both languages well and also manages to separate them (cf. interview Yara). Yumi tried to put her son into a Japanese school at first. However, he got frightened when everyone spoke only in Japanese to him. Although he understands a bit, he did not speak much. As he did not want to stay in Japanese school, she let him change to a Brazilian school, but he had to promise to study Japanese on Saturdays which he does with much motivation (cf. interview Yumi).

As IIEC's name suggests, the classes do not only focus on language, but also on cultural education to familiarize the children with their heritage culture and the culture of the host society. In the Portuguese class, the children learn about Brazilian culture, for example by speaking about festivities like Easter. The director of IIEC told me: "I learned that culture sometimes opens space for the children liking Brazil and wanting to learn to speak Portuguese" (interview IIEC). In months with five Saturdays, the last one is used for a cultural excursion to learn about culture and life in Japan. The children visit places like the library, the science museum, or the Musical Instruments Museum (cf. *ibid.*). Other events include storytelling for children in Portuguese and *hanami*.

IIEC also organizes events which help to cover the Institute's expenses. One of them is the *bate-papo* in Portuguese, a time to chat which opens an opportunity of interaction for Brazilian students who want to practice Portuguese. Every second month, the director of IIEC invites Brazilian Portuguese native speakers who meet with the adolescents, have a snack, and a conversation. The only rule is to alternately talk for 15 minutes in Portuguese and for 15 minutes in Japanese. Some students also want to practice English and use the opportunity to substitute Japanese with English. The conversations cover all kinds of topics. The director noticed that many students want to learn more about Brazil (cf. interview IIEC).

The director of IIEC also aims at improving the quality of Portuguese language teaching by disseminating knowledge on the concept of Portuguese as a heritage language ("Português como Língua de Herança", PLH). The term 'heritage language'

and emanating programs, including PLH, are widespread especially in North America for a few decades already, but also in Europe various big groups engage in it (see for example: CAL [2023]; Desgrippes and Lambelet 2018; García 2008). In Japan, however, the concept is new, despite having such a big Brazilian community for 30 years now. In May 2018, the director of IIEC organized the first *Simpósio de Português como Língua de Herança*, which now takes place every year. Target group are teachers engaged with Brazilian children in Japan who need to understand better what PLH is and what the differences are between teaching Portuguese as a foreign language and as a heritage language. PLH does not only include Portuguese language teaching, but also culture and history of the country. As it is the second language for the children, they lose interest in studying easily. Thus, the classes must be more dynamic (cf. interview IIEC). Gildenhard (2022: 202) argues that *tabunka kyōsei* “has the potential to be used strategically to demand the socio-political right to ethnic education”. By doing so, some initiatives “attempt to contest its governmental definition and to relocate it in the local context” (ibid.: 216). Indeed, PLH can be understood as local level *tabunka kyōsei* measure. On the other side, in the case of the Brazilian residents in Hamamatsu, the aspect of keeping open the option of return as well as improving future opportunities for the children are the main drivers of the development of PLH activities.

Another institution related to cultural and language education of Brazilian children in Hamamatsu is the NPO Semente para o Futuro (Seeds for the future), a volunteer group that was founded around 15 years ago and consists of about five foreign resident mothers who have lived in Japan for many years and whose children study (or studied) at Japanese public schools in Hamamatsu. Their goal is to convey Portuguese language and Brazilian culture to Brazilian children and to adults who somehow or other assist Brazilians in Hamamatsu. Currently, their main activities are giving support and presentations at public schools in Hamamatsu regarding Brazil and its culture as well as holding lectures and teaching Portuguese at the Foreign Resident Study Support Center (U-ToC) to Japanese school teachers and people who support foreign children (cf. interview Caroline; CoE 2017b: 16; Semente para o Futuro n.d.).

On the part of the host society, various institutions support foreign children’s language education by offering Japanese language classes, such as study support

centers (*gakushū shien kyōshitsu*), community centers (*kominkan* or *kyōdō sentā*), and projects like *Projeto Tucano* which encompasses a compilation of Japanese didactic material for Brazilian students¹⁶⁷ studying at Japanese public schools. It includes study material for *kanji* as well as mathematics and can be downloaded for free. The material was developed by the Center for Multilingual, Multicultural Education and Research of the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies in cooperation with the company Mitsui Bussan (cf. TUFS 2011).

However, private tutoring is not limited to Portuguese and Japanese. Related to the option of entering university by taking the entrance exam in English (see 7.1.3. Pursuing higher education), my data shows the increasing role of the English language. Yumi's son is nine years old and frequents a Brazilian school. On Saturdays, he takes Japanese classes at IIEC and English classes by a group called Friendz which uses the same facility. Yumi is thinking of sending him to a Japanese school later or to let him acquire a solid basis in Japanese and fluency in English to make him enter university one day by taking the entrance exam in English (cf. interview Yumi). The director of a Brazilian nursery school told me that her own children speak better English than Japanese. They frequent a Brazilian school, but take extra English lessons at Friendz (cf. interview Lápiz de Cor). In other words, she tries to raise her children trilingually. Aaron speaks in Portuguese with his older children. With the youngest son, still a baby, he has ambitious goals: Instead of Portuguese he speaks mainly in English with him, but also in Japanese, because he considers this language diversity important for whom lives in Japan. When his son reaches the age of three years, Aaron plans to teach him Hebrew language and culture, also because he and his wife did not decide yet if they will stay in Japan or move on to Israel (cf. interview Aaron). Rafaela's daughters only started being interested in studying Portuguese when they were already adolescents. However, Rafaela told them that now they need to focus on studying English, because it is more relevant for school (cf. interview Rafaela). These examples show that in many cases, the English language offers opportunities for the future and therefore enters in direct competition with the children's second language. While the first language is either Japanese or Portuguese, parents have to decide if the second language will be the other of these two languages, or rather English. For children who frequent a

¹⁶⁷ Equivalent projects exist for Filipino, South American, Vietnamese, and Thai students (see: TUFS 2011).

Brazilian school, English often becomes an alternative to studying Japanese properly. Many speak better English than Japanese (cf. interview Alcance).

Still, rather than improving English skills, for many Brazilian children and their parents the focus lies on attaining proficiency in Japanese and Portuguese. Additional language classes like the ones offered by IIEC or Arace help balancing languages and cultural knowledge. This opens more opportunities and helps to keep open both options living in Japan and in Brazil. It also prepares them for a life in both societies, linguistically as well as culturally. By offering consultation on educational and social issues, they serve also as mediating institutions, mediating both between parents and children as well as between parents and schools or universities. These institutions always have education in mind as a prerequisite for social advancement and long-term integration.

In summary, civil society institutions play an important role in balancing the Brazilian children's language abilities and cultural knowledge and fostering their bilingualism. For the ones who dropped out of school or do not frequent a school yet, these institutions prepare them for their school life. Thus, these civil society institutions reach also the children that schools cannot reach. Regarding integration, their main goal is to pass language and cultural knowledge to the children which helps them in future interactions in the host society as well as in the Brazilian community. With their language skills, children can also contribute to their parents' integration into the host society.

7.2.2. The role of children as interpreters for their parents

Some countries, such as Sweden and Australia, provide a professionalized pool for community interpretation. In other countries, like Austria, many institutional settings expect the person seeking help to bring their own interpreter, especially for languages that are not as common as English, French, and Spanish. In these cases, relatives and friends serve as lay interpreters. Often, the multilingually raised own children play this role (Busch 2017: 159).

In Hamamatsu as well, Brazilian residents who do not speak Japanese and who need to go to a place that does not provide interpreting often take a person with them

who speaks better Japanese than themselves. Often, this person is their own child. Pedro told me that every time he needs to go to the doctor, he asks his wife to call and make an appointment. For a routine checkup he goes to the doctor alone. For other reasons, depending on the complexity of the concern, he takes either his wife who speaks better Japanese than him or his daughter who went to Japanese school and speaks Japanese at a native level.

Another place where children often interpret for their parents is the school, especially at the occasion of parents' day (cf. Ahamer 2013: 275). Megumi told me of a case she witnessed in Japanese junior high school where a boy had to interpret between his mother and his teacher (cf. interview Megumi) (see chapter 7.1.2. Mechanisms of exclusion). Sometimes, interpreting needs to take place even within a family. While in some cases, the children speak Japanese among themselves but communicate with their parents in Portuguese (cf. interview Akane), in other cases siblings ask the one who speaks both languages the best to interpret between them and their parents (cf. interview Catholic Church). Although rarely happening, Fernanda told me of the contrary case: parents interpreting for their children. Fernanda's mother, a second generation Brazilian-Japanese who could speak better Japanese than Fernanda when they arrived in Japan, took the role as Fernanda's interpreter for the first year in Japan (cf. interview Fernanda).

Some parents are happy and proud about their children's interpreting support or even consider it as a matter of course (cf. Ahamer 2013: 346). Yumi, for example, stated that her Japanese skills complement the ones of her son: She understands more than him, but he knows better how to read and write. In everyday life situations, he reads something aloud and she understands and explains to him (cf. interview Yumi). At the same time, many parents want to get along on their own without being dependent on help from others and to support their children in language learning and school matters (cf. Ahamer 2013: 346). Many Brazilians in Japan feel vulnerable for not having a good command of the Japanese language (cf. Arakaki 2013: 265-266). Pedro confirmed this observation. Although he frequently asks his bilingual daughter for help, he stated that he does not like the feeling of being dependent on others all the time (personal communication). Some children, on the other side, feel responsible for helping their parents in all situations of their everyday life or even for teaching the host society's language to their parents (cf. Ahamer 2013: 344). Pedro's

daughter told me that she feels like she cannot move to another city or even another country, as her parents need her because of their language difficulties (personal communication). In fact, many bilingual children become a mediator between their parents and the host society, that is a mediating institution, themselves.

7.2.3. When bilingual education fails

The process of growing up in a multilingual environment is a matter of course for the children. Rather than learning distinct languages isolated from each other, the specific multilingualism that surrounds them is their first language (cf. Busch 2017: 48; Krompàk 2018: 155). However, instead of seeing multilingualism as a resource, some practitioners still continue to perceive it as problematic and refer to the notion of semilingualism, which describes the state of competences being fragmented across different languages and designates the multilingual children's perceived deficient language competence (cf. Krompàk 2018: 154-155). Although terms like semilingualism or alingualism are scientifically untenable and criticized by many scholars, they are still used in everyday, but also in academic, discourses and in daily educational practice as a stigmatizing label and can become part of the sense of self (cf. Busch 2017: 52; Krompàk 2018: 154-155).

In some cases, indeed, bilingual education fails, like in the case of Rafaela's daughters who did not want to learn Portuguese (cf. interview Rafaela). While for some children, this is only a short phase until they became fluent in Portuguese (see Souza 2010: 88-89), Rafaela finally gave up trying and instead let their daughters focus on developing their Japanese skills (cf. interview Rafaela). Some parents try to enforce the development of their children's Japanese skills. This strategy, however, rarely is successful. Tamara told me of a 17 years old Brazilian girl whose mother sent her to a *senmongakkō*, although the girl did not have sufficient Japanese language skills and even after three years did not understand anything in class (cf. interview Tamara).

The mix of languages also can overstrain children. The Padre of the Catholic Church in Hamamatsu told me of a mixed marriage of a Peruvian father and a Filipina mother whose three-year old child frequented a Brazilian nursery school and ended up speaking no language at all (cf. interview Catholic Church). Rafaela told me of one of

her students, a Peruvian girl who had mainly Brazilian friends and frequented a Japanese school. When she was in sixth grade, she experienced an identity crisis. She felt something inside herself that she could not express in any of her three languages. She became violent and started to beat everybody around her, including her mother and siblings. Rafaela advised her to choose one of the three languages and read many books in that language until she finds the words that she needs to express her emotions. Later, she stopped being violent and went on to junior high school (cf. interview Rafaela).

LeBaron von Baeyer (2020: 202) found out that few young Brazilians “felt comfortable using both languages”. Some Brazilian children face Japanese language difficulties even when frequenting a Japanese school in Japan. They know how to speak Japanese, but not in a polite way, and they make many mistakes when writing in Japanese. Their skills in written Portuguese are weak as well (cf. interview HICE). Most parents do not have time and language abilities to support their children, or they simply lack interest (cf. LeBaron von Baeyer 2020: 137). Moreover, many parents lack knowledge of the Japanese educational system. According to the representative of HICE, many foreign parents do not send their children to *juku* (cram school) because they do not know that in Japan it is important to do so in order to pass the entrance exam to a good high school, to enter a good university and afterwards to compete for a good job. The representative of HICE thinks that if they could understand more Japanese and were integrated better into the host society, they would have learned that in Japan, it is important to invest in education from early on (cf. interview HICE). Even among the parents who know about this importance and who have enough money to send their children to *juku*, many think that their child speaks Japanese as Japanese children do, so he or she is fine. However, they do not realize that being able to speak Japanese in an everyday life conversation is not the same as the Japanese skills required at school (cf. interview HICE).

In order to combat this lack of knowledge, the Consulate General in Nagoya provides on its website guides and readers about education for Brazilians in Japan (see MRE 2022). These include informative material for foreign parents about the Japanese education system, school life, educational paths, higher education, multicultural education, bilingualism, and the importance of the heritage language. By providing

useful information on various options and aspects, these guides help taking decisions on the educational path.

School changes – be they due to non-adaptation in school, school suspending *mukai* (see interview Yumi), or the Great Financial Crisis in 2008 – are also a reason for an education that is *chūtohampa* (scattered): half Brazilian and half Japanese. Instead of absorbing both cultures and languages, or having a main language and learning the basics of the other, many children study both only halfway (cf. interviews ABRAH, HICE). Some children even quit school due to financial reasons, such as Keiko who did not go to school for five years. In the meantime, however, she frequented a study support center (*gakushū shien kyōshitsu*) (cf. interview Keiko). In order to counteract this situation, projects developed, such as the classes organized by the Catholic Church during the crisis (see chapter 6.2.2.) or the project *Niji no Kakehashi* (Projeto Arco-íris, Rainbow Bridge Classroom or School Attendance Support Project for the Children of Long-Term Foreign Residents) which was initiated by the NPO Arace, supported by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), and funded by MEXT. It aimed at researching and supporting the foreign children which did not study, whether due to the crisis or for other reasons, and bringing them back to a Japanese school (cf. CoE 2017b: 12-13; Nakagawa 2018b: 36-37).

Nowadays, one reason for children's failed bilingual education is the socioeconomic status of their parents, because it affects the amount of "financial resources and cultural competence to devote to children's education" (Liu-Farrer 2020: 172). Liu-Farrer (ibid.: 165) found out that most immigrant parents in Japan hope to raise their children bilingually in the host society and native languages. However, "the reality is often otherwise because the needed effort and resources for bilingual, in some cases multilingual, education are often beyond what the parents can manage" (ibid.).

With their uncertainty regarding future plans and country of residence, parents do not provide the stability their children would need in order to focus on their studies (cf. interview U-ToC). Frequent moves due to parents' job changes further aggravate the children's academic struggle (cf. Liu-Farrer 2020: 160). As long as the work situation of their parents is unstable, the educational environment of the children is unstable and their mental state is prone to instability as well (Hatano 2011: 76)

Parents' involvement in their children's education is another crucial factor (cf. Liu-Farrer 2020: 172). Especially for children frequenting a Japanese school, the development of their Portuguese language skills depends on their environment at home. However, parents' long working hours limit their ability to raise the children bilingually (cf. Tsuda 2009: 223). They simply do not pass enough time with their children in order to pass language skills and cultural knowledge to their children sufficiently. When the parents finally come home, they are too tired from work and just want to eat, take a shower, and sleep. Sometimes, the children in Lapis de Cor tell the director about that: "Many say [...]: 'My father does not play [with me] at night'. But it's because of the exhaustion" (interview Lapis de Cor). As a result, communication between parents who often do not speak Japanese and their children who do not develop sufficient Portuguese language skills becomes difficult and does not exceed basic phrases. This causes trouble for both children and their parents, especially when children reach the age of adolescence and conversation subjects become more complex. Speaking from his own experience of being raised bilingually, the Padre of the Catholic Church told me that especially emotions are difficult to express in a foreign language (cf. interview Catholic Church).

Many parents do not want to work less nor are they willing to pay another place for looking after the children in the afternoon. The director of Lapis de Cor told me that "they are very focused on work, don't they want to earn in order to go away? But in the end, they end up putting the other side at a disadvantage. Sometimes not, there are children who do not feel this, but there are children who feel it" (interview Lapis de Cor). This loneliness results in them passing much time on the street, sometimes doing wrong things. The directors of Lapis de Cor and IIEC told me about their observations of Brazilian teenagers starting smoking early, taking drugs, stealing, and getting pregnant with 13 or 14 years already, sometimes without knowing who the father is and not being able to provide for the child (cf. interviews IIEC, Lapis de Cor).

Another factor of failed bilingualism is the age of children at the time of migration (cf. *ibid.*). Some Brazilians who come to Japan have children who are already in school age and consequently start studying Japanese late. In the past, Japanese schools did not even accept these children, but nowadays it is possible to enter Japanese school in the middle (cf. interview Yoko). Still, especially for junior high school

children, the time until they need to take the entrance exam for a Japanese high school is short.

In some extreme cases, Brazilian children in Japan do not develop language skills on a native level in neither language and are not able to express themselves sufficiently nor in Japanese, nor in Portuguese. They are “double-limited” (cf. Niwatori no kai [2023]; Oliveira 2018: 108; Projeto Kaeru [2023]) or “semi-alphabets” (cf. interviews Arace, E.A.S.). Let me remember you of Cora, the young Brazilian girl from the opening vignette. We had a nice conversation, sitting on a bench in the city center of Hamamatsu, but I immediately noticed that she had problems expressing her thoughts. Even some basic vocabulary she did not know in Portuguese. Sometimes she switched to Japanese, or even English, and sometimes she tried to describe what she meant with other words. She was double-limited: not able to express herself in either language.

Such examples show the effects failed bilingual education can have on the children’s life: trying to pass in situations where one does not understand much, not being able to express one’s thoughts and feelings, and experiencing identity crises. Also, job opportunities become even more limited. In the best case of a failed bilingual education, the children only command one of the languages. In Hamamatsu, conditions to raise a bilingual generation of Brazilians are not sufficient. If heritage languages would be seen as a resource, bilingual schools and teaching of foreign languages in public education would be fostered more (cf. Hamel 2008: 96). However, regarding the Brazilian children in Japan, this seems to be not the case (yet).

As the example of Cora shows, there are also Brazilian children that do not spend their time on the streets, being involved in problematic activities, but who make an effort in order to organize their life. However, her family background and life circumstances have a negative influence on her development and therefore her opportunities in life. A lack of Japanese language skills and maintenance of the heritage language are no new problems, but they are still difficulties nowadays. It can be foreseen that the education of Brazilian children in Japan is a topic that will be of concern to the Japanese local governments in the future as well (cf. interview TIA).

In short, many social issues arise because the parents work too much and as a result do not have time to care for their children and their education. Changing schools also

caused difficulties for many children. Their education was interrupted and they had to adapt to a new environment with its different culture, language, and rules. Especially the development of their language abilities was disrupted and some ended up double-limited. Another factor is the decision not made to stay or to return, which has severe consequences for life planning and education. Especially for the children, the basis for life-planning is to make this decision.

7.3. Adults' education

Education does not only concern the children, but also the migrants themselves. As mentioned above, many of the Brazilians in Japan did not complete high school in Brazil, some not even junior high school. As a result, many are not conscious for the importance of education. In Japan, additional educational issues arise: Besides studying the Japanese language, they need to learn much about life in Japan. This includes cultural norms, rights and duties, as well as how certain procedures work, such as insurances and retirement. Mediating institutions can support language education, provide information on everyday life issues, and prepare them for the future.

7.3.1. Language education of adults through civil society

According to the “Japanese and Foreign Citizens Social Awareness Survey” (2021), foreign residents in Hamamatsu have high speaking and listening competencies, but can barely read and write *kanji*. However, 73% wish to learn Japanese (cf. Hamamatsu City 2023a: 9). In Hamamatsu, various initiatives target Japanese language education of foreign adults.

The *Foreign Resident Study Support Center* called U-ToC¹⁶⁸ was founded in January 2010¹⁶⁹ and offers basic level Japanese classes up to JLPT N4. All classes are free

¹⁶⁸ The abbreviation U-ToC stands for the district Yūto (U) where the institution is located, the Portuguese expression “todo mundo” (To) which means “everybody”, and “center” (C) (cf. interview U-ToC).

¹⁶⁹ Due to the Great Financial Crisis in 2008, the few jobs available for foreigners were given to people who could speak Japanese. As a result, the demand for Japanese classes rose significantly (cf. interviews Fernanda, U-ToC; Nakagawa 2018b: 29).

of charge and not time-limited. They take place from Monday to Friday during the day. Prerequisites for participation are being a resident of or working in Hamamatsu and holding a *mibunkei* visa status.¹⁷⁰ Most of the students take the class to qualify for a job. Around 70 Japanese volunteers help in the reading and writing class and have conversations with the students during “*oshaberi* time”. This does not only serve as a speaking practice, but also creates an opportunity for exchange. Foreign students and Japanese volunteers can meet on eye level and learn from each other. Although the foreign students do not know much Japanese, they know and experienced many other things they can share with the Japanese volunteers. In the opinion of the U-ToC employee I interviewed, this exchange is an expression of real *tabunka kyōsei* (cf. CoE 2017b: 16; interview U-ToC).

The U-ToC class also encompasses an intercultural experience program to learn about Japanese culture and everyday life that includes excursions to places like the Hamamatsu castle, the library, or a tea house and participation in typical events, such as *hanami* (see chapter 5.2.2.). Besides the Japanese language classes, U-ToC also trains Japanese volunteers by offering Portuguese classes for them or teaching them easy Japanese (cf. CoE 2017b: 15-16; interview U-ToC). Conducting interviews among Japanese language volunteers in the Ōsaka region, Morimoto and Hattori (2011: 152) found out that the volunteers do not consider their relation with the foreign residents as teachers and students, but as a relationship which enables a connection with the outside world, as fellows with similar experiences, such as being parent, being worker, or being resident of the same municipality. By teaching Japanese, volunteers give foreign residents their voice back which was taken from them. In other words, by bringing together foreign residents with Japanese volunteers, U-ToC has an important mediating function. On the other side, Hatano (2011: 71) observed that in Japanese public schools and Japanese classes held by volunteers, people who do not speak Japanese are often treated like children or as if their cognitive ability was low. This shows that their mediating role can also be ambivalent.

Besides U-ToC, various NPOs and associations offer Japanese classes in Hamamatsu. Most of them take place on the weekends and in the city center. Some

¹⁷⁰ The *mibunkei* visa status includes spouses of a Japanese national, long-term residents, permanent residents, spouses of a permanent resident, and family dependents, which in this case are family members of a foreigner employed by a company in Hamamatsu (cf. interview U-ToC). Hamamatsu City bears the costs of the language class, which amount to 40 million yen per annum (cf. CoE 2017b: 16).

teach in other city wards. Most charge a small fee. Some are targeting a specific group of foreign nationals (Filipino, Chinese, Vietnamese, Brazilian / Peruvian). A list of Japanese classes for adults in Hamamatsu can be found in the monthly newsletter HICE News. One example is Nihongo NPO. They offer Japanese classes in the city center for all levels twice a week in the mornings, on Sundays at the Civil Partnership Center and on Thursdays at HICE where the students gather in three rooms, according to their level. Classes last two hours each and are charged 500 yen per class. The participants come from various countries and backgrounds.

When I participated at a class at HICE on May 10, 2018, many students came for the first time, including a Catholic sister from the Philippines. The leader of the NPO told me that many students are married to a Japanese national, and almost no exchange students participate. I joined the students in the first room, who gathered at three different tables. Each table was under the supervision of a different teacher. The leader of the NPO taught the highest-level class (JLPT N3/N2 level) by using JLPT tests as study material. Three Thai and one Brazilian woman participated. The latter was 60 and lived in Japan for 30 years. Her goal was to take the JLPT N2 at the end of the year. I noticed that teacher and students talked in an informal way. I moved on to one of the intermediate class tables (JLPT N5/N4 level). Their teacher focused on grammar. Participants were a Thai and an Indian woman. The other intermediate class was a conversation class. A woman from Russia and one from Mexico took part. For the end of the class, I went to the other rooms, where the beginner classes gathered. I joined one of them. Participants were a traveler from Israel, the Argentinian Padre of the Catholic Church who just arrived in Japan and is in charge of the Brazilian community, a housewife from Vietnam, and a woman from Nepal who works in a Restaurant. The teacher taught them how to talk about calendar, dates, and days of the week. At the end of the class, the students paid the fee of 500 yen and went home. Afterwards, the teachers had a meeting where they reported to the leader about their students. This example shows that few Brazilians take the opportunity to attend a language class. Moreover, most students seem to attend the classes occasionally, and not regularly enough to build up a strong basis of Japanese.

At community centers, Japanese classes are offered as well. Yōko, one of the counter volunteers at HICE, and Megumi stated to have taught Japanese at a

kōminkan during the Crisis 2008, when the demand of Japanese classes increased and the number of *kōminkan* in Hamamatsu offering Japanese classes augmented from one to four. Megumi taught Brazilian, Indonesian, and Peruvian adults on Sundays. She used the Japanese class also to learn about their students' culture. What she enjoyed most was when her students prepared some typical dishes from their respective countries at the *kominkan*. However, as each foreign community started offering Japanese classes for their members, the classes at the *kōminkan* soon became obsolete (cf. interviews Megumi, Yōko).

The offer of Japanese classes is high. Still, many Brazilian immigrants do not speak much Japanese. Do they participate in these classes? What other strategies of language learning do they pursue? And who actually participates in the Japanese language classes?

The classes at U-ToC are mainly attended by wives of expatriates. As classes take place during the day, they are not convenient for Brazilian workers (cf. interview U-ToC). U-ToC's location far from the city center¹⁷¹ and from Takaoka ward is also unpractical. Furthermore, most Brazilians live in Japan for many years already and often can already speak a little, but not read or write. Therefore, they would need a higher-level class than the basic level one offered by U-ToC (cf. CoE 2017b: 15-16; interview U-ToC). Other classes are located more conveniently, are offered at more favorable times, cover a bigger spectrum of levels, and are low-threshold. However, few Brazilians participate, as the example of Nihongo NPO shows. Thus, these classes seem to not serve for all Brazilians.

While Yōko claims that the Japanese classes tackle a wide range of topics, such as work, everyday life, doctor, and bureaucracy, Thamara has a different view. She took several classes, and all had not only the same way of teaching, but also the same contents: vocabulary for factory work. As Thamara does not work in a factory, she decided to study Japanese on her own instead (cf. interviews Yōko, Thamara). Even the ones who work in a factory would need different vocabulary, as they rapidly learn factory related words during their working routine anyway, but struggle with everyday life situations. Hatano (2011: 71) has the impression that students of Japanese classes do not learn much things that are necessary or of use for their life as part of

¹⁷¹ The Toyota International Association, for example, offers Japanese classes in Toyota city and is located close to the downtown area and conveniently accessible by public transport.

the Japanese society. Megumi felt that the biggest obstacle for her students at the *kōminkan* was the fact that they were very exhausted from their work. Of the ten people who started the class, only four remained until the end (cf. interview Megumi).

The question arises where the Brazilians are and how they study Japanese. Three of my interviewees claim to have frequented a *nihon(go)gakkō* (Japanese school)¹⁷² during their childhood in Brazil (Rafaela, Roxana, and Vitor) or learned a little Japanese due to her upbringing in a Nikkei environment in Brazil (Fernanda), but to have forgotten almost everything. In Japan, they learned Japanese by teaching themselves or through their work, topics of interest, and everyday situations (cf. interviews Fernanda, Rafaela, Roxana, Vitor). Others as well study on their own, such as Amanda and Thamara (cf. interviews Amanda, Thamara). Most Brazilians focused only on work in the beginning. Some of them, however, later realized that Japanese skills are important, such as Yara who started studying only after living in Japan for years (cf. interview Yara).

Most Brazilian migrants do not have time to take classes or are too exhausted to participate (cf. interviews Aaron, Megumi). They give up studying Japanese soon or do not even try it. Moreover, some do not feel the need to learn Japanese because of the high number of Brazilians in Hamamatsu (cf. interview Lápiz de Cor). As a result, they only speak a few words, such as Pedro or the director of E.A.S. (cf. interview E.A.S.). Some of my interviewees stated that their basic vocabulary and words they need at work are enough to get along (cf. interviews Lápiz de Cor, Yara, Yumi). It seems like they are satisfied with their level of Japanese and do not strive for more. It is this “getting along” that seems to be the main goal of most Brazilian migrants in Hamamatsu. In other words, for many Brazilian immigrants, interaction with Japanese residents is not the goal. These examples show that mediating institutions do not reach the Brazilian residents through their Japanese classes.

The host society not only offers Japanese language classes for foreign residents, but also provides Portuguese and other language classes for Japanese residents. Thus, from the host society’s side, fostering interaction seems to be an objective. HICE regularly offers basic level language classes, including Portuguese. However, the

¹⁷² Japanese schools in Brazil were established by Japanese immigrants in order to provide their children with school education according to the Japanese curriculum and moral education according to values that were considered as Japanese (cf. Manzenreiter 2013: 663-664).

classes take place only once a week for two and a half months, that is twelve times, and only cover “beginner” and “beginner/intermediate” levels¹⁷³ (cf. HICE 2018c, 2018e). Thus, language proficiency stays on a low level, barely enough to do small talk. Still, taking such a language class can be a starting point for developing interest in the respective language and the country’s culture, motivating the person to take language classes on a higher level at another place or searching for a tandem partner who comes from the respective country. For volunteers and people interested in interacting more with Brazilians and learning basics about their language and culture, U-ToC offers an introductory and a beginner Portuguese language class which are free of charge. These classes only take place once a week for two and a half months, that is twelve times (cf. HICE 2018d, 2018e) and are taught by members of Semente para o Futuro. When I participated in one of these classes, I was surprised that the class was well attended. The teacher made the lessons very fun and interactive by playing many games.

In short, one could say that language education support in Hamamatsu is done by both ethnic communities and host society. Although both offer services for children and adults, it seems like the Brazilian community mainly focuses on children, while the host society – that is both civil society and local government – concentrates their offers on adults. In contrast to Brazilian children, however, Brazilian adults rarely participate in Japanese language classes. Two main reasons appeared in this chapter: First, by providing Japanese classes during the day, mainly focusing on beginner’s level, and mainly treating factory work life, the host society’s offer does not meet the Brazilian residents’ needs. Second, Japanese language still has no high priority for many, as some plan to return to Brazil soon and other only aim at getting along and do not have higher aspirations which is also related to limited time and an exhausting work routine.

Albeit for many Brazilians, their future country of residence is uncertain, preparations besides language education are important, especially in order to ensure financial stability. Prerequisites for these preparations are financial education and access to the relevant information.

¹⁷³ For other languages (French, Vietnamese, Spanish, Thai, and Indonesian), only beginner classes are available, while English classes are offered only at intermediate and advanced levels (cf. HICE 2018c, 2018e).

7.3.2. Financial education and planning

According to Amanda, many Brazilians have difficulties organizing their financial resources. They spend much, sometimes even more than they earn, because they lack knowledge in this field: “Financial education of the Brazilian is underdeveloped. The Brazilian does not know how to save money, he does not know how to economize, he squanders much money” (cf. interview Amanda). That is why many Brazilians, although working many extra hours, do not manage to save money and thus cannot realize their plans of saving money and then returning to Brazil. Pedro admits that saving money is difficult: “If one would just save *ichiman* [10,000 yen] every month... But in the end, you spend it...”. He also told me that he knows some Brazilians who refuse to pay taxes and ignore the yearly request for payment (personal communication). Instead of making provisions for their future, many only think about their financial situation now and do not consider what might happen when they get sick. As a result, they do not take out a life insurance or an occupational disablement insurance (cf. interview ABRAH).

Recently, many projects developed to support Brazilians who want to leave the factories to open their own (ethnic) business. Especially the Brazilian Consulate General in Hamamatsu is very active in this field. It offers information on entrepreneurship and organized a fair that took place twice in 2018 and brought together local Brazilian and Japanese entrepreneurs (cf. interview Consulate General).

One important issue related to financial planning is preparation for retirement which is often deficient, as many Brazilian residents lack information about retirement in Japan (cf. interview ABRAH). This problem is still latent but already exists today. The first Brazilian immigrants who arrived in the 1990’s are mostly in their fifties now and soon will reach the age of retirement. However, many did not enter the pension system: Not, because they did not want to enter, but because they did not know about its existence (cf. interview Roxana). Most are still working through an *empreiteira* and many still are not contributing to *shakai hoken*. Thus, they have only the basic pension of *kokumin hoken* (see: 5.1.2. Working life). Roxana did not receive any guidance on life planning when she arrived in Japan. She thinks that it is important to teach the Brazilians arriving nowadays things like future planning and preparation for retirement (cf. interview Roxana).

ABRAH (Associação Brasileira de Hamamatsu), an association providing legal consultation, receives many inquiries related to the social insurance agreement that Brazil and Japan signed in 2010 (Acordo Internacional de Previdência Social Brasil / Japão). With this, it became possible to sum up the time that people paid into the insurance systems of both countries, that is *shakai hoken* and INSS (Instituto Nacional do Seguro Social) (cf. interview ABRAH). Little information on the topic leads to confusion among many Brazilian residents in Japan. Some conclude that they can already retire, but do not consider that in order to receive they need to have contributed before. In reality, few people contribute. It is important to inform especially people in their 30's or 40's about the necessity to plan their retirement (cf. interview ABRAH), as start contributing in the 50's – as it is often the fact, like in Pedro's case (personal communication) – is too late (cf. interview Catholic Church). The representative of ABRAH stresses the importance of explaining about the options of a private provision, as the ageing of society leads to an increasing number of people receiving pension and as a result, people who contribute now to the *shakai hoken* have no guarantee that they will receive when they retire (cf. interview ABRAH). This shows that besides financial education, access to information is crucial in order to live a life with equal opportunities as Japanese people.

7.3.3. Access to information on everyday life in the host society

Various types of information matter: information on the education system, on the norms, rules, and expectations of the host society, on rights and duties, and on organizational and everyday life issues, such as visa procedures, insurances and social welfare options, housing, and job search. On the side of the host society, three important institutions provide access to information to the foreign residents of Hamamatsu: the municipality, HICE, and the municipal library.

The International Affairs Division of Hamamatsu City Hall (Kokusaika) publishes the information bulletin *Kōhō Hamamatsu* and provides translated versions with the most important of its contents in English and Portuguese. The digital version includes also an edition in easy Japanese (cf. Hamamatsu City 2023b). The website Canal Hamamatsu run by the local government provides mainly the same information as the bulletin and is available in seven languages, namely English, Portuguese,

Spanish, Tagalog, Chinese, Vietnamese, and Easy Japanese (cf. interview James). The content of the city's official website can be translated with a software program automatically – and not completely accurate – to various languages. Everyone who registers as a new resident at the Hamamatsu City Hall receives a Welcome Information Pack that is available in various languages, including English and Portuguese. It contains a map of Hamamatsu and information on the multilingual information website of the municipality, schooling options for foreign children, the resident registration system, conduct in case of an earthquake, neighborhood associations, manners of living in the city, garbage disposal, residence taxes, traffic safety, HICE, and U-ToC.

HICE's main task is informing foreign residents of the city. They have a consultation corner, where they provide advice in various languages, including Chinese, Portuguese, Tagalog, Spanish, and English. They also offer legal and visa counseling. Once a month, a Brazilian employee of HICE announces the most important information from the Kōhō Hamamatsu bulletin in the local radio station's Brazilian radio program Amizade. HICE's monthly newsletter HICE News is issued in three languages, namely Japanese, Portuguese, and English. HICE also has a *facebook* page, where it disseminates important information in various languages, including Portuguese and English, on a variety of topics, such as events, everyday life issues, and information on natural disasters or other crises. Moreover, HICE offers psychotherapy in Portuguese. Recently, HICE is also engaging in emergency management, as in the Hamamatsu region, an earthquake of a magnitude of about 5 is forecasted for the near future (cf. interview Yōko).

Libraries traditionally plays a role in access to information. Besides books, newspapers, and other media, they provide access to the internet. Libraries are also part of the multiculturalism debate. The IFLA (International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions) proposes that libraries should “address their community's unique cultural and linguistic needs through dedicated services and strategies” (IFLA/UNESCO 2012: 2). The IFLA's paper (2009) “Multicultural Communities: Guidelines for Library Services” is supposed to be implemented in all libraries worldwide, in conjunction with the respective library guidelines of the countries, in order to ensure equal access to information for all members of the community.

Some public libraries in cities with a high population of Nikkeijin provide services and media for them.¹⁷⁴ Through its multicultural services, the municipal library in Hamamatsu aims at providing a space where foreign residents can get access to information about the region, to Japanese language study material as well as to material in their native language. Also, Japanese residents shall be provided with material for understanding and realizing multicultural coexistence in the region, and with a space where they get in touch with foreign cultures. Thus, the library's goal is to promote the regions multicultural coexistence and they make a great effort to reach this aim (cf. Hamamatsu City [2014]b).¹⁷⁵

Although it does not follow certain multicultural guidelines (cf. interview Central Library), in the City Hall's 2nd Intercultural City Vision, the library is mentioned as an institution in charge of promoting "intercultural services that are easy for foreign residents to use, such as having a well-stocked foreign-language section in libraries" (Hamamatsu City 2018b: 24). Hamamatsu Central Library (*chūō toshokan*) pursued this aim actively by buying books in foreign languages, especially when they received a subsidy by CLAIR (Council of Local Authorities for International Relations; *jichitai kokuzaika kyōkai*) in 2014 (cf. interview Central Library). In 2016, the Brazilian Consulate General in Hamamatsu donated 151 books in Portuguese to the library, out of which 133 are children's books (cf. Central Library 2016; interview Central Library). Nowadays, out of the Central Library's two hundred thousand books (cf. interview Central Library), about 300 books are in Portuguese (cf. interview IIEC). In two other facilities of Hamamatsu Library, Portuguese books are also available. Moreover, they provide books in different languages via an eBook-portal (cf. interview Central Library).

It is surely important to have many books in stock for offering intercultural services. However, the librarians argued that just to have them does not raise the number of users in the long term (cf. interview Central Library). The foreign residents also have

¹⁷⁴ For example, the Ōizumi Town Library offers multicultural services for children (cf. Itoi 2009). Tsu city, Mie prefecture, has a small Brazilian library (cf. MIEF [2023]). However, to what extent these services meet the needs of the community and if the libraries see these as an integral part of their task still needs to be examined.

¹⁷⁵ The library conducts surveys to find out about foreign residents' needs, buys material in foreign languages, provides information on its website and on printed material in different languages, organizes events related to multicultural services, offers library tours with interpretation, cooperates with the Brazilian Consulate General in Hamamatsu, and places advertisement in the free journal Alternativa Nishi which aims at Brazilians living in Japan (cf. Hamamatsu City [2014]b).

to be aware of these services, use them, and introduce their children to them. In order to establish a habit of reading and using the library early on, the library in Hamamatsu runs a project called “Bookstart” which is offered in different languages, including Portuguese. It introduces children aged one and under to reading by experiencing picture books and children’s songs and gives advice related to reading practices to the parents (cf. Central Library [2017]; COE 2017a: 21; Hamamatsu City [2014]b). The library also offers a “Story and Rhyme time” in various languages, where children between three and eight years explore picture books (cf. Central Library [2018]). However, numbers of foreign users are small (cf. interview Central Library). The director of IIEC told me that in order to create a habit of reading, she takes Brazilian children for an excursion to the library and teaches them how to borrow books. Some of the adolescents who are 15 or 16 years old go there for the first time (cf. interview IIEC).

Future tasks are manifold. Cataloguing of material in foreign languages is a big challenge (Hamamatsu City [2014]b; interview Central Library), and so is keeping translations of the frequently changing terms of use and other regulations always up to date (cf. interview Central Library). The library aims at strengthening connections within the municipality, for example with departments responsible for multiculturalism as well as with the Board of Education. The library continuously using a varied approach (Hamamatsu City [2014]b) to reach their target group. In the ICC report, the library is even mentioned as “another space that is being used to encourage meaningful intercultural mixing and integration” (CoE 2017a: 21). This, however, could not be confirmed by my fieldwork data.

Nowadays, many foreign people come to live in Japan, and many come for the first time. Compared to the time of the first *dekassegui*, access to information is much easier and the local government provides many services to pass information to foreign residents. However, some Brazilians still seem to lack information on important everyday life aspects and pass the same difficulties as the first *dekassegui*. One reason is that the local government’s offer is not encompassing enough and partly does not meet the needs of foreign residents. Roxana thinks that the City Hall as the first place new residents turn to in order to get registered should provide more information (cf. interview Roxana). In other words, she considers the information provided through the welcome pack as not sufficient.

Moreover, sometimes the information is provided in an inadequate way, using direct translation and complicated words (cf. interview Arace) or unqualified interpreters who lack cultural knowledge or even language proficiency (cf. interviews Arace, IIEC). The director of IIEC stated that interpreters need a specific terminology and therefore must get a special training. Otherwise, they might hinder the communication or even cause misunderstandings at the expense of the interpreted, for example leading to a wrong diagnosis (for the autism debate, see chapter 7.1.2. Mechanisms of exclusion). Mikako, working as a psychologist at HICE, also thinks that the interpreters help and at the same time disturb (cf. interview Mikako). In order to sensitize the interpreters for their responsibility, she started organizing a yearly training course for Brazilian interpreters working with children in the Hamamatsu region where they learn how to train parents (cf. interview Fernanda). Although such a course helps improve the support for children, it does not solve the language proficiency problem.

Another reason is that many Brazilians do not make use of the offer sufficiently. Thamara herself studies much about her rights and duties, but observed that many Brazilians do not seek support, and as a result, these institutions close or discontinue their offer (cf. interview Thamara). Compared to the Filipinos which make active use of the HICE's consultations in Tagalog, these services seem to be used only moderately by Brazilians. However, for whom arrives in the city for the first time, HICE is the first place to go in order to gather information on life in Japan. I met Aaron, one of my Brazilian interviewees who had moved to the city three weeks before, at HICE where he wanted to gather information on everyday life issues.

The Brazilian community plays a more important role in providing information on everyday life matters than Japanese institutions. Access to information is easier through the Brazilian community, as no language barrier exists and the inhibition threshold is lower than at Japanese institutions or organizations. Yumi, for example, regularly helps Brazilians who enter her factory by explaining things about everyday life in Japan (cf. interview Yumi). Besides his administrative function, the Brazilian Consulate General supports the Brazilian community by providing information on issues such as legal counseling, psychological support, and consultation on entrepreneurship (cf. interview Consulate General). The NPO SOS Mamães no Japão (SMJ) consists of a network of Brazilian residents which spans the whole of Japan. The NPO helps Brazilian families in need. Especially Brazilian families who

just arrived in Japan are often indebted or without work and pass financial difficulties. SMJ provides them with basic products. Moreover, the NPO provides support and information on everyday life matters in Japan, child care, and education issues. SMJ also supports in the case of child abuse by providing information on the procedure and by interpreting. The strength of SMJ comes from the fact that most of the people who work for them received help themselves in the past and for that reason want to collaborate by giving guidance to others. This creates a strong network of assistance (cf. interview SMJ). Religious institutions also provide information, opportunity to network, and educational support (see chapter 6.1.2. and 6.2.2.). Yōko noticed that recently, the amount of work for counter volunteers at HICE decreased much. Nowadays, foreign residents get their information through the internet and their community and friends. They only approach HICE for matters the community cannot solve, such as questions involving crimes and court, as well as when in need of mental health support (cf. interview Yōko). This shows that although HICE provides much information for foreign residents, it HICE lost one of its original mediating roles, that is providing a space of consultation.

On the other side, organizations that take advantage of the lack of information among the Brazilian residents also exist. Once, I witnessed how they use the infrastructure within the Brazilian community to sell their products to them. One Sunday in October 2018, a Brazilian woman and a man came to the Forró dance lessons to present their pension company to the Brazilians. One of the dance students in her 50's had already joined their system and brought them to the dance school. After dance class and with the consent of the dance teacher, the man held a presentation about their offer. Using a flipchart, he described how the pension system works and stressed all the advantages. For paying a fixed amount every month, the contributors receive certain beauty products. When retiring, they receive money from the contributors who joined the system after them. He also presented positive examples of people who started paying only a few years ago and now get much more per month than they had paid in. The dance student who brought them also stated her positive experiences. However, she had just joined and was using these beauty products anyway. The man explained that their organization had offered this private pension only to Japanese people until recently, but now it became open to foreign residents as well. After his presentation, some people had questions related to reliability and details of scenarios that might happen, because he did not explain what would

happen if the pyramid turned around one day. However, he could not answer a single one of them and instead remained vague.

While they were still talking, one of the Brazilian Nikkeijin in his 20's got out his phone and googled the name of their organization. Then, he whispered: "There is not a single positive review online". However, two Brazilian Nikkeijin in their mid-60's, thus close to retirement age and also having family in Brazil which they needed to sustain, signed a contract without having obtained more information about the organization or offers from other organizations. This example shows that although many institutions provide access to reliable information, often connections within the Brazilian community are considered as trustworthy and preferably consulted. In some cases, this leads to uninformed decisions.

This subchapter showed that for language and other education as well as dissemination of information, a wide offer exists by the municipality, the Brazilian Consulate General, as well as by the Brazilian civil society. As a result, Brazilians have access to all necessary information for their everyday life in Japan and if they want, they know how they can become integrated better (cf. interview Vitor). Thamara also thinks that especially in Hamamatsu, where the number of Brazilians is high, the ones who seek help will get what they need. The Brazilian community as a whole, as well, would be able to pursue its objectives easily. She observed that the local government helps a lot, but only the ones who seek help. However, she has the impression that most Brazilians in Hamamatsu do not aim at improving their situation (cf. interview Thamara).

7.4. Discussion and Conclusion

Like in everyday life aspects, in the field of education as well, fragmented or uncertain life courses and migration trajectories hinder integration, as the decision not made hinders making plans for the future and weakens the motivation of language acquisition. This uncertainty of the parents transfers to the children and effects their performance at school. Children need a stable education, either in Brazil or in Japan, and not moving between countries or within Japan (cf. Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi 2005: 301). Keiko seems to be one of the rare cases of children who,

after leaving Brazilian school due to financial difficulties of the parents and not frequenting school at all for five years (apart from a study support center), enter a Japanese junior high school and afterwards even manage to enter a Japanese high school and university (see interview Keiko).

Nowadays, the situation improved. Brazilian children decide on one school and in most cases study the other language as well, either at school or at weekend classes. The representative of ABRAH thinks that in these cases, the children are heading for a better horizon (cf. interview ABRAH). However, many parents are not aware of the importance of education due to a lack of information, or are not interested in their children's education. Therefore, many children's education is still affected by their parents' change of workplace and the resulting frequent moves, either within Japan or back and forth between the countries (cf. Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi 2005: 282, 300-301). In other words, the children are the victims of their parents' *dekasegui*-lifestyle (cf. *ibid.*: 283). Moreover, many adolescents start working in a factory, because they observe that their parents earn enough money to live a comfortable life. The representative of ABRAH argues that most responsibility lies with the parents, as they serve as a role model for their children (cf. interview ABRAH). However, mediating institutions can affect foreign children's education and thus their future opportunities.

7.4.1. The role of educational mediating institutions

This chapter showed that acquisition of the host society's language is a key to successful integration, as language difficulties hinder the children's educational path and their career after school. The development of language skills is closely related to the type of school the children frequent, as are their future mobility and ethnic orientation (cf. LeBaron von Baeyer 2020: 202). Schools are mediating institutions shaping the relationship between foreign and Japanese children. Other mediating institutions like HICE, the Hamamatsu Board of Education, educational support groups from Japanese and especially Brazilian civil society, the Brazilian Consulate General, and libraries also play a role in integration in the educational environment.

Schools

As far as school education is concerned, children have to choose between two educational systems and as a result, between two options for their future: Japanese school prepares them to stay; Brazilian school prepares them to return to Brazil. By doing so, educational institutions reinforce their status in Japan: Either they become assimilated immigrants, or ethnically differentiated temporary migrants (cf. LeBaron von Baeyer 2020: 130, 141, 200). In practice, however, as many young Brazilians drop out of school early, they “experienced both limited mobility in Japan and significant difficulty in returning to work in Brazil” (LeBaron von Baeyer 2020: 202).

Brazilian (nursery) schools do not foster much contact with Japanese language and culture. However, they play a big role in maintaining the heritage language and culture of the children. They provide a place of belonging and also serve as a safety net for children who did not adapt in Japanese schools and gives them the opportunity to go to school and get education. Japanese schools are mediating between students of different nationalities and also between their parents by fostering their interaction. Children who attend Japanese school develop good Japanese language skills and cultural knowledge by attending school, taking part in *bukatsu*, and building friendships with Japanese children. Japanese skills enable better job opportunities and integration through friendships with Japanese children (cf. interview Megumi). Japanese schools address integration and diversity through their *kokusai rikai kyōiku* classes. They also serve as a platform for corresponding initiatives by parents and NPOs, such as the presentations of other cultures organized by Shiori and other mothers, or the projects of SMJ aiming at raising awareness among Japanese students for their foreign fellows’ situation. For the migrants’ children, early insertion into preschool institutions is essential for their structural assimilation (cf. Esser 2001: 74), as they “compensate for the school-relevant inequalities, in language and other aspects of school readiness that children bring to school from their homes” (Alba and Holdaway 2013: 261-262).

However, as education in Japan is not compulsory for foreign children, and many Brazilian students attend ethnic schools, this mediation does not reach all students in the age of compulsory education. Japanese schools can only fulfill their role as mediating institutions, if all students are encompassed in the educational system, and if the schools see themselves as having this mediating role. This is mostly not the

case, as educational policies by MEXT are designed for Japanese students. Thus, Japanese schools play a limited role as mediating institutions.

Some aspects show that they even play an ambivalent role as mediating institution: mechanisms of exclusion, such as extra classes, the autism debate, *ijime*, and the part time high school system, are widespread. Moreover, the monocultural Japanese education system often penalizes immigrant children's cultural and ethnic differences rather than accommodating diversity (cf. Liu-Farrer 2020: 210). Representatives of the Brazilian community argue that Japanese school culture is different and disconcerts some children. Furthermore, the rigid discipline and different teaching methods make adaptation difficult and might lead to emotional disequilibrium (cf. interviews Alcance, Consulate General, Lapis de Cor). As the result of the HICE survey conducted with elementary school teachers in 2017 (Hamamatsu City 2018a; see chapter 7.1.2. Entering Japanese school) shows, schools blame Brazilian parents for the arising problems instead of taking its mediating role and providing support. Liu-Farrer (2020: 210) proposes that multicultural content should be introduced earlier and more prominently and that schools have multiethnic and multicultural faculty and staff which take a role as real actors. Researching the integrative performance of different educational institutions in the United States and Western Europe, Alba and Holdaway (2013: 276-277) conclude that "schools are failing to bring immigrant-origin students to parity". This shows that it is not only the Japanese school system which struggles with its mediating role.

Although a bilingual school would ensure bilingual education, it would not necessarily serve as a suitable mediating institution for integration, as it would hardly be frequented by Japanese children, but mainly by Brazilian children or children with one Japanese and one Brazilian parent. Japanese schools, on the other side, can reach both groups, mediate between them, and foster mutual understanding. Therefore, they could be an ideal mediating institution for the children who frequent them. That is why Portuguese language classes at Japanese schools would be an important measure to increase the number of Brazilian students, give opportunity to Japanese students to study Portuguese, and provide Brazilian students with the option to study both their heritage and the host society's languages within compulsory education. Moreover, within everyday school life, Japanese schools can teach Japanese values and manners to Brazilian children. Provided that they experience Brazilian culture at

home, they would get an encompassing language and cultural education that fits their double identity.

Local government and civil society institutions

The Board of Education actively mediates between foreign parents and Japanese schools: It provides information on the educational system, gives school entering guidance, offers orientation of school path options, and dispatches interpreters to schools. At the same time, the BoE's role as mediating institution is limited, as it does not reach all foreign students who want to frequent Japanese school and their parents. Moreover, it plays an ambivalent role. The interpreters they dispatch decrease the children's motivation to study Japanese, as these rely on the support. Furthermore, the BoE does not mediate in the autism debate but seems to be not aware of the problem. Rather, they rely on the hope that diagnosis is done properly and gives the response to cope with this challenge to the school system and the parents.

HICE organizes projects with different partners to raise awareness among foreign parents for importance of education, offers consultation in Portuguese, and through U-ToC provides free Japanese language classes. This shows that HICE plays an important mediating role in the field of education as well. However, HICE as well has an ambivalent position. Its survey with elementary school teachers in 2017 was biased. The teachers considered Brazilian children as unprepared for Japanese school life and blamed the parents for having a wrong attitude. At the same time, HICE founded the group COLORS which provides career orientation for foreign students and at the same times raises awareness for their situation among their fellow Japanese students.

The Council of Europe's intercultural profile report says that Hamamatsu does barely enable ethnic minorities to maintain and develop their native languages (cf. CoE 2017b: 16). While this is true for the local government, the Brazilian community in Hamamatsu – especially IIEC – takes initiative in maintaining Portuguese as a heritage language. Both Japanese and Brazilian civil society organizations, such as IIEC, Arace, and Nihongo NPO, also offer Japanese language classes for children or adults. Additionally, Brazilian community institutions give advice to the parents

concerning their children's education, like Arace and IIEC do through consultations. Educational fairs by IIEC and the Brazilian Consulate General provide access to information on educational opportunities. Some civil society organizations also organize practical support for Brazilians and other foreign residents and provide information on everyday life issues, such as social welfare coverage and legal matters. The Brazilian Consulate General and the public library are also institutions which provide information that facilitate the adaptation and integration process as well as daily life in the host society. While educational support for Brazilian children seems to be received well, mediating institutions barely reach Brazilian adults through their Japanese classes. For support and access to information, they rely much on the Brazilian community and its institutions.

While in the part of the Brazilian community that is related to leisure activities and daily life, a huge network among institutions and individuals emerged, this is not the case in the part of the community that is related to education. The secretary of the Brazilian school Alcance stated that cooperation within the Brazilian community in Hamamatsu is deficient. In other words, cooperation is fragmented: Many individual support activities exist, but coordination is deficient and as a result, the outcome is not an encompassing support structure. Alba and Holdaway (2013: 260-261) state that "Immigrant-origin children in several countries are likely to benefit from a shift in the balance of educational responsibility among schools, families, and communities". As community institutions support children's studies and provide information on educational opportunities, thus contributing to the children's educational mobility, giving more resources to them would be beneficial (cf. *ibid.*: 261). In Hamamatsu as well, this seems to be the case. While schools often have an ambivalent role as mediating institutions, civil society and Brazilian community institutions play an important mediating role and would need more resources to expand their offer.

7.4.2. Four dimensions of social integration

Esser's (2001) four dimensions of social integration illuminate the role of educational mediating institutions for the integration of Brazilians. **Culturation** is a crucial aspect in the field of education, as language proficiency is the basis for many other integration endeavors. For Brazilian children frequenting Japanese school,

culturation happens when they gain language skills, cultural knowledge, and get to know the rules of Japanese schools, such as the *senpai-kōhai* system, and thus become prepared for the rules in Japanese society. They can also build friendships with Japanese children and by interacting with them, improve their language skills and cultural knowledge. Thus, by frequenting a Japanese school, they can improve their integration and future job prospects. However, their heritage language is not fostered in this environment. So rather than multiculturalism (how it is officially framed), the children are expected to assimilate into the Japanese school culture.

As in Japan, school education is not compulsory for foreign children and in Hamamatsu the option of ethnic schools exists for Brazilian children, this assimilation is not forced. At a Brazilian school, however, not much preparation for life in the host society exists. Japanese language education is not sufficient, and school culture is similar to the one in Brazil. Brazilian civil society closes this gap by offering additional language classes including Japanese cultural activities, such as *hanami* events. However, in order to reach the children, their parents have to actively seek this support for the integration of their children. Many do so. Some send their children to Japanese (nursery) school and at the same time foster their heritage culture, language, and identity at home and / or by sending them to a Saturday class. Others send their children to a Brazilian school and let them frequent a Japanese class on Saturdays. Some parents even opt for assimilation by sending their children to a Japanese school and not fostering the heritage language, for example by speaking Japanese at home and not maintaining strong ties with the Brazilian community. Other parents, on the contrary, pursue separation from the host society by sending their children to a Brazilian school and not fostering their Japanese skills by extra classes. Separation also happens as a result of the strategies of the host society. In Japanese school, many foreign children are excluded by being bullied or ignored by Japanese children or by being put in extra classes and consequently stay for themselves or with other foreign children. Others, however, interact well with Japanese classmates and become assimilated into the class and into the school system.

For foreign adults, mediating institutions provide a variety of opportunities for studying Japanese and for accessing information on everyday life issues that prepares them better for a life in the host society, such as understanding culture and

rules of the host society. Language classes, consultations, flyers, presentations, and other informative events are offered by municipality, Japanese civil society, and Brazilian civil society. However, as the Brazilian community is fully developed and everyday life without using Japanese is possible, integration with the host society only happens when the people actively decide to study about such topics on their own or seek support and information. It seems like in Hamamatsu, the immigrants' strategy in terms of education is separation. Many study the basics of the Japanese language in order to get along, but do not seek real interaction. For important errands, such as administrative formalities, they rely on their children, other family members, and friends. Most do not seek information on life in Japan, the Japanese culture, how to prepare for retirement, and so on. Although lacking language skills play a big role in this process, much information is available in Portuguese and the Brazilian community, the civil society, and the municipality support the information flow. Main reasons for their separation are the exhaustion from work, the fully developed Brazilian community, and the decision that is not made yet about staying in Japan or returning to Brazil. For Japanese residents, mediating institutions provide Portuguese language classes as well as some informative events on Brazil. However, interest and as a result participation rates seem to be low.

Placement of foreign residents improved recently. For Brazilian children, attending a Japanese school and being integrated into the school system plays a big role. They take the same classes and have the same rights as their Japanese classmates. *Bukatsu* provides opportunities to establish and maintain social relations to Japanese children and thus is a good way to become assimilated better. Mediating institutions such as the Hamamatsu Board of Education and the Brazilian Consulate General in Nagoya provide information on educational paths and the Japanese education system. The PTA gives foreign parents the opportunity to actively participate in shaping school life, negotiate their position, and raise awareness for cultural differences among Japanese parents. While *bukatsu* supports assimilation, through the PTA intercultural processes can be initiated.

However, many children and adolescents feel difficulties to integrate into the Japanese education system, to build relationships, to learn the Japanese language, and to incorporate implicit cultural values. As a result, these children are excluded in school. Three mechanisms of exclusion can be identified within the Japanese school

system: the system of extra classes, bullying, and the procedure of diagnosing autism. While in some cases, extra classes are a reasonable option that helps foreign children to make up for Japanese language skills, my interview data suggests that in other cases the system is used to exclude them from regular classes on the long run by not providing them with adequate Japanese language classes. Especially the suspicion that a child might be situated in the spectrum of autism and therefore is sent to an extra class can serve as a mechanism of exclusion. Bullying is another issue which many Brazilian children experience, especially in the form of being ignored. The continued existence of these mechanisms of exclusion shows that schools have an ambivalent role as mediating institutions and can also hinder the integration process.

Brazilian children are also often excluded from Brazilian schools in Japan, mainly for economic or geographic reasons. Only in regions with a high number of Brazilian residents, Brazilian schools exist as an option for those who did not adapt to the Japanese school. In regions with a low presence of foreign residents, children who do not adapt to the Japanese school have only the option to stay at home and not frequent any school (cf. Nakagawa 2018b: 36). Even in Hamamatsu, where various Brazilian (nursery) schools exist, some parents cannot send their children there because of the high school fees. Consequently, children who did not get along in the Japanese school and whose parents cannot effort a Brazilian school are excluded in and of school.

Still, placement in general improved since the beginning of the *dekassegui* movement. An increasing number of Brazilian children frequents Japanese school, access to Japanese universities became easier for foreign children, and access to information, including in Portuguese, for the immigrants' generation improved. Institutions that provide access to information about one's rights and options for financial future planning, such as financial organization, social welfare, and retirement, as well as institutions that support Japanese language acquisition such as libraries and language classes lay the foundations for improving placement in the host society. However, although the Brazilian community provides access to all important information in Portuguese, having appropriate Japanese language skills often is a precondition for some things, such as claiming one's rights.

Interaction happens in informal or formal settings. In Japanese school, Japanese and foreign children build friendships and learn about each other's culture by experiencing school culture, attending *bukatsu* or spending free time together. Formal interactions occur when groups such as COLORS come to school or cultural presentations like the ones organized by Shiori are held to raise awareness among Japanese children for other cultures, or when culture events are held which foster mutual orientation, such as (intercultural) school *matsuris* like the one Caroline organized with other mothers. To a certain degree, these intercultural initiatives counteract the assimilative pressure at Japanese schools. Still, they do not manage to hinder exclusion and segregation mechanisms. Adults have informal interactions in everyday life. Japanese language skills enable more interactions. Some mediating institutions, such as libraries and institutions providing information on everyday life matters, do not manage to foster direct interaction. They only passively lay the foundations for interaction by fostering language skills and cultural knowledge. In the Japanese education system, PTAs and school *matsuris* provide opportunities for interaction in a more formal setting.

Identification of Brazilian children with the host society can be fostered through Japanese schools. The ones who adapt at Japanese school identify with the Japanese school environment. My interview data suggests that Brazilian children who attend the normal class and develop Japanese skills on a native level identify as equal to Japanese classmates. For adults, identification with the host society depends on the own goals and attitude toward the host society. The fact that most consider it as important to study at least the basics of Japanese shows that despite having all information available in Portuguese, they identify to a certain degree with the host society. Moreover, many appreciate values of the host society and accept its rules and norms.

A **place of belonging** is provided by Brazilian mediating institutions, such as Brazilian schools and Brazilian NPOs. They enable the formation of ethnic networks and provide a place where Brazilians can cultivate their own language and culture. Some Japanese mediating institutions can also create a sense of belonging by giving hope and dreams for the future to immigrants, such as COLORS by sharing their own experiences. Some educational mediating institutions also play a **role for the host society**, such as the ones offering Portuguese language classes for Japanese

people. They aim at reducing the language barrier and at the same time convey Brazilian cultural aspects. Some mediating institutions play a **hindering role** in integration. Brazilian schools do not foster Japanese language and contact to the host society sufficiently for the children to gain confidence. Others, such as Japanese schools, libraries, and institutions supporting financial education and planning, have assimilation rather than interculturalism as their goal. Interpreters at Japanese school and mechanisms of exclusion in the Japanese education system also hinder successful language acquisition and integration. Analyzing efforts in the field of education using Esser's four concepts shows that especially in the area of cultururation, integration endeavors are visible. This is because education is mainly tied to language acquisition, and language abilities are the basis for all kinds of integration and interaction activities.

In summary, mediating institutions of the host society rather pursue assimilation and in part enable mechanisms of exclusion. The ones on the Brazilian community's side have more multifaceted goals: integration and interculturalism, assimilation, or separation. In order to become integrated, Brazilians have to actively pursue that goal and frequent various types of mediating institutions, instead of only passing through the standard mediating institution Japanese school, because then, "only" assimilation happens. However, for many this seems to be the goal, or at least a sufficient outcome. Although the roots get lost, in this way they can get along in the host society, have more interaction with Japanese people, and have good job opportunities in the future.

8. Conclusion

This dissertation analyzed the role of mediating institutions for the integration of Brazilian immigrants in Hamamatsu. As many Brazilians live in Japan for a long-term period now, integration becomes more important. This process can be observed in two areas. The first one, free time activities of the Brazilian immigrants and their interaction with the host society in everyday life, was analyzed by examining community life and religion. The second area, the Brazilian residents' and their children's educational opportunities and prospects, was researched by having a closer look at the educational path in both Brazilian and Japanese schools as well as at civil society institutions offering educational courses, such as language classes, and providing access to information on everyday life issues. During my fieldwork, I observed interaction processes between Japanese and Brazilian residents in the context of mediating institutions, such as the cultural center HICE, civil society institutions, at a Brazilian Forró dance school, and at different churches, and conducted interviews with representatives of both groups. In this chapter, I present my findings, interpret them, and discuss the results. Finally, contribution and limitations of this dissertation as well as an outlook and ideas for future research are indicated.

8.1. Findings

The *dekassegui* movement developed into a complex, dynamic, and multifaceted phenomenon (cf. Nakagawa 2018b: 33). My findings show that the movement cannot be called *dekassegui* anymore, because the initial objective of earning much money and returning to Brazil was rarely realized, as the numbers of Brazilians who kept staying in Japan show. Although the ones arriving in Japan nowadays could still be designated as *dekassegui*, with the community and its social networks already established, it is likely that more Brazilians will settle permanently, albeit still planning to return some day. Time is a crucial factor which shows the discrepancy between short-term plans of return and long-term reality of settlement and development of integration processes. The Brazilian's discourse regarding Japanese language skills as well is contradicting: While most Brazilians admit that they are essential, few give

them priority and dedicate themselves to studying Japanese. Lack of information and insufficient Japanese language skills are still the biggest problems for Brazilian residents in Hamamatsu.

The Brazilian community is fragmented. Cooperation within the Brazilian community is beginning, but still insufficient. Although its institutions are actively supporting Brazilian residents in Hamamatsu and often have the same goals, they do not join their resources in order to provide better services and achieve higher goals, but every institution fights on its own or even competes with the others to support the Brazilians. Moreover, the degree of involvement of individuals varies greatly. While some Brazilians are more involved with the Brazilian community, for example by founding NPOs, regularly frequenting church, actively taking part in community events, or taking dance lessons, others are more oriented toward the host society. However, the latter are few. This is also related to the fact that most Brazilian residents are factory workers with a busy work schedule and life is still mostly organized around factory work life and around their plans to save as much money as possible, like for example the choice of Brazilian nursery schools for their long opening hours shows. Their image as *dekassegui* puts them in a low social class. The host society reinforces this stereotype by considering them as temporary migrants who do not need to be integrated much.

Despite an encompassing offer of exchange events, both Japanese and Brazilian residents are not eager to make a greater effort to approach each other and to interact more. This also hinders a successful integration process. Still, both seem to be content with the present situation. Hamamatsu's government and some civil society organizations, on the other side, aim at creating a *tabunka kyōsei* society by organizing events for intercultural exchange and mutual understanding. These findings raise the question of whose goal integration actually is. Most mediating institutions, both of host society and Brazilian community, mainly aim at supporting Brazilian and / or other foreign residents in everyday life to ensure that they can get along in Japan. Rather than pursuing intercultural efforts to reach social integration, they focus on structural integration.

This is related to the Japanese definition of the *tabunka kyōsei* concept which does not include social integration. The results of my fieldwork show that in all three areas that were analyzed, most mediating institutions understand integration and

multiculturalism as *tabunka kyōsei* in its literal sense: living together of cultures. As a result, the relation of foreign residents and host society is still literally based on coexistence rather than on exchange, interaction, and mutual understanding. The precondition for a revision of the *tabunka kyōsei* concept would be to accept the Brazilians as immigrants, and to not consider them as guest workers who will return to their home country soon or to determine their identity as factory worker. In terms of *tabunka kyōsei*, which mainly aims at coexistence and is based on 3F events, integration goes well. This shows that *tabunka kyōsei* in its role as mediating institution is neither constraining nor enabling interculturalism. In terms of an intercultural understanding, however, integration and interculturalism are still in their fledgling stages. Some mediating institutions such as FRECTiVE, HICE, or the Catholic Church strive to promote more interaction and mutual understanding, but their activities are mostly superficial. HICE, for example, mediates in case of communication and mutual understanding problems, but its endeavors are reactive rather than proactive, and its cultural exchange events end at 3F. Educational institutions lay the foundation for the acquisition of language and cultural skills, which are a prerequisite for integration. However, its main institution, the Japanese school system, expects assimilation rather than fostering interculturalism. In short, although endeavors of creating an intercultural environment exist, in reality, their effect is limited. Although from the viewpoint of the immigrants it seems like this does not pose a problem, at least for the next generation and their social advancement, better integration is relevant if they stay in Japan.

Still, some mediating institutions provide a space of encounter that could play an important role in the integration process. **Civil society institutions** of both host society and Brazilian community focus mainly on education and interaction. A variety of Japanese NPOs and NGOs offers Japanese language classes for adult foreign residents, such as Nihongo NPO, or fosters their culture as well as mutual understanding between them and Japanese residents, such as FRECTiVE or Hamamatsu Kokusai Rikai Kyōiku Netto. Besides the Japanese civil society, the respective foreign communities developed their own infrastructure to support their people and to offer a place of belonging and networking for them. The Brazilian community offers language classes for children, for example by IIEC and Arace, and opportunities for exchange and consultation, for example by ABRAH and Aliança de Intercâmbio Brasil Japão. Through their activities, sports and culture clubs cultivate

an aspect of the respective culture and foster mutual understanding between different ethnic groups. Common examples in the Brazilian community are clubs for Futsal, Karate, JiuJitsu, Samba, and Forró, among others. With these endeavors, civil society institutions contribute to integration especially in the dimensions of cultururation and placement, but also of interaction.

The Japanese national **government** does only set the legal framework for immigration, but besides has no mediating function. On the contrary, by not determining a national *tabunka kyōsei* policy, it pushes the responsibility to municipalities with a high number of foreign residents without even allocating funds for support and integration measures. Mediating governmental institutions at the local level encompass the City Hall, cultural centers (*tabunka kyōsei sentā*) and international associations (*kokusai kōryū kyōkai*), educational institutions (such as the municipal library and public schools), but also consulates and embassies of other nation states, such as the Brazilian Consulate General in Hamamatsu. In Hamamatsu, especially HICE is a relevant mediating institution which implements the local government's *tabunka kyōsei* measures, supports foreign communities and their projects, and provides consultation as well as language classes for both Japanese and foreign residents. By doing so, HICE serves as a bridge between host society and Brazilian community. The Brazilian Consulate General supports Brazilian residents by providing information in Portuguese on different aspects of their life in Japan. By recognizing the certificates of Brazilian schools in Japan, the Brazilian Ministry of Education supports the return migration and adaptation process in Brazil rather than fostering integration in Japan. Libraries offer information for all residents and can contribute to mutual understanding and everyday life support. Other educational institutions, such as Japanese nursery schools, schools, and universities, play an important role for the interaction of foreign and Japanese residents as well as for foreign students' cultururation and placement, which happens through the development of prerequisites for integration, such as Japanese language skills and cultural knowledge. Brazilian nursery schools, schools, and distance universities are private institutions which serve similar objectives, but impart knowledge on the Portuguese language and Brazilian culture. As most children frequent some kind of school, these mediating institutions play an important role in their but also in their parents' integration, either with the host society or with the Brazilian community.

Other important mediating institutions are **religious congregations**, such as evangelical churches, the Catholic Church, and Spiritism. They mainly play a supportive role for the immigrants' everyday life issues and provide a place of belonging. Although small social projects developed in all three religious institutions in Hamamatsu, opportunities for interaction are low. Thus, their role for fostering integration is limited. Results of my empirical chapters on community and everyday life, religion, and education show the plurality of mediating institutions and the different roles they play in the integration of Hamamatsu's Brazilian residents.

Community

Mediating institutions related to everyday and community life play various roles. They offer opportunities for exchange, interaction, fostering mutual understanding, experiencing other cultures, and gaining knowledge and skills regarding different cultures and languages. Events with these purposes often aim at only one ethnic group. Thus, real interaction at the event itself rarely takes place. Furthermore, these endeavors often stop at 3F instead of fostering long-lasting integration or mutual understanding effects. Some of these initiatives at least lead to a rising of awareness of foreign residents and their situation in the city. Thus, interaction between Brazilian and Japanese residents mainly takes place in everyday life situations, such as at work, in the neighborhood, or at hobbies, such as sports and dance classes.

The main goal of mediating institutions in this field, however, is to ensure a smooth everyday life. The host society provides interpreters and translations at all important institutions. The Brazilian community provides information in Portuguese on every aspect of life in Japan. Local government and Brazilian Consulate General offer the opportunity to participate in their resident councils and by doing so, taking part in the decision-making process regarding integration and interaction in the city. Some mediating institutions also counteract stereotypes. Especially HICE serves as conciliating entity in conflicts.

The third role of mediating institutions in everyday life is providing a place of belonging, network building, and support. The fully developed Brazilian community and the fact that all important information in Hamamatsu is available in Portuguese leads to most Brazilians staying within their community while respecting the

Japanese way of life. At the same time, the continuing influx of Brazilian immigrants makes these support measures indispensable.

Religion

The three religious mediating institutions analyzed in this study, the Pentecostal Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus, the Catholic Church, and spiritism, facilitate practicing the migrants' religion in their mother tongue. Services are held in Portuguese and, especially in Pentecostalism and spiritism, tailored to their migration experience. They also help building a huge network, in which Brazilians assist each other with language and everyday life concerns.

Interaction with the host society barely takes place in the field of religion. That is because most congregations with service in Portuguese are separated from the ones having service in Japanese. Within the Catholic Church, Brazilians have their own congregations. Still, multicultural endeavors can be observed in the Catholic Church, such as a monthly international service, weekly discussion meetings, events of the individual parishes which are open to all parishioners, and the possibility to participate in the church committee which consists of representatives from all national parishes. Another opportunity for interaction arises through social projects organized by these three religious mediating institutions, such as church school in times of crisis by the Catholic Church or supplying homeless Japanese people with food by the Spiritist center and the Catholic Church. Força Jovem of IURD helps adolescents to get along in the host society.

In other words, religious mediating institutions help maintaining the Brazilians' heritage culture and therefore foster more segregation than integration. They aim at helping the Brazilians finding their place in society, providing moral education, and supporting their everyday life in Japan. Moreover, they provide a place of belonging and react quickly when their parishioners are in need. By doing so, religious mediating institutions fill a gap that the host society institutions cannot close.

Education

As most children frequent them, schools are influential mediating institutions. They teach language, culture, and values to the children and at the same time affect their success in job and everyday life. As no Portuguese-Japanese bilingual school is available in Japan, the school choice often implies that one of the languages is prioritized and therefore determines future (career) options in life and also has an impact on the decision of which country they want to live in and on their ability to communicate with their parents and other social environment.

Brazilian parents in Hamamatsu make this decision with their future plans in mind. Many still plan to return to Brazil one day and are afraid that their children might forget their heritage culture. Brazilian schools ensure the development of Portuguese language skills and a smooth continuation of school education in case of return to Brazil. Increasingly, however, Brazilian parents let their children frequent Japanese schools, as the tendency of many is to stay in Japan longtime and they realized the importance of studying Japanese for their children's later job opportunities in Japan. At Japanese schools, Brazilian children become prepared for the rules in Japanese society. Moreover, Brazilian children and Japanese children can learn about each other's culture from their interactions. Especially *bukatsu* offers opportunities to do so. Through some events, classes, or presentations, such as the activities of COLORS or the classes organized by Shiori, awareness for the foreign students' situation is raised among Japanese students. For Brazilian parents, Japanese schools also offer opportunities of interaction and integration, for example by participating in the PTA, in school festivities, or parents' days.

Especially in the field of education, Brazilian civil society organizations developed in order to close the gap in the host society's offer. The most important offer in this field are Japanese language classes, as language is a key to all other areas of everyday life. By frequenting weekend classes, Brazilian children can improve their Japanese, Portuguese, or English language skills. The more educational mediating institutions Brazilian children frequent in addition to school, the more encompassing are their opportunities of integration, rather than becoming assimilated (Japanese school) or separated (Brazilian school). Another part of educational mediating institutions offers adult education. However, they are used by only few Brazilian residents, due to their limited time capacities, their exhaustion from work, and their plans of returning to

Brazil which lead to them having other priorities. Some institutions offer Portuguese classes for Japanese residents, passing not only the language but also cultural information and enabling them to serve as a bridge between host society and Brazilian residents. Besides language classes, educational mediating institutions also offer informative events, consultations, and written material for Brazilian residents, ensuring their access to information, a better getting along in the host society, and knowing one's rights and duties.

In the field of education, mediating institutions of the host society mainly aim at assimilation of Brazilians, for example by teaching them language and values of the host society. Partly, mechanisms of exclusion are still effective, such as extra classes and *ijime* at Japanese school. The Brazilian community's mediating institutions, on the other side, have multifaceted goals: Besides supporting the Brazilians for them to get along in the host society, some also aim at maintaining the Brazilians' heritage language and culture.

A central topic which affects the integration process and reoccurs in all these areas of life is the uncertainty regarding future plans. The unrealized or postponed plans of return lead to decisions that hinder integration processes with the local host community, as can be especially observed in the educational path of their children, but also in a reluctance to acquire Japanese language skills and to make plans regarding future financial stability in Japan. Another result from these unrealized return plans is a transnational lifestyle, involving private and business-related transnational networks, strong orientation toward the home country culture, and a flow of people and goods between the two countries that goes beyond visiting friends and family. Brazilians living in Japan foster their heritage language and culture, send their children to Brazil to study, and maintain or newly discover their faith that comes from Brazil. This strong transnational orientation also hinders integration. A lack of focus and dreams can also be related to the unmade decision. The life between cultures and nations raises questions of belonging and identity, especially for the immigrants' children. At the same time, some Brazilian parents do not attach much importance to their children's education, either because they do not have higher expectations for their children's social advancement than for their own, or because

their busy work schedules do not allow them enough time and energy to support their children's education.

For the decision of return and all related developments, the factor time plays a crucial role. This also applies to language skills, which affect integration processes, future opportunities, and identity formation of the immigrants' children. They are also relevant for all areas of life. Although a wide offer for language education opportunities is available, among most Brazilian immigrants living in Hamamatsu, Japanese language abilities are very limited. This indicates that few Brazilians avail themselves of these opportunities. Exhaustion and a lack of time due to a high workload impede them from studying Japanese. Furthermore, the incentive to study Japanese is low as Japanese skills are not necessary in everyday life, neither at the factory, nor at free time activities or at church. A structural problem is created by having a big and fully developed Brazilian community which provides almost every service for everyday life in Portuguese and strong networks of families and friends, by having interpreters in every host society institution of relevance for foreign residents as well as translations of all important information regarding everyday life, and by pertaining to the working class and doing jobs for which no Japanese skills are necessary.

For the immigrants' children, however, Japanese skills can determine their future (work) opportunities. Japanese high school and university can open the way for social advancement. Many civil society initiatives, especially within the Brazilian community, developed to support children's Japanese language education. With an increasing number attending Japanese schools, this generation starts forgetting their heritage language Portuguese. Hence, initiatives to maintain it also developed within the Brazilian community. This dilemma could be solved by implementing a bilingual school, which would give the children the chance to develop high skills in both languages and to get in touch with both cultures. In Japan, however, such an option does not exist (yet). Meanwhile, Brazilian children and their parents have to decide on one language; a decision that has far-reaching consequences. As long as no decision is made regarding the question of staying in Japan or returning to Brazil, the language decision cannot be made without a high risk of choosing the 'wrong' language. The victims of these still existing problems are mainly the children. Due to a lack of information as well as language ability, many do not manage to break out of

this vicious circle and start working in factories as their parents do. Whatever endeavors mediating institutions pursue to support their integration process, the unmade decision and its related aspects – transnationalism, lack of focus and dreams, and language – get in their way.

8.2. Interpretation and discussion

At the local level, many *tabunka kyōsei* endeavors developed. Mediating institutions do much to raise awareness and promote activities in this field. Compared to the early 2000's, when the *tabunka kyōsei* concept first came up, many conditions for foreign residents improved already. Measures whose absence Kajita *et al.* (2005: 298-299) were still criticizing have since been implemented, such as enabling foreign workers to enter the social insurance (*shakai hoken*) and to become a regular employee (*seishain*), granting of rights, or the institutionalization of the immigrant community including establishing an offer of assistance and a place for ethnic sports clubs. In other words, systemic integration in the sense of Esser (2001: 30) has largely taken place. Nowadays, many *tabunka kyōsei* measures are considered ordinary even by the residents of Hamamatsu (cf. interview Hamamatsu Kokusai Rikai Kyōiku Netto).

Social integration, on the other side, which would include empathic loyalty to the host country, cultural commonalities, or interethnic contacts (cf. Esser 2001: 30) developed less. Although Hamamatsu is a pioneer city in Japan in terms of *tabunka kyōsei* measures, the outcome is still rather a permanent, peaceful coexistence of culturally non-assimilated groups, that is literally *tabunka kyōsei*. Hatano (2011: 78) calls *tabunka kyōsei* efforts “superficial” and has the impression that Japan does not want to develop it further as no concrete efforts are made to improve remaining problems. While the terminology changed from ‘multiculturalism’ to ‘interculturalism’, the content of the concept has hardly changed and the road to a new understanding of living together is still long.

The process of assimilation takes three to four generations, as examples from traditional immigration countries show (cf. Esser 2001: 24). Indeed, with the time passing, integration in Hamamatsu progresses (cf. interviews ABRAH, Consulate

General). However, more could be done by mediating institutions to enable interethnic contact as early as possible and to prevent a permanent marginalization and ethnic segmentation also in the following generations (cf. Esser 2001: 28). This danger exists for the Brazilian residents in Hamamatsu, since their number is high, their community is fully developed and interethnic contact – although depending on the person – is in general low.

Tsuda (2003: 49; 2009: 223-224) argues that future generations will eventually assimilate, escape the low-class status of their parents and – as they then meet both racial and cultural criteria – become accepted as Japanese and disappear into the Japanese host society. Creighton (2014) considers it unlikely that they will “regain” their Japaneseness, as they are raised with an awareness of their multiple ethnic backgrounds. LeBaron von Baeyer (2020: 207) states that many Brazilians created a sense of transnational belonging that goes beyond assimilation and differentiation. Instead of being betwixt and between Japan and Brazil, as many scholars argue (see for example Manzenreiter 2013: 672), she places them “*in and of both Japan and Brazil*” (LeBaron von Baeyer 2020: 207; italics in original). In other words, they are transmigrants (see Glick Schiller, Basch, and Szanton Blanc 1995). Still, my research shows that although many Brazilians lead an increasingly transnational lifestyle, a decision between two nations, languages, and cultures still is the norm. Some Brazilians return to Brazil. Among the ones who stay in Japan, some spend their life within the Brazilian community, including a part of the Brazilian immigrants’ children who continue their parents’ path of segmentation and low-skilled labor. Others manage to assimilate into the host society, even naturalize, but at the same time distance themselves from the Brazilian community or lose their heritage language and culture. Multiple integration, that is expressed by bilingualism, mixed social networks, and a multiple identity, is rare (see Esser 2001: 20-21). My research indicates that mediating institutions reinforce the “oppositional florescence” that Roth (2002) identified and that prejudices still stimulate the Brazilian residents’ “ethnic resistance”, especially through developing counteridentities (cf. Tsuda 2003: 270-297, 352-354). Acceptance of ambivalence can be an important first step to integration. Although appreciation of differences is fostered by mediating institutions, it – like Maeda (2012: 225) already found out – remains a challenge.

My analysis has revealed that another important process to integrate better is becoming visible. Ethnic businesses have a high rate of bankruptcy; but those who manage to be stable and persist become a visible existence (cf. Kajita *et al.* 2005: 233). Another way to become visible is showing aspects of their culture, like many Brazilian sports and dance groups do. In order to prevent that these efforts stop at 3F, mutual understanding and awareness have to be fostered. However, many mediating institutions primarily aim at solving everyday life problems to enable a smooth life. The host society can also contribute to making their minorities visible. In Hamamatsu, Portuguese language classes, mutual understanding or interaction events, and the *tabunka kyōsei* debate contribute significantly to this process. Although some host society institutions, such as HICE, Japanese public schools, and the Catholic Church, support interaction of foreign and Japanese residents, more endeavors are needed. However, financial resources are limited.

The mediating institution with the widest network in Hamamatsu is HICE. Thus, it could play a crucial role for the integration of foreign residents. However, two aspects show that this is not the case. Although integration concepts at the local level are often ambitious and municipalities consider integration as important topic, ambivalences continue to exist, as integration endeavors are often still based on the concept of assimilation which aims at making differences invisible, instead of accepting the multicultural reality in the cities (cf. Gestring 2014b: 321, 323). As HICE is closely connected to the local government regarding funding, staff, and implementation of *tabunka kyōsei* measures, it has an ambivalent role as mediating institution. HICE is used by the local government to pursue its objectives of creating a multicultural coexistence society or promoting integration. In other words, the *tabunka kyōsei* discourse and the resulting policies shape the role of cultural centers in helping Brazilian residents to integrate.

At the same time, its significance as drop-in center diminished recently. Although the Brazilian residents increasingly set new priorities of integrating better into the host society, they do not focus more on host society institutions such as cultural centers and libraries which are promoters of education and providers of information. Instead, they frequent Brazilian community events, build networks within the community, and consult the Brazilian community to get access to information. This indicates that host society institutions, such as HICE and FRECTiVE, still have difficulties in empathizing

with the situation of foreign residents and responding to their needs. The authorities still did not grasp the situation of Brazilian residents (cf. Kajita *et al.* 2005: 244). In other words, although the Brazilians increasingly settle in Japan permanently, they are still “invisible residents”. This gap can partly be closed by Brazilian community institutions and – somewhat unexpectedly – by mediating institutions like religious institutions which have a different understanding of integration. Still, mediating institutions cannot simply be categorized as fostering or hindering institutions regarding the integration of the Brazilian residents. Most of the mediating institutions I was looking at play both a fostering and a hindering role in the integration process, each concerning different problems and aspects. Mediating institutions play a fostering role for the following aspects:

Language education: NPOs like Arace or IIEC offer Japanese as well as Portuguese classes on Saturdays to enable the children to speak the host language as well as their heritage language. For adults as well, many language classes are available, such as the ones offered by the local government through U-ToC or by the many civil society groups. HICE and U-ToC also offer Portuguese classes for Japanese people. Learning about each other’s language and culture fosters mutual understanding and raises awareness for the other’s situation and way of thinking.

Difficulties with search for information: Many Brazilians do not know how to search for information. This results partly from low proficiency in Japanese, but also from the absent knowledge of Japanese customs and lifestyle as well as from a lack of education. As a result, many lack information that is crucial for the integration process, such as information on the Japanese education system, on Japanese customs and rules of living together in the municipality, and on foreign residents’ rights and duties. By providing interpreters and translations of the most important information in Portuguese, mediating institutions ensure Brazilian residents’ access to information on everyday life matters. Such institutions include the City Hall, HICE, the local radio station FM Haro!, civil society organizations, such as IIEC and NPO Arace, groups like COLORS, and the Brazilian Consulate General. The information that is provided in Portuguese through these institutions is diverse and encompasses everything that is important to know as a foreign resident in Japan.

Fostering mutual understanding and reconstituting trust of Japanese people: Lost trust in the past due to conflicts between Brazilian and Japanese residents still

has an aftermath. Although the situation eased off and most Brazilians nowadays seek to comply with Japanese customs, it seems to be difficult to regain the trust of Japanese residents. Mediating institutions can organize events to foster mutual understanding, raise awareness for the situation of foreign residents, and improve the relationship between Japanese and foreign residents, such as HICE does with its annually *Global Fair* or with its *tabunka kyōsei* classes for midwives and nurses, U-ToC with its Portuguese classes for volunteers, events on Japanese culture for foreign U-ToC students, and opportunities of interaction between U-ToC students and volunteers, and FRECTiVE with its events which aim at interacting and putting oneself in the position of the other. Maybe the most common effort undertaken by mediating institutions in this regard is the dissemination of Brazilian culture, for example through events with Brazilian food and presentations of Brazilian dance, music, fashion, and sports. They provide a stage for presenting a part of Brazilian culture to an audience that, depending on the event, also includes Japanese people and other nationalities. Organizers are Brazilian companies, such as Guaraná – Água na Boca, the Catholic Church, civil society organizations, or the local government. The local radio station FM Haro! hosts the program Amizade, that aims at both, a Brazilian and Japanese audience, teaching both about each other's customs and culture. Although these events often stop at 3F and do not have a long-lasting integrative effect, they contribute conditionally to mutual understanding.

Assistance in times of crisis: Mediating institutions support foreign residents in times of societal crises, such as the Great Financial Crisis 2008, as well as in times of personal crises. Religious institutions are often the first ones which organize support, such as distributing food and necessities or establishing a school for Brazilian children whose parents could not afford to send them to Brazilian school anymore, like the Catholic Church did. The NPO SOS Mamães no Japão supports families with low income and provides information and support to Brazilian parents dealing with child abuse, but also with other child care and education issues. By reacting faster than host society institutions and having an established relation of trust to foreign residents, these mediating institutions close a gap that arises especially in times of societal crises.

All these efforts by mediating institutions contribute to building opportunities of interaction, trust building, fostering mutual understanding, and embedding foreign

residents in the structure of the Japanese society. Together, they provide an encompassing network of integration opportunities. Thus, it depends on the individuals, both Japanese and foreign residents, to what extent they make use of the offers. Moreover, with these measures, mediating institutions reduce two of the three walls that hinder integration: the language barrier by providing translation and interpreters and by offering language classes, and the emotional barrier by fostering mutual understanding and trust building. In order to further reduce the systemic barrier, however, national laws, especially regarding labor and education, have to become adapted at the local level. At the same time as they foster integration of foreign residents, mediating institutions also hinder it, especially in the following aspects:

Interpreters: In Hamamatsu, mediating institutions provide translation or interpretation into Portuguese for almost every relevant information and at almost every place, including city hall, hospitals, and Japanese schools. While interpretation is necessary to bring the most important information across to especially newly arrived Brazilians, at the same time, such mediating institutions reduce the motivation and necessity for Brazilian residents to study Japanese. Cities without these interpretation services create a need to study Japanese and thus enable better language ability, which helps with integration. In other words, too much language support is counterproductive. Esser (2001: 72) states that affirmative action is only reasonable as strategy to bridge specific temporary problems, but should not become a permanent measure. While for the immigrants themselves, integration into the ethnic community protects from marginalization, for later generations, integration into ethnic communities is a social mobility trap (cf. Esser 2001: 69).

Education of children: Brazilian children are often victims of the unmade decision of staying or returning which affects the choice of school as well as the children's future professional success. Many children change between Brazilian and Japanese schools and some even end up double-limited, not able to speak any language on a native level. Schools as mediating institutions could join their resources in order to foster bilingual education and ensure inclusion of foreign children in the education system. In practice, most of the children who graduated from a Brazilian school and did not go back to Brazil start working in factories. Children who frequent Japanese schools are embedded better in Japanese society, as they study more about the

Japanese language and culture, and have more opportunities to make Japanese friends. However, their heritage language often gets lost and communication with their parents becomes difficult. Moreover, not all of them have language skills that enable them to compete with their Japanese fellows. Furthermore, Japanese schools tolerate mechanisms of exclusion, such as *ijime* and difficult change from extra classes to normal classes.

Spacial segregation: By offering events, seminars, and other activities for only one ethnic group, intermixing is not enabled. Examples are most seminars offered by HICE and ethnic sports clubs. Although open to everyone, in reality, only a certain ethnic group gathers. Spacial segregation can also be observed at Brazilian schools and at ethnic churches, but also at the Catholic Church where national parishes and as a result ethnic boundaries developed.

Work regulations: Very few Brazilians are regular employees (*seishain*). Most are hired via a temporary employment agency (*empregadora*), restricting their salary and rights. The incentive to work overtime hours is high, and many do not have time to care for their family or even study Japanese. Free Japanese classes are offered by U-ToC, but only on weekdays. On weekends various NPOs offer paid classes. However, many Brazilians are exhausted from work and incentives to study Japanese are low.

My findings show that what Lamphere's research team (1992: 4-5) concluded applies to the Brazilian residents in Hamamatsu and the role of mediating institutions for their integration as well: Rather than cultural and racial barriers, it is the structure of mediating institutions that leads to Brazilian residents experiencing exclusion and isolation. These experiences are more common than either conflict or frequent interaction with established residents. While Roth (2002: 140) found out that mediating institutions significantly hinder the integration of Brazilian residents in Hamamatsu, my results show that at the same time they foster developments that lead to better integration. Although they still stimulate oppositional florescence between Japanese and Brazilian residents (cf. *ibid.*: 141), they also foster mutual understanding to reconcile these emerging differences. Moreover, mediating institutions often play both a hindering and fostering role at the same time. From my data, it also appeared that although ambitious endeavors of creating an intercultural

society exist, more needs to be done to transcend 3F events and support the integration process.

Furthermore, integration processes depend on the individuals' ambitions. The role of mediating institutions is to provide the structures to enable integration, for example by creating opportunities of interaction and taking measures to discontinue mechanisms of exclusion, and to raise awareness on both sides, which can lead to people who have not previously thought about the issue of integration becoming aware of the existing structures and perceiving integration as a possible option. In other words, while mediating institutions can support the development of an intercultural society by creating incentives for all residents to become interested in more integration, individuals can choose between separation, assimilation, integration, and every nuance in between these options. As my data shows, both Japanese and Brazilian residents seem satisfied with the status quo, that is *tabunka kyōsei* in its literal sense. Moreover, appearing (not) integrated to the outside world says nothing about how individuals actually feel. However, for the next generation, integration in certain structures of the host society is important to acquire cultural capital, such as language skills, which is a precondition for equal opportunities and social advancement.

In summary, mediating institutions affecting the integration of Brazilian residents in Hamamatsu are very diverse and affect every field of life. They provide information and everyday life support. Still, mediation in the integration process is not very successful. The distribution of tasks among the different actors is unclear and cooperation between them, especially within the Brazilian community, is deficient. Furthermore, responsibilities for integration endeavors are unclear: Family, the immigrants themselves, the municipality, and civil society of host society and Brazilian community all are responsible for a successful integration process. The role of mediating institutions in the integration process can be summarized like that:

For **culturation**, mediating institutions play a crucial role. Especially in the field of education, they impart knowledge on the host society's as well as on Brazilian culture, customs, and language. By doing so, they foster mutual understanding and enable both sides to interact in everyday life with less conflicts and misunderstandings. Better **placement** is achieved especially through schools and language classes which enable Brazilian residents to obtain better job options and participation in

society. **Interaction** is fostered by mediating institutions in leisure activities, at exchange events, and at Japanese schools. Mediating institutions also raise awareness in the host society for the Brazilian residents' situation and combat stereotypes. By doing so, they encourage Japanese residents to interact more with foreign residents. To a limited extent, they also foster Brazilians residents' ambitions of interaction. In doing so, the society moves slowly towards becoming an intercultural society. **Identification** with the host society is still low among the Brazilian residents in Hamamatsu. Although they appreciate some Japanese values, in most aspects they continue with the same lifestyle they had in Brazil. The Japanese host society still holds on to the myth of homogeneity. Only slowly, the consciousness for being a society on its way to interculturalism spreads. Mediating institutions support this process by offering opportunities to help shape society, for example by joining a resident council or actively engaging in their neighborhood association's activities.

Besides these four aspects of social integration, providing emotional support and a place of belonging is an important function that mediating institutions in Hamamatsu of all three analyzed fields and regardless of their main aim fulfill for Brazilian residents. Creating their own space beyond the Japanese and Brazilian societies where the Brazilian community can develop by building networks and enacting its culture is part of the integration process. Knowing that they have a place where they can turn to in case of need enables the Brazilian immigrants to discover the host society from a safe position.

8.3. Contribution, limitations, and outlook

The contribution of this dissertation is to shed light on the integration of foreign residents from a meso level perspective. By examining the role of mediating institutions in shaping this process in the fields of everyday life, religion, and education, it adds additional dimensions to the already much researched work situation and identity issues. Building on the relevant ethnographies published in the early 2000s, this work offers insights into the current situation of the Brazilian residents in Hamamatsu regarding their relationship with the established residents and the role mediating institutions play in shaping integration processes. Unlike

LeBaron von Baeyer (2020) whose ethnography examines transnational belonging, this dissertation focuses on the Brazilian residents' local level integration processes in Japan and their interaction with the host society. By doing so, the institutional networks in which the Brazilian residents are involved and the efforts and strategies of the actors could be examined.

This dissertation could only give a small insight in the huge topic of foreign – or even Brazilian – residents' integration in Japan. Moreover, the Brazilian community in Hamamatsu could not be examined entirely. My two access points to the field, the cultural center HICE and a Brazilian dance school, delivered very different insights in these parts of the Brazilian community. However, in order to get to know the opinion on integration of the Brazilian residents who are not frequenting municipal institutions, civil society organizations, or Brazilian community groups, other access points to the field would have been necessary. Examples of mediating institutions that were not part of this study are workplace institutions, such as companies and factories, and institutions related to housing and living, such as housing complexes and neighborhood associations. Especially examining the latter can give more insights into everyday life and interaction of Japanese and foreign residents.

Hamamatsu's position as pioneer city regarding intercultural efforts in Japan and the active endeavors of the Brazilian community might result in different integration processes, compared to other cities. Therefore, the findings of this dissertation cannot be transferred to other Japanese cities with a high population of Brazilians or to other immigrant communities. However, contextualizing Hamamatsu's situation can give fruitful insights for aspects of integration. In order to understand the process of integration without a fully-developed foreign community and without host society institutions which provide interpreters and translation of all important information, it might also be of interest to do some research on the integration of Brazilians in cities with very few foreign residents. Another interesting perspective would be the situation of other foreign residents in a similar situation: either living in a similar environment, such as Filipinos in Hamamatsu, or having similar educational options, such as children of other nationalities which frequent ethnic schools.

Regarding the role of mediating institutions in general, and cultural centers in particular, an examination of other culture centers and Brazilian associations

throughout the country, such as Kyōto Prefectural International Center (*Kyōto-fu kokusai sentā*), Kōbe Center for Overseas Migration and Cultural Interaction (*Kaigai ijū to bunka no kōryū sentā*), or Japan-Brazil Central Association (*Nihon Burajiru chūō kyōkai*) in Tōkyō, might be fruitful. In doing so, patterns of how different culture centers try to reach their (Nikkei) migrant communities can be revealed, which obviates taking HICE as an example that stands for all mediating institutions of its type. Considering the latest events, a comparison of the impact of the corona crisis and its economic implications with the aftermath of the Great Financial Crisis 2008 would be interesting. In both cases, some Brazilians returned to Brazil, many of the ones who stayed took their children out of Brazilian (nursery) schools as they could not afford it anymore, and the civil society as well as the local government organized support for the Brazilians in need who stayed, by providing food but also information.

It remains to be seen whether future generations of the Brazilian immigrants will assimilate or stay a distinct minority. This also depends on the host society's attitude and expectations toward foreign residents. According to Liu-Farrer (2020: 22), "Japan's transition into an immigrant society happens at a time when the rest of the world seems to be moving in the other direction and becoming increasingly ethno-nationalist." This indicates that the integration process will continue to progress. Already, Brazilian children are increasingly attending Japanese schools, studying Japanese language and culture, and can compete with Japanese graduates on the job market. As some even forget their heritage language and culture, the Brazilian community actively promotes the preservation of Portuguese as a heritage language. Still, only few young Brazilians are raised with both languages and cultures. Furthermore, the ongoing migration flow from Brazil to Japan, the unmade decision of return to Brazil which makes many parents consider sending their children to a Brazilian school, as well as the interpretation and translation of all important information at institutions throughout the city result in a big part of the Brazilian community not having adequate Japanese language skills.

Mediating institutions will continue to play an important role as promoters of interculturalism, cultural exchange, and mutual understanding, and as providers of language and culture classes, support, and place of belonging. In cities like Hamamatsu, which have a big Brazilian community, bilingual schools might appear, which would foster a generation of Brazilians who can serve as a bridge between

host society and Brazilian community. In doing so, they would support the work of mediating institutions. Furthermore, they could serve as examples for other foreign youth who are still struggling to find a way between integration, assimilation, and preserving the own roots.

Bibliography

AAA (American Anthropological Association) (2012): *AAA Ethics Forum: Principles of Professional Responsibility*. <https://ethics.americananthro.org/category/statement/> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Adachi, Nobuko (2004): "Japonês: A Marker of Social Class or a Key Term in the Discourse of Race?". In: *Latin American Perspectives*, 31 (3: East Asian Migration to Latin America), pp. 48-76.

ADE-JP (Associação de Divulgadores do Espiritismo do Japão) (2015): *Lista atualizada dos Grupos Espíritas no Japão* [Updated list of the Spiritist groups in Japan]. May 23. <https://www.facebook.com/374308009439334/photos/-pedimos-que-repassem-para-todos-os-dirigente-esp%C3%AAdritas-no-jap%C3%A3o-lista-atualizad/412948508908617/> (last access: November 10, 2023).

ADE-JP (Associação de Divulgadores do Espiritismo do Japão) ([2018]): *ADE-JP: Associação de Divulgadores do Espiritismo do Japão* [ADE-JP: Japan Association of Spiritism Promoters]. <http://adejapaodivulgespirita.blogspot.com/> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Adloff, Frank (2018): "Practices of Conviviality and the Social and Political Theory of Convivialism". In: *Mecila Working Paper Series*, (3). São Paulo: The Maria Sibylla Merian International Centre for Advanced Studies in the Humanities and Social Sciences Conviviality-Inequality in Latin America.

AEBJ (Associação das Escolas Brasileiras no Japão) (2017): *Miscellaneous School*. <http://www.aebj.jp/antigo/portal/index.php/pt/artigos/artigos-2017/148-miscellaneous-school> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Agenzia Fides (2019): *Special Feature for 93rd Mission Sunday - 20 October 2019, Extraordinary Missionary Month October 2019: Catholic Church Statistics*. Città del Vaticano: Agenzia Fides. www.fides.org/en/attachments/view/file/STATISTICS2019OK.doc. Retrieved from: <http://www.fides.org/> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Agência IBGE Notícias (2012): *Censo 2010: número de católicos cai e aumenta o de evangélicos, espíritas e sem religião* [Census 2010: number of Catholics decreases

and increases the one of Evangelists, Spiritists, and without religion]. June 29. <https://agenciadenoticias.ibge.gov.br/agencia-sala-de-imprensa/2013-agencia-de-noticias/releases/14244-asi-censo-2010-numero-de-catolicos-cai-e-aumenta-o-de-evangelicos-espiritas-e-sem-religiao> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Agergaard, Sine (2018): *Rethinking Sports and Integration: Developing a Transnational Perspective on Migrants and Descendants in Sports*. Abingdon, Oxon [et al.]: Routledge.

Ahamer, Vera (2013): *Unsichtbare Spracharbeit: Jugendliche Migranten als Laiendolmetscher: Integration durch "Community Interpreting"* [Invisible language work: Young migrants as lay interpreters: Integration through "Community Interpreting"]. Bielefeld: transcript.

Ahoua, Raymond (2008): *The Transference of the Three Mediating Institutions of Salvation from Caiaphas to Jesus: A Study of Jn 11: 45-54 in the light of the Akan Myth of the Crossing of a River*. (European University Studies). Bern: Lang.

Aichi Prefecture (n.d.): *Homigaoka Burajirujin Kyōkai: Associação Brasileira Homigaoka* [Homigaoka Brazilians Association]. <https://www.pref.aichi.jp/uploaded/attachment/28066.pdf> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Aidar, Laura (n.d.): *Toda Matéria: História do Forró* [Toda Matéria: history of Forró]. <https://www.todamateria.com.br/historia-do-forro/> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Aiden, Hardeep Singh (2011): "Creating the 'Multicultural Coexistence' Society: Central and Local Government Policies towards Foreign Residents in Japan". In: *Social Science Japan Journal*, 14 (2), pp. 213-231.

Alba, Richard (2008): "Why we Still Need a Theory of Mainstream Assimilation". In: *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, Sonderheft 48 (Stand, Herausforderungen und Perspektiven der empirischen Migrationsforschung), pp. [37]-56.

Alba, Richard; Duyvendak, Jan Willem (2019): "What about the mainstream? Assimilation in super-diverse times". In: *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 42 (1), pp. 105-124.

Alba, Richard; Holdaway, Jennifer (2013): *The Children of Immigrants at School: A Comparative Look at Integration in the United States and Western Europe*. New York: NYU Press.

Alba, Richard; Nee, Victor (1997): "Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration". In: *The International Migration Review*, 31 (4: Immigrant Adaptation and Native-Born Responses in the Making of Americans), pp. 826-874.

Alba, Richard; Nee, Victor (2005): *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Aliança de Intercâmbio Brasil Japão (2023): *Nippaku Kōryū Kōkai – Aliança de Intercâmbio Brasil Japão* [Brazil Japan Exchange Alliance]. <https://nippaku.hamazo.tv/> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Alternativa Online (n..d): *Informe publicitário: Técnico em administração – Senac/Japão* [Advertisement: administration technician – Senac/Japão]. <https://www.alternativa.co.jp/Noticia/View/40747/Informe-publicitario-TECNICO-EM-ADMINISTRACAO---SENAC> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Amos, Alcione M.; Ayesu, Ebenezer (2002): "'I am Brazilian': History of the Tabon, Afro-Brazilians in Accra, Ghana". In: *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, New Series (6), pp. 35-58.

Anderson, Jim; Kenner, Charmian; Gregory, Eve (2008): "The National Languages Strategy in the UK: Are Minority Languages Still on the Margins?" In: Christine Hélot and Anne-Marie de Mejía (eds.) (2008): *Forging Multilingual Spaces: Integrated Perspectives on Majority and Minority Bilingual Education*. (Bilingual Education and Bilingualism; 68). Bristol [et al.]: Multilingual Matters, pp. 183-202.

APA (American Psychiatric Association) (2013): *Autism Spectrum Disorder*. https://www.psychiatry.org/File%20Library/Psychiatrists/Practice/DSM/APA_DSM-5-Autism-Spectrum-Disorder.pdf (last access: November 10, 2023).

Arakaki, Ushi (2013): "Japanese Brazilians among Pretos-Velhos, Caboclos, Buddhist Monks, and Samurais: An Ethnographic Study of Umbanda in Japan". In: Cristina Rocha and Manuel A. Vásquez (eds.) (2013): *The Diaspora of Brazilian Religions*. Leiden [et al.]: Brill, pp. 249-270.

Arrington, Celeste L. (2020): "How to systematise texts: Qualitative content and frame analysis". In: Nora Kottmann and Cornelia Reiher (eds.) (2020): *Studying Japan: Handbook of Research Designs, Fieldwork and Methods*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, pp. 349-362.

Aumüller, Jutta (2009): *Assimilation: Kontroversen um ein migrationspolitisches Konzept*. Bielefeld: transcript.

Baas, Michiel (2018): "Temporary Labour Migration". In: Gracia Liu-Farrer and Brenda S.A. Yeoh (eds.) (2018): *Routledge Handbook of Asian migrations*. Abingdon, Oxon [et al.]: Routledge, pp. 51-63.

Baca Zinn, Maxine (2001): "Insider Field Research in Minority Communities". In: R. M. Emerson (ed.) (2001): *Contemporary Field Research: Perspectives and Formulations*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland, pp. 159-166.

Basch, Linda; Glick Schiller, Nina; Szanton Blanc, Cristina (1994): *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States*. Langhorne [et al.]: Gordon and Breach.

Baxter, James C.; Shūhei, Hosokawa; Ota, Junko (eds.) (2009): *Cultural Exchange between Brazil and Japan: Immigration, History, and Language*. (International Symposium). Kyōto: International Research Center for Japanese Studies.

Berger, Peter L.; Neuhaus, Richard John (1977): *To Empower People: The Role of Mediating Structures in Public Policy*. (Political and Social Processes; 1 / AEI Studies; 139). Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research.

Berger, Peter L.; Neuhaus, Richard John (1996): *To Empower People: From State to Civil Society*. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute.

Bernard, H. Russell (2011): *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Lanham, MD [et al.]: AltaMira.

Bernardo, André (2019): *Como Allan Kardec popularizou o espiritismo no Brasil, o maior país católico do mundo* [How Allan Kardec popularized spiritism in Brazil, the largest Catholic country in the world]. BBC News Brasil. April 1. <https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-47751865> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Berry, John W. (2011): "Integration and Multiculturalism: Ways towards Social Solidarity". In: *Papers on Social Representations*, 20, pp. 2.1-2.21.

Bestor, Theodore C. (2003): "Inquisitive Observation: Following Networks in Urban Fieldwork". In: Theodore C. Bestor, Victoria Lyon Bestor, and Patricia G. Steinhoff (eds.) (2003): *Doing fieldwork in Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, pp. [315]-334.

BMI (Bundesministerium des Innern und für Heimat) (2023): *Integration durch Sport*. <https://www.bmi.bund.de/DE/themen/heimat-integration/integration/integration-sport/integration-sport-node.html> (last access: November 10, 2023).

BoE (Hamamatsu-shi Kyōiku linkai [Hamamatsu Board of Education]) (2018): *Hamamatsu-shi ni okeru gaikokujin jidō seito-ra no jōkyō to shien ni tsuite* [About the situation and support of foreign students in Hamamatsu City]. [handout for interview].

Bolognani, Marta (2014): "The Emergence of Lifestyle Reasoning in Return Considerations among British Pakistanis". In: *International Migration*, 52 (6), pp. 31-42.

Bommes, M. (2004): Erarbeitung eines operationalen Konzepts zur Einschätzung von Integrationsprozessen und Integrationsmaßnahmen [Development of an operational concept for the assessment of integration processes and integration measures]. <http://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Downloads/Infothek/Zuwanderungsrat/exp-bommes-zuwanderungsrat.html> (last access: December 16, 2012) (defunct).

Bommes, Michael (2009): "Die Rolle der Kommunen in der bundesdeutschen Migrations- und Integrationspolitik" [The role of local authorities in German migration and integration policy]. In: Frank Gesemann and Roland Roth (eds.): *Lokale Integrationspolitik in der Einwanderungsgesellschaft: Migration und Integration als Herausforderung von Kommunen* [Local integration policy in the immigration society: Migration and integration as a challenge for municipalities]. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, pp. 89-109.

Boyack, Connor (2009): *Mediating Institutions: A Remedy to Political Indifference*. Connor's conundrums. April 26. <https://www.connorboyack.com/blog/mediating-institutions-a-remedy-to-political-indifference> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Boyte, Harry C. (2000): "The Public Sides of Work: Building Mediating Institutions for the Information Age". In: *The Good Society*, 9 (3), pp. 26-30.

Bradley, William S. (2014): "Multicultural Coexistence in Japan: Follower, Innovator, or Reluctant Late Adopter?" In: Kosuke Shimizu and William S. Bradley (eds.) (2014): *Multiculturalism and Conflict Reconciliation in the Asia-Pacific: Migration, Language and Politics*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 21-43.

Brettell, Caroline (2003): *Anthropology and Migration: Essays on Transnationalism, Ethnicity, and Identity*. Walnut Creek, CA [et al.]: AltaMira.

Brinkmann, Svend (2022): *Qualitative Interviewing: Conversational Knowledge Through Research Interviews*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Brown, Susan K.; Bean, Frank D. (2006): *Assimilation Models, Old and New: Explaining a Long-Term Process*. Migration Policy Institute. October 1. Retrieved from: <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/assimilation-models-old-and-new-explaining-long-term-process> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Bunkachō [Agency for Cultural Affairs, Government of Japan] ([2022]): *Shūkyō tōkei chōsa* [Statistical survey on religion]. https://www.bunka.go.jp/tokei_hakusho_shuppan/tokeichosa/shumu/index.html (last access: November 10, 2023).

BUNKYO (Sociedade Brasileira de Cultura Japonesa, Comissão de Elaboração da História dos 80 anos da Imigração Japonesa no Brasil) (1992): *Uma Epopéia Moderna: 80 Anos da Imigração Japonesa no Brasil* [A modern epic: 80 years of Japanese immigration to Brazil]. São Paulo: HUCITEC: Sociedade Brasileira de Cultura Japonesa.

BUNKYO (2021): *Nihon seifu ga yonsei biza ichibu kaisei ni taisuru paburikku komento boshūchū! 2-gatsu 21-nichi made* [The Japanese government is taking public comments on the revision of a part of the *yonsei* visa! Until February 21]. February 5. <https://www.bunkyo.org.br/jp/2021/02/05/日本政府が四世ビザ一部改正に対するパブリック/> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Busch, Brigitta (2017): *Mehrsprachigkeit* [Multilingualism]. Wien: Facultas.

CAL (Center for Applied Linguistics) ([2023]): *Alliance for the Advancement of Heritage Languages*. <http://198.58.126.21/what-we-do/projects/heritage-alliance> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Calabresi, Steven G. (1994): "Political Parties as Mediating Institutions". In: *The University of Chicago Law Review*, 61 (4), pp. 1479-1533.

Campbell, James (2014): "Higher Education Mediating Institutions and Habit". In: *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 123, pp. 422-432.

Campus Virtual Cruzeiro do Sul Educacional (2023): *Cruzeiro do Sul Virtual Educação a distância: Hamamatsu-shi Sunayama* [Cruzeiro do Sul virtual distance education: Hamamatsu City Sunayama]. <https://www.cruzeirodosulvirtual.com.br/polo/hamamatsu-shi-sunayama-sh/> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Cantle, Ted (2011): "Cohesion and Integration: From 'Multi' to 'Inter' Culturalism". In: *Actes du Symposium international sur l'interculturalisme*, 25th – 27th May 2011, Montréal. <http://tedcantle.co.uk/pdf/CANTLE%20chap%201-COLO.pdf> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Cantle, Ted (2016): "The Case for Interculturalism, Plural Identities and Cohesion". In: Nasar Meer, Tariq Modood, and Ricard Zapata-Barrero (eds.) (2016): *Multiculturalism and Interculturalism: Debating the Dividing Lines*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 133-157.

Capel Tatjer, Laura (2003): *Multiculturalism in the City: Managing Diversity*. 43rd Congress of the European Regional Science Association: "Peripheries, Centres, and Spatial Development in the New Europe", 27th - 30th August 2003, Jyväskylä, Finland. https://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/116220/1/ERSA2003_488.pdf (last access: November 10, 2023).

Carling, Jørgen; Bivand Erdal, Marta (2014): "Return Migration and Transnationalism: How Are the Two Connected?". In: *International Migration*, 52 (6), pp. 2-12.

Carling, Jørgen; Pettersen, Silje Vatne (2014): "Return Migration Intentions in the Integration–Transnationalism Matrix". In: *International Migration*, 52 (6), pp. 13-30.

Carvalho, Daniela de (2003a): *Migrants and Identity in Japan and Brazil: The Nikkeijin*. London [et al.]: RoutledgeCurzon.

Carvalho, Daniela de (2003b): "Nikkei Communities in Japan". In: Roger Goodman et al. (eds.) (2003): *Global Japan: The Experience of Japan's New Immigrant and Overseas Communities*. London [et al.]: RoutledgeCurzon, pp. 195-208.

Castillo Guerra, Jorge E. (2015): "Contributions of the Social Teaching of the Roman Catholic Church on Migration: From a 'Culture of Rejection' to a 'Culture of Encounter'". In: *Exchange. Journal of Contemporary Christianities in Context*, 44, pp. 403-427.

Catholic Bishops' Conference of Japan (2003): *Maruchikaruchā ni ikiru kodomo-tachi no sakebi* [Screams of children living in multiculture]. February. https://www.cbcj.catholic.jp/japan/comt/migrantsrefugees/multi_culture/ (last access: November 10, 2023).

Catholic Bishops' Conference of Japan (2013): Statistics of the Catholic Church in Japan 2012. June. Available at: <https://www.cbcj.catholic.jp/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/statistics2012.pdf> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Catholic Bishops' Conference of Japan (2022): *Nihon Katorikku Shikyō Kyōgikai* [Catholic Bishops' Conference of Japan]. February 17. <https://www.cbcj.catholic.jp/japan/comt/> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Ceabem Natal (2023): *Centro Espírita Adolfo Bezerra de Menezes*. <https://www.bezerrademenezesnatal.org.br/o-que-e-agua-fluidificada.html> (last access: November 10, 2023).

CEI (International Spiritist Council) (2020): *Nascer, morrer, renascer ainda e progredir sem cessar, tal é a lei* [To be born, to die, to be reborn again, and to progress without ceasing, that is the law]. <https://cei-spiritistcouncil.com/> and subordinated pages (last access: November 10, 2023).

Central Library (Hamamatsu Chūō Toshokan) (2016): *Zai Hamamatsu Burajiru sōryōjikankara no porutogarugo tosho no kizō ni tsuite* [About the donation of books in Portuguese by the Brazilian Consulate General in Hamamatsu]. Hamamatsu: Hamamatsu Chūō Toshokan. [leaflet].

Central Library (Hamamatsu Chūō Toshokan) ([2017]): *Bookstart*. Hamamatsu: Hamamatsu Chūō Toshokan. [leaflet].

Central Library (Hamamatsu Chūō Toshokan) ([2018]): *Story and Rhyme time*. Hamamatsu: Hamamatsu Chūō Toshokan. [leaflet].

Chiavacci, David (2020): "How to analyse data: An introduction to methods of data analysis in qualitative Social Science research". In: Nora Kottmann and Cornelia Reiher (eds.) (2020): *Studying Japan: Handbook of Research Designs, Fieldwork and Methods*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, pp. 300-309.

CIATE (Centro de Informação e Apoio ao Trabalhador no Exterior) (2018): *Autismo no Japão (TEA) documentário do CIATE* [Autism in Japan [ASD] documentary by CIATE]. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pM4a5fZtUCg> (last access: November 10, 2023).

CLAIR (Council of Local Authorities for International Relations) ([2013]): *An Outline of Local Government in Japan 2012*. https://www.clair.or.jp/j/forum/pub/pdf/jichi12_en.pdf (last access: November 10, 2023).

CLCF (Gaikokujin shūjūtoshi kaigi) ([2023]a): *Gaikokujin shūjūtoshi kaigi: Tabunka kyōsei shakai wo mezashite* [Committee for Localities with a Concentrated Foreigner Population: Seeking a multicultural society]. November 2. <http://www.shujutoshi.jp/index.html> and subordinated pages (last access: November 10, 2023).

CLCF (Gaikokujin shūjūtoshi kaigi) ([2023]b): *Reiwa 5-nendo kaiin toshi dēta* [fiscal year 2023 member cities' data]. <http://www.shujutoshi.jp/member/pdf/2023member.pdf>. Retrieved from <http://www.shujutoshi.jp/member/index.htm> (last access: November 10, 2023).

CoE (Council of Europe) (2008): *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue: Living Together as Equals in Dignity*. https://www.coe.int/t/dg4/intercultural/source/white%20paper_final_revised_en.pdf (last access: November 10, 2023).

CoE (Council of Europe) (2017a): *Results of the Intercultural Cities Index: Hamamatsu*. <https://rm.coe.int/hamamatsu-japan-results-of-the-intercultural-cities-index/168076dee0> (last access: November 10, 2023).

CoE (Council of Europe) (2017b): *City of Hamamatsu: Intercultural Profile*. (Intercultural Cities: Building the Future on Diversity). <https://rm.coe.int/city-of-hamamatsu-intercultural-profile/168076dee5> (last access: November 10, 2023).

CoE (Council of Europe) (2023): *Intercultural Cities Programme*. <https://www.coe.int/en/web/interculturalcities/> and subordinated pages (last access: November 10, 2023).

Creighton, Millie (2014): "Emergent Japanese Discourses on Minorities, Immigrants, Race, Culture, and Identity". In: *Global Ethnographic: Journal for Ethnographic Research*. Retrieved from: <https://globolethnographic.com/index.php/emergent-japanese-discourses-on-minorities-immigrants-race-culture-and-identity/> (last access: November 10, 2023).

CSO (Central Statistics Office) (2019): *Census of Population 2016 – Profile 8 Irish Travellers, Ethnicity and Religion*. <https://www.cso.ie/en/statistics/> and subordinated pages (last access: November 10, 2023).

The Culture Trip (2023): *10 Things to Know About Festa Junina in Brazil*. <https://theculturetrip.com/south-america/brazil/articles/10-things-to-know-about-festa-junina-in-brazil> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Dahinden, Janine (2016): "A Plea for the 'de-migranticization' of research on Migration and Integration". In: *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 39 (13), pp. 2207-2225.

Dehart-Davis, Leisha; Guensler, Randall (2005): "Employers as Mediating Institutions for Public Policy: The Case of Commute Options Programs". In: *The Policy Studies Journal*, 33 (4), pp. 675- 697.

Desgrippes, Magalie; Lambelet, Amelia (2018): "On the Sociolinguistic Embedding of Portuguese Heritage Language Speakers in Switzerland: Socio-Economic Status and Home Literacy Environment (HELASCOT Project)". In: Raphael Berthele and Amelia Lambelet (eds.) (2018): *Heritage and School Language Literacy Development in*

Migrant Children: Interdependence or Independence? (Second Language Acquisition; 119). Bristol [et al.]: Multilingual Matters, pp. 34-57.

Diène, Doudou (2006): *Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and All Forms of Discrimination*. (Report of the Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, Doudou Diène. Addendum. Mission to Japan). New York: United Nations Commission on Human Rights. January 24. Retrieved from: <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/566139> (last access: November 10, 2023).

DiMaggio, Paul (1991): "The Micro-Macro Dilemma in Organizational Research: Implications of Role-System Theory". In: Joan Huber (ed.) (1991): *Macro-Micro Linkages in Sociology*. (American Sociological Association Presidential Series). Newbury Park, CA [et al.]: Sage, pp. 76-98.

DiMaggio, Paul J.; Powell, Walter W. (1983): "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields". In: *American Sociological Review* 48 (2), pp. 147-160.

DiMaggio, Paul J.; Powell, Walter W. (1991): "Introduction". In: Walter W. Powell and Paul J. DiMaggio (eds.) (1991): *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, pp. 1-38.

Diocese de Santos (2023): *Sacerdotes Religiosos: Padre Evaristo Higa, SDB* [Religious priests: Padre Evaristo Higa, SDB]. <https://www.diocesedesantos.com.br/clero/sacerdotes/religioso/padre-evaristo-higa-sdb?highlight=WyJwYWRyZSIsImV2YXJpc3RvliwiaGlnYSIsInBhZHJlIGV2YXJpc3RvliwicGFkcmUgZXZhcmlzdG8gaGlnYSIsImV2YXJpc3RvIGhpZ2EiXQ==> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Dodson, Christopher (2019): *Mediating Institutions*. North Dakota Catholic Conference. October. <https://ndcatholic.org/yourresources/editorials/column1019/> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Doi, Yoshihiko (2010): *History and Current State of the "HOMI-DANCHI": the Public Apartment of the Housing Complex*. Toyota: NPO Multicultural Resource Center Tokai. [leaflet].

Dongen, Els van; Liu, Hong (2018): "The Changing Meanings of Diaspora: The Chinese in Southeast Asia". In: Gracia Liu-Farrer and Brenda S.A. Yeoh (eds.) (2018): *Routledge Handbook of Asian migrations*. Abingdon, Oxon [et al.]: Routledge, pp. 33-47.

Dustmann, Christian; Glitz, Albrecht (2011): "Migration and Education". In: Eric A. Hanushek, Stephen Machin, and Ludger Woessmann (eds.) (2011): *Handbook of The Economics of Education*, Volume 4, pp. 327-439.

E.A.S. (Escola Alegria de Saber) ([2020]): *E.A.S. - Escola Alegria de Saber*. <https://alegriadesaber.jp/> and subordinated pages (last access: August 18, 2020) (often not available). *Wayback Machine*: <https://web.archive.org/web/20230726064645/https://alegriadesaber.jp/> (last access: November 10, 2023).

El Ghouli, Sadok; Guedhami, Omrane; Pittman, Jeffrey (2016): "Cross-country evidence on the importance of Big Four auditors to equity pricing: The mediating role of legal institutions". In: *Accounting, Organizations and Society*, 54, pp. 60-81.

Eidsvig, Bernt Ivar (1993): "Den katolske kirke vender tilbake" [The Catholic Church returns]. In: J.W. Gran, E. Gunnes, and L.R. Langslet (eds.) (1993): *Den katolske kirke i Norge: Fra kristningen til i dag* [The Catholic Church in Norway: From Christianization to the present day]. Oslo: Aschehoug, pp. 143-426.

EPIC (The Irish Emigration Museum) (2019): *Sport: Changing the Game*. Dublin. [exhibition].

Erdal, Marta Bivand; Ezzati, Rojan (2015): "'Where are you from' or 'when did you come'? Temporal dimensions in migrants' reflections about settlement and return". In: *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28 (7), pp. 1202-1217.

Escola Alcance (2020): *Escola Alcance* [School Alcance]. <https://www.escola-alcance.com/> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Esser, Hartmut (2001): *Integration und ethnische Schichtung* [Integration and ethnic stratification]. (Arbeitspapiere - Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung; 40). Mannheim: Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung.

Evans, Yara *et al.* (2011): "Brazilians in London: A Report". In: *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies / Revue canadienne des études latino-américaines et caraïbes*, 36 (71), pp. 235-248.

Fachkommission Integrationsfähigkeit (2020): *Gemeinsam die Einwanderungsgesellschaft gestalten: Bericht der Fachkommission der Bundesregierung zu den Rahmenbedingungen der Integrationsfähigkeit* [Shaping the immigration society together: Report of the Government's expert commission on the framework conditions for integration capability]. <https://www.integrationsbeauftragte.de/resource/blob/1872554/1875934/85b05de0f1f8175b02cbdcc91dbc931e/2021-01-20-bericht-fachkommission-data.pdf?download=1> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Fausser, Margit (2010): "Migrantenorganisationen – Akteure zwischen Integration und Transnationalisierung. Erkenntnisse von Fallstudien-Ergebnissen aus Spanien" [Migrant organizations – actors between integration and transnationalization: findings from case study results from Spain]. In: Ludger Pries and Zeynep Sezgin (eds.) (2010): *Jenseits von 'Identität oder Integration': Grenzen überspannende Migrantenorganisationen* [Beyond 'identity or integration': migrant organizations that transcend borders]. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, pp. 265-294.

FEB (Federação Espírita Brasileira) ([2023]): *Deus, Cristo e Caridade* [God, Christ and Charity]. <https://www.febnet.org.br/portal/> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Fitzgerald, David (2006): "Towards a Theoretical Ethnography of Migration". In: *Qualitative Sociology*, 29 (1), pp. [1]-[24].

FJU Japan (n.d.): *Venha Conhecer a FJU Japan: Cultura Esportes Lazer e muito mais* [Get to know the FJU Japan: culture, sports, leisure, and much more]. [s.l.]: Universal. [leaflet].

Flowers, Petrice R. (2012): "From *kokusaika* to *tabunka kyōsei*: Global Norms, Discourses of Difference, and Multiculturalism in Japan". In: *Critical Asian Studies*, 44 (4), pp. 515-542.

Flynn, Erin; Forrant, Robert (1997): "The Manufacturing Modernization Process: Mediating Institutions and the Facilitation of Firm-Level Change". In: *Economic Development Quarterly*, 11 (2), pp. 146-165.

Fort, Timothy L. (1996): "Business as Mediating Institution". In: *Business Ethics Quarterly*, 6 (2), pp. 149-163.

Fort, Timothy L.; Noone James J. (1999): "Banded Contracts, Mediating Institutions, and Corporate Governance: A Naturalist Analysis of Contractual Theories of the Firm". In: *Law and Contemporary Problems*, 62 (3: Challenges to Corporate Governance), pp. 163-213.

Freiermuth, Mark R. *et al.* (2022): "Identifying factors affecting the misplacement of Brazilian children in special education classes within the Japanese school system: How can educational policy help to address the issues raised?" [preprint]. March 18. Retrieved from: https://advance.sagepub.com/articles/preprint/Identifying_factors_affecting_the_misplacement_of_Brazilian_children_in_special_education_classes_within_the_Japanese_school_system_How_can_educational_policy_help_to_address_the_issues_raised_/19344923 (last access: November 10, 2023).

Fujita-Round, Sachiyo; Maher, John C. (2017): "Language Policy and Education in Japan". In: Teresa L. McCarty and Stephen May (eds): *Language Policy and Political Issues in Education*. (Encyclopedia of Language and Education). Springer, Cham, pp. 1-15.

Furuhashi, Hiroki (2019): *Gaikoku ni rūtsu o motsu kodomo no shūgaku sokushin: gaikokujin no kodomo no fushūgaku zero sakusen jigyō* [Promotion of school attendance of children with roots in foreign countries: zero school non-attendance project for foreign children]. [Presentation at a *tabunka kyōsei* symposium at U-ToC, March 15, 2019].

Gans, Herbert J. (1997): "Toward a Reconciliation of 'Assimilation' and 'Pluralism': The Interplay of Acculturation and Ethnic Retention". In: *The International Migration Review*, 31 (4), pp. 875-892.

García, Ofelia (2008): "Teaching Spanish and Spanish in Teaching in the USA: Integrating Bilingual Perspectives". In: Christine Hélot and Anne-Marie de Mejjía (eds.) (2008): *Forging Multilingual Spaces: Integrated Perspectives on Majority and Minority Bilingual Education*. (Bilingual Education and Bilingualism; 68). Bristol [*et al.*]: Multilingual Matters, pp. 31-57.

Gestring, Norbert; Janßen, Andrea; Polat, Ayça (2006): *Prozesse der Integration und Ausgrenzung: Türkische Migranten der zweiten Generation* [Processes of integration and exclusion: second-generation Turkish migrants]. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Gestring, Norbert (2014a): "Was ist Integration?" [What is integration?]. In: Gans, Paul (ed.): *Räumliche Auswirkungen der internationalen Migration* [Spatial impacts of international migration]. (Forschungsberichte der ARL; 3). Hannover: ARL - Akademie für Raumforschung und Landesplanung, pp. 78-91. Retrieved from: https://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/141930/1/fb_003_06.pdf (last access: November 10, 2023).

Gestring, Norbert (2014b): "Widersprüche und Ambivalenzen kommunaler Integrationskonzepte" [Contradictions and ambivalences of municipal integration concepts]. In: Gans, Paul (ed.): *Räumliche Auswirkungen der internationalen Migration* [Spatial impacts of international migration]. (Forschungsberichte der ARL; 3). Hannover: ARL - Akademie für Raumforschung und Landesplanung, pp. 311-326. Retrieved from: https://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/141941/1/fb_003_17.pdf (last access: November 10, 2023).

Gildenhard, Bettina (2022): "Contested Concepts: Internationalisation and Multicultural Coexistence in Japan - with Special Focus on Ethnic Classrooms". In: *Japan Forum*, 34 (2), pp. 200-220.

Glick Schiller, Nina; Basch, Linda; Blanc-Szanton, Cristina (1992a): "Towards a Definition of Transnationalism: Introductory Remarks and Research Questions". In: *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 645 (1), pp. ix-xiv.

Glick Schiller, Nina; Basch, Linda; Blanc-Szanton, Cristina (1992b): "Transnationalism: A New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration". In: *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 645 (1), pp. 1-24.

Glick Schiller, Nina; Basch, Linda; Szanton Blanc, Cristina (1995): "From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration". In: *Anthropological Quarterly*, 68 (1), 48-63.

Global Jinzai (Gurōbaru jinzai sapōto Hamamatsu) ([2023]): *Gurōbaru jinzai sapōto Hamamatsu* [Global human resources support Hamamatsu].

<http://www.globaljinzai.or.jp/index.html> and subordinated pages (last access: November 10, 2023).

Global Peace Foundation Japan (2014): *Matsuri o tōshite Burajiru-jin to kyōsei suru machi (Gunma-ken Ōizumi-machi)* [The city that lives together with Brazilians through festivals (Gunma prefecture Ōizumi town)]. April 30. <https://gpf.jp/whatsnew/140401ooizumi/> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Goodman, Roger *et al.* (2003): "The Experience of Japan's New Migrants and Overseas Communities in Anthropological, Geographical, Historical and Sociological Perspective". In: Roger Goodman *et al.* (eds.) (2003): *Global Japan: The Experience of Japan's New Immigrant and Overseas Communities*. London [*et al.*]: RoutledgeCurzon, pp. 1-20.

Goza, Franklin (1994): "Brazilian Immigration to North America". In: *The International Migration Review*, 28 (1), pp. 136-152.

Graburn, Nelson; Ertl, John (2010): "Introduction: Internal Boundaries and Models of Multiculturalism in Contemporary Japan". In: Nelson H. H. Graburn; John Ertl, and R. Kenji Tierney (eds.) (2010): *Multiculturalism in the New Japan: Crossing the Boundaries Within*. (Asian Anthropologies; 6). New York [*et al.*]: Berghahn Books, pp. 1-31.

Gray, Breda (2016): "The Politics of Migration, Church, and State: A Case Study of the Catholic Church in Ireland". In: *International Migration Review*, 50 (2), pp. 315-351.

Green, David (2021): "Charting *Tabunka Kyōsei*: An Assessment of Municipal-Level 'Multicultural Coexistence' and Immigrant Integration Efforts in Japan". In: *Journal of Asian Sociology*, 50 (2), pp.401-429.

Green, Paul (2010): "Generation, Family and Migration: Young Brazilian Factory Workers in Japan". In: *Ethnography*, 11 (4), pp. 515-532.

Gunderson, Lee (2014): "Theorizing Multiculturalism: Modeling the Dynamics of Inclusion and Exclusion in School-Based Multicultural Settings". In: Kosuke Shimizu and William S. Bradley (eds.) (2014): *Multiculturalism and Conflict Reconciliation in*

the Asia-Pacific: Migration, Language and Politics. [s.l.]: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 62-78.

G-13 (Gaikokujin shūjūtoshi kaigi) (2001): “*Hamamatsu sengen*” oyobi “*teigen*” [“Hamamatsu declaration” and “proposal”]. October 19. <http://www.shujutoshi.jp/siryō/pdf/20011019hamamatsu.pdf> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Haino, Sumiko (2011): “Zainichi Burajiru-jin no kodomo-tachi no kyōiku to Burajiru-jin gakkō” [Education of Brazilian children in Japan and Brazilian schools]. In: Chiyoko Mita (ed.) (2011): *Gurōbaruka no naka de ikiru to há: Nikkei Burajirujin no toransunashonaruna kurashi* [What it means to live in an age of globalization: The transnational lives of Japanese Brazilians in Japan]. Tōkyō: Sophia University Press, pp. 141-183.

Hall, Peter; Taylor, Rosemary (1996): “Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms”. In: *Political Studies* 44 (5): pp. 936-957.

Hamamatsu Catholic Church (Katorikku Hamamatsu Kyōkai) (2020): *Katorikku Hamamatsu Kyōkai* [Hamamatsu Catholic Church]. <http://hamamatsukyoukai.com/> and subordinated pages (last access: November 10, 2023).

Hamamatsu City ([2012]): *Hamamatsu Intercultural City Vision*. https://www.city.hamamatsu.shizuoka.jp/kokusai/kokusai/documents/iccvision_en.pdf (last access: November 10, 2023).

Hamamatsu City (Hamamatsu-shi Kikakuchōsei-bu Kokusaika) (2014a): “Tabunka kyōsei no tobira: Hamamatsu-shi ni okeru ‘Gaikokujin no kodomo no fushūgaku zero sakusen jigyō’ ni tsuite” [About the “Foreign children zero school refusal strategy project” in Hamamatsu city]. In: *Jichitai Kokusaika Fōramu*, November, pp. 38-39. Retrieved from: http://www.clair.or.jp/j/forum/forum/pdf_301/14_culture.pdf (last access: November 10, 2023).

Hamamatsu City ([2014]b): *Tabunka kyōsei jigyō jireishū: Hamamatsu shiritsu toshokan tabunka sābisu jigyō* [Collection of examples for multicultural coexistence projects: multicultural service projects of the Hamamatsu public library]. [leaflet].

Hamamatsu City (2018a): “*Gaikoku ni rūtsu o motsu shūgakuzen no kodomo to hogosha no kosodate shien ni kakawaru chōsa*” *hōkokusho* [Report about the “Survey concerning preschool children with foreign roots and child-rearing assistance for guardians”]. Hamamatsu: Hamamatsu-shi Kikakuchōsei-bu Kokusaika.

Hamamatsu City (2018b): *The 2nd Hamamatsu Intercultural City Vision*. <https://www.city.hamamatsu.shizuoka.jp/documents/17293/iccvision-eng.pdf> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Hamamatsu City (Hamamatsu-shi Kikakuchōsei-bu Kokusaika) (2018c): *Hamamatsu-shi no tabunka kyōsei no torikumi* [Multicultural coexistence efforts of Hamamatsu city]. December 6. http://www.soumu.go.jp/main_content/000590348.pdf (last access: November 10, 2023).

Hamamatsu City (2020): *Gyōseiku* [administrative district]. May 1. <https://www.city.hamamatsu.shizuoka.jp/shise/gyoseku/index.html> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Hamamatsu City (2023a): *(Draft) The 3rd Hamamatsu Intercultural City Vision (Commentary)*. <https://www.city.hamamatsu.shizuoka.jp/documents/148905/3rd-commentary-e.pdf>. Retrieved from: <https://www.city.hamamatsu.shizuoka.jp/kokusai/kokusai/kokusaitoppage.html> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Hamamatsu City (2023b): *Kōhō hamamatsu* [public information Hamamatsu]. November 5. <https://www.city.hamamatsu.shizuoka.jp/shise/koho/koho/hamamatsu/index.html> (Japanese version) and https://www.city.hamamatsu.shizuoka.jp/hamaeng/kouhou/html_2211/information.html (English version) (last access: November 10, 2023).

Hamamatsu City (2023c): *Hamamatsu-shi gaikokujin shimin kyōsei shingikai* [Foreign residents’ living together council]. June 7. <https://www.city.hamamatsu.shizuoka.jp/houmu/fuzoku/itiranlist/fuzoku11.html> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Hamel, Rainer Enrique (2008): “Plurilingual Latin America: Indigenous Languages, Immigrant Languages, Foreign Languages - Towards an Integrated Policy of

Language and Education”. In: Christine Hélot and Anne-Marie de Mejía (eds.) (2008): *Forging Multilingual Spaces: Integrated Perspectives on Majority and Minority Bilingual Education*. (Bilingual Education and Bilingualism; 68). Bristol [et al.]: Multilingual Matters, pp. 58-108.

Handa, Tomoo; Queiroz, T.A. (ed.) (1987): *O Imigrante Japonês: História De Sua Vida No Brasil* [The Japanese immigrant: his life story in Brazil]. (From the Japanese original: *Imin no seikatsu no rekishi: Brasil nikkeijin no ayunda michi* [History of the immigrants' life: paths taken by Brazilians of Japanese descent]). São Paulo: Centro de Estudos Nipo-Brasileiros.

Hannerz, Ulf (1996): *Transnational Connections: Culture, People, Places*. London [et al.]: Routledge.

Harris, Margaret; Milofsky, Carl (2019): “Mediating Structures: Their Organization in Civil Society”. In: *Nonprofit Policy Forum*, pp. 1-11.

Hashimoto, Francisco; Leiko Tanno, Janete; Setuyo Okamoto, Monica (eds.) (2008): *Cem anos da Imigração Japonesa: História, Memória e Arte* [100 years of Japanese immigration: history, memory, and arts]. São Paulo: Unesp.

Haß, Julia; Schütze, Stephanie (2019): “New Spaces of Belonging: Soccer Teams of Bolivian Migrants in São Paulo, Brazil”. In: Andreas E. Feldmann, Xóchitl Bada, and Stephanie Schütze (eds.) (2019): *New Migration Patterns in the Americas: Challenges for the 21st Century*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 317-336.

Hatano, Lilian Terumi (2011): “Zainichi Burajirujin wo Torimaku ‘tabunka kyōsei’ no shomondai” [Issues of multicultural co-living surrounding Brazilians in Japan]. In: Kōji Ueda and Hitoshi Yamashita (eds.) (2011): *‘Kyōsei’ no naijitsu – hihanteki shakai gengogaku kara no toikake* [Facts about 'coexistence': a critical sociolinguistic inquiry]. Tōkyō: Sangensha, pp. 55-80.

Hayashi, Bruno Naomassa (2017): “The Logic of Network Formation in Homigaoka: A study on the Brazilian Residents in Homigaoka, Toyota City in 2015-2016”. In: *Tōkai Shakaigakukai Nenpō*, 9, pp. 120-137.

Hélot, Christine (2008): “Bilingual Education in France: School Policies Versus Home Practices”. In: Christine Hélot and Anne-Marie de Mejía (eds.) (2008): *Forging Multilingual Spaces: Integrated Perspectives on Majority and Minority Bilingual Education*. (Bilingual Education and Bilingualism; 68). Bristol [et al.]: Multilingual Matters, pp. 203-227.

Hélot, Christine; de Mejía, Anne-Marie (2008): “Introduction: Different Spaces - Different Languages. Integrated Perspectives on Bilingual Education in Majority and Minority Settings”. In: Christine Hélot and Anne-Marie de Mejía (eds.) (2008): *Forging Multilingual Spaces: Integrated Perspectives on Majority and Minority Bilingual Education*. (Bilingual Education and Bilingualism; 68). Bristol [et al.]: Multilingual Matters, pp. 1-27.

HICE (Hamamatsu Foundation for International Communication and Exchange) ([2018]a): *HICE 35th Anniversary Commemorative Book*. [s.l.]: [n.p.].

HICE (Hamamatsu Foundation for International Communication and Exchange) (2018b): *HICE News*; 380.

HICE (Hamamatsu Foundation for International Communication and Exchange) (2018c): *HICE News*; 381.

HICE (Hamamatsu Foundation for International Communication and Exchange) (2018d): *HICE News*; 382.

HICE (Hamamatsu Foundation for International Communication and Exchange) (2018e): *HICE News*; 385.

HICE (Hamamatsu Kokusai Kōryū Kyōkai [Hamamatsu Foundation for International Communication and Exchange]) ([2023]): *HAMAPO: Hamamatsu tabunka kyōsei, kokusai kōryū pōtaru saitō* [HAMAPO: Hamamatsu web portal for multicultural coexistence and international exchange]. <https://www.hi-hice.jp/ja/> and subordinated pages (last access: November 10, 2023).

HICE (n.d.): *Hamamatsu shūhen de katsudō suru gaikoku ni rūtsu no aru wakamono gurūpu COLORS: Communicate with Others to Learn Other Roots and Stories* [Group COLORS of youth with foreign roots active in the Hamamatsu area]. Hamamatsu: [n.p.] [leaflet].

Higuchi, Naoto (2002): “Kokusai imin ni okeru mezzo reberu no ichizuke: makuro-mikuro moderu wo koete” [The Role of Meso-Link in International Migration: Beyond the Macro-Micro Model]. In: *Japanese Sociological Review*, 52 (4), pp. 558-572.

Higuchi, Naoto; Tanno, Kiyoto (2003): “What's Driving Brazil-Japan Migration? The Making and Remaking of the Brazilian Niche in Japan”. In: *International Journal of Japanese Sociology*, 2003 (12), pp.33-47.

Higuchi, Naoto; Inaba, Nanako (2018): “Kangeki wo nuu: nyūkamā dai-ni sedai no daigaku shingaku” [Analyzing the patterns of bifurcation: University enrollment among Japan’s second-generation migrants]. In: *Japanese Sociological Review*, 68 (4), pp. 567-583.

Hirayama, Ari (2018): “Tokubetsu shien gakkū zaisekiritsu, gaikokujin no ko ga Nihonjin no bai: minkan chōsa” [The rate of the ones being enrolled in a special support class, foreign children double of Japanese ones: private investigation]. In: *Asahi Shimbun*. June 24. <https://www.asahi.com/articles/ASL4T43HKL4TUHBI01G.html> (defunct). *Wayback Machine*: <https://web.archive.org/web/20220808084007/https://www.asahi.com/articles/ASL4T43HKL4TUHBI01G.html> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Hist-geo.co.uk (n.d.): *Blank map of japanese prefectures*. <http://www.hist-geo.co.uk/japan/outline/japan-prefectures-1.php> (defunct). *Wayback Machine*: <https://web.archive.org/web/20200218043359/http://www.hist-geo.co.uk/contact/download/1/bom-jap/> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Homigaoka International Center (2023): *NPO hōjin Homigaoka kokusai kōryū sentā* [NPO Homigaoka International Exchange Center]. <http://homigaoka.jp/> (last access November 10, 2023).

Hoshino, Sō (2012): “Nikkei burajiru kyōkai to shinto no kongo: Gengo to shinkō no keishō o megutte” [The future of Nikkei Brazilian churches and believers: Regarding the succession of language and belief]. In: Hizuru Miki and Yoshihide Sakurai (eds.) (2012): *Nihon ni ikiru imin tachi no shūkyō seikatsu: nyūkamā no motarasu shūkyō tagenka* [The Religious Life of Immigrants in Japan: the shift to religious pluralism

brought about by the newcomers]. (MINERVA Shakaigaku Sōsho; 38). Kyōto: Mineruva Shobō, pp. 87-114.

Hoshino, Sō (2015): “Katorikku kyōkai to dekasegi-tachi: ‘kyōshin’ no shosō” [Catholic Church and the dekasegi: aspects of ‘resonance’]. (Proceedings of the 73rd annual convention of the Japanese Association for Religious Studies). In: *Journal of Religious Studies*, 88 (Suppl), pp.101-102.

Hovdelien, Olav (2019): “The Roman Catholic Church of Norway and migration challenges”. In: *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church*, 19 (1), pp.17-29.

HRW (Human Rights Watch) (2020): *World Report 2020: Japan: Events of 2019*. <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2020/country-chapters/japan> (last access: November 10, 2023).

IBGE (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística) (2010): *Censo 2010: Religião* [Census 2010: Religion]. <https://cidades.ibge.gov.br/brasil/pesquisa/23/22107> and subordinated pages (last access: November 10, 2023).

IFLA (2009): *Multicultural Communities: Guidelines for Library Services*. [s.l.]: IFLA. <https://repository.ifla.org/bitstream/123456789/462/1/multicultural-communities-en.pdf>. Retrieved from: <https://repository.ifla.org/handle/123456789/462> (last access: November 10, 2023).

IFLA/UNESCO (2012): *IFLA/UNESCO Multicultural Library Manifesto – Implementation Kit*. IFLA/UNESCO. <https://repository.ifla.org/bitstream/123456789/1629/1/implementation-kit-en.pdf>. Retrieved from: <https://repository.ifla.org/handle/123456789/1629> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Iida, Yumiko (2002): *Rethinking Identity in Modern Japan: Nationalism and Aesthetics*. (Routledge / Asian Studies Association of Australia (ASAA) East Asia Series; 3). London / New York: Routledge.

IIEC (2023): *International Institute of Education and Culture*. https://www.facebook.com/pg/iiec.hamamatsu/about/?ref=page_internal (last access: November 10, 2023).

Ikeuchi, Suma (2017a): "From ethnic religion to generative selves: Pentecostalism among Nikkei Brazilian migrants in Japan". In: *Contemporary Japan*, 29 (2), pp. 214-229.

Ikeuchi, Suma: (2017b): "Back to the Present: The 'Temporal Tandem' of Migration and Conversion among Pentecostal Nikkei Brazilians in Japan". In: *Ethnos*, 82 (4), pp. 758-783.

IOM (International Organization for Migration) (2004): *Migration from Latin America to Europe: Trends and Policy Challenges*. (IOM Migration Research Series; 16). [s.l.]: International Organization for Migration. https://kmhub.iom.int/sites/default/files/migration_from_latin_america_to_europe_0.pdf (last access: November 10, 2023).

ISA (International Sociological Association) (2001): *Code of Ethics*. <https://www.isa-sociology.org/en/about-isa/code-of-ethics> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Ishi, Angelo (1994): "Quem é Quem no Tribunal da Discriminação?" [Who's who in the tribunal of discrimination?]. In: Charles Tetsuo Chigusa (ed.) (1994): *A Quebra dos Mitos – O Fenômeno Dekassegui Através de Relatos Pessoais* [Undermining myths – The dekasegi phenomenon through personal accounts]. Atsugi: International Press Corporation, pp. 135-137.

Ishi, Angelo (2003): "Searching for Home, Pride, and 'Class': Japanese Brazilians in the Land of the Yen". In: Jeffrey Lesser (ed.) (2003): *Searching for Home Abroad: Japanese Brazilians and Transnationalism*. Durham [et al.]: Duke University Press, pp. 75-102.

Ishi, Angelo Akimitsu (2008): "Between Privilege and Prejudice: Japanese-Brazilian Migrants in 'the land of yen and the ancestors'". In: David Blake Willis and Stephen Murphy-Shigematsu (eds.) (2008): *Transcultural Japan: At the Borderlands of Race, Gender, and Identity*. (Asia's Transformations; 20). London [et al.]: Routledge, pp. 113-134.

Ishiwata, Eric (2011): "'Probably Impossible': Multiculturalism and Pluralisation in Present-Day Japan". In: *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 37 (10), pp. 1605-1626.

Itō, Yasuo (2003): “Tabunka shakai ni okeru geijutsu bunka to igi to arikata” [The meaning and nature of art in the multicultural society]. In: *Shizuoka University of Art and Culture Bulletin*, 4, pp. 71-78.

Itoi, Akinobu (2009): “Ōizumi chōritsu toshokan no jidōmuke tabunka sābisu” [Services for children at Ōizumi town library]. In: *Kodomo no toshokan* (tokushū yattemiyōyo tabunka sābisu), 56 (1), p. 5.

IURD (Universal.org - Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus) (2023): *Universal: Jesus Cristo é o Senhor* [Universal: Jesus Christ is the Lord]. <https://www.universal.org> and subordinated pages (last access: November 10, 2023).

Iwamoto, Hiromi (2006): “Nihon ni okeru Burajirujin gakkō no tenkai to jidō, seito no shūgaku jōkyō: Gunma-ken Ōra-gun Ōizumi-machi no jirei o chūshin ni” [The development of Brazilian Schools and the circumstances of school attendance of Brazilian children in Japan: a case study of Ōizumi town, Ōra district, Gunma prefecture]. In: *The New geography*, 54 (3), pp. 33-50.

June Advisors Group (2022): *Permanent Resident Visa*. <https://www.juridique.jp/visa/pr.php> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Kajita, Takamichi; Tanno, Kiyoto; and Higuchi, Naoto (2005): *Kao no mienai teijūka: Nikkei burajirujin to kokka / shijō / imin nettowāku* [Invisible residents: Japanese Brazilians vis-à-vis the state, the market, and the immigrant network]. Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai.

Kardec, Allan (1997): *O Evangelho Segundo o Espiritismo* [The Gospel according to Spiritism]. (Biblioteca Básica Espírita). São Paulo: Petit.

Kardec, Allan (2010): *What is Spiritism? Introduction to Knowing the Invisible World, that is, the World of Spirits*. Brasília: International Spiritist Council.

Kashiwazaki, Chikako (2013): “Incorporating Immigrants as Foreigners: Multicultural Politics in Japan”. In: *Citizenship Studies*, 17 (1), pp. 31-47.

Kataoka, Hiromi (2004): “Hamamatsu-shi ni okeru esunikku bijinesu no seiritsu, tenkai to chiiki shakai” [The Formation and Development of Ethnic Business and

Local Community in Hamamatsu city]. In: *Annals of the Association of Economic Geographers*, 50 (1), pp. 1-25.

Kataoka, Hiromi (2005): “Esunikku bijinesu o kyoten toshita esunikuna rentai no keisei: Hamamatsu-shi ni okeru Burajirujin no esunikku bijinesu royō jōkyō o moto ni” [The formation of ethnic solidarity in ethnic businesses: based on the utilization circumstances of Brazilian’s ethnic businesses in Hamamatsu city]. In: *Geographical review of Japan, Series A*, 78 (6), pp. 387-412.

Kataoka, Hiromi (2013): “The Utilization of an Ethnic Business Cluster-Zone as a Tourism Resource: A Case Study of Oizumi, Gunma Prefecture”. In: *Ikoma Keizai Ronsō*, 11 (2), pp. 197-212.

Kathi, Pradeep Chandra; Cooper, Terry L.; Meek, Jack W. (2007): “The Role of the University as a Mediating Institution in Neighborhood Council-City Agency Collaboration”. In: *Journal of Public Affairs Education*, 13 (2), pp. 365-382.

Kawai, Yūko (2020): *A Transnational Critique of Japaneseness: Cultural Nationalism, Racism, and Multiculturalism in Japan*. (New Studies in Modern Japan). Lanham, MD [et al.]: Lexington Books.

Kempka, Frauke (2012): *Vertraute Fremde: Akzeptanz in der Integrationsförderung von MigrantInnen in Japan und Deutschland* [Familiar foreign country: acceptance in promoting the integration of migrants in Japan and Germany]. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Kerdna (Kerdna Produção Editorial LTDA) (n.d.): *Danças Típicas* [Typical Dances]. <http://dancas-tipicas.info/> and subordinated pages (last access: November 10, 2023).

Kibe, Takashi (2014): “Can *tabunkakyōsei* be a Public Philosophy of Integration? Immigration, Citizenship and Multiculturalism in Japan”. In: Wilhelm Vosse, Reinhard Drifte, and Verena Blechinger-Talcott (eds.) (2014): *Governing Insecurity in Japan: The Domestic Discourse and Policy Response*. (Sheffield Centre for Japanese studies / Routledge series). Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 71-87.

Kikuchi, Toshio; Yabe, Ken’ichi (2003): “Development of the Arena Society and its Discontent in Terms of Regional Festival: A Case Study of Oizumi-machi as

Liberdade of Japan”. In: *Geographical Reports of Tokyo Metropolitan University*, 38, pp. 29-40.

Kikuyama, Lissa (2019): *Gaikokujin no shūgakuzen no kosodate shien jigyō* [Preschool child-rearing assistance for foreigners]. (Presentation at a *tabunka kyōsei* symposium at U-ToC, March 15, 2019).

Kim, Viktoriya; Streich, Philip (2020): “*Tabunka Kyōsei* without immigration policy: The role of centers for international exchange and their challenges”. In: *Contemporary Japan*, 32 (2), pp. 174-196.

King; Karen M.; Newbold, K. Bruce (2007) “Return Immigration: The Chronic Migration of Canadian Immigrants, 1991, 1996 and 2001”. In: *Population, Space and Place*, 14, pp. 85-100.

King, Russell; Christou, Anastasia (2014): “Second - Generation ‘Return’ to Greece: New Dynamics of Transnationalism and Integration”. In: *International Migration*, 52 (6), pp. 85-99.

Kittaka, Louise George (2013): *The PTA: a survival guide for foreign parents*. September 23. <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/community/2013/09/23/issues/the-pta-a-survival-guide-for-foreign-parents/#.UkDibdKGG24> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Klien, Susanne (2020): “Of serendipities, success and failure and insider/outsider status in participant observation”. In: Nora Kottmann and Cornelia Reiher (eds.) (2020): *Studying Japan: Handbook of Research Designs, Fieldwork and Methods*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, pp. 223-226.

Kodama Dojo (n.d.): *Academia onde se ensina Disciplina, Respeito e Determinação* [Academy where discipline, respect and determination are taught]. [leaflet].

Kodomonokuni (NPO hōjin kodomo no kuni) ([2023]): *NPO hōjin kodomo no kuni* [NPO children’s country]. <https://npokodomonokuni.org/> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Komai, Hiroshi (2006): *Gurōbaruka jidai no Nihongata tabunka kyōsei shakai* [The Japanese type of a multicultural society in a global age]. (Akashi raiburarī; 100). Tōkyō: Akashi Shoten.

Komine, Ayako (2014): "When Migrants Became Denizens: Understanding Japan as a Reactive Immigration Country". In: *Contemporary Japan* 26 (2), pp. 197-222.

Kondō, Atsushi (2011): "Tabunka kyōsei seisaku to wa nanika" [What are tabunka kyōsei measures?]. In: Atsushi Kondō (ed.) (2011): *Tabunka kyōsei seisaku e no apurōchi* [Approach to multicultural coexistence measures]. (Tabunka kyōsei seisaku no kiso kōza / Tabunka kyōsei kanren no jitsumuka yōsei kōza). Tōkyō: Akashi Shoten, pp. 3-14.

Kottmann, Nora; Reiher, Cornelia (2020): "How to interview people: Qualitative interviews". In: Nora Kottmann and Cornelia Reiher (eds.) (2020): *Studying Japan: Handbook of Research Designs, Fieldwork and Methods*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, pp. 184-195.

Krompāk, Edina (2018): "Promoting Multilingualism Through Heritage Language Courses: New Perspectives on the Transfer Effect". In: Raphael Berthele and Amelia Lambelet (eds.) (2018): *Heritage and School Language Literacy Development in Migrant Children: Interdependence or Independence?* (Second Language Acquisition; 119). Bristol [et al.]: Multilingual Matters, pp. 141-160.

Kymlicka, Will (2016): "Defending Diversity in an Era of Populism: Multiculturalism and Interculturalism Compared". In: Nasar Meer, Tariq Modood, and Ricard Zapata-Barrero (eds.) (2016): *Multiculturalism and Interculturalism: Debating the Dividing Lines*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 158-177.

Kyodo News (2023): *Japan to offer permanent residency for 4th-generation descendants*. June 7. <https://english.kyodonews.net/news/2023/06/968c4bf796d6-japan-to-offer-permanent-residency-for-4th-generation-descendants.html> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Lamphere, Louise (1992): "The Shaping of Diversity". In: Louise Lamphere (ed.) (1992): *Structuring Diversity: Ethnographic Perspectives on the New Immigration*. Chicago [et al.]: The University of Chicago Press, pp. 1-34.

LeBaron von Baeyer, Sarah A. (2020): *Living Transnationally between Japan and Brazil: Routes beyond Roots*. Lanham, MD [et al.]: Lexington Books.

LeCompte, Margaret D.; Schensul, Jean J. (2013): *Analysis and Interpretation of Ethnographic Data: A Mixed Methods Approach*. (Ethnographer's toolkit; 5). Lanham, MD [et al.]: AltaMira.

LeMay, Alec R. (2018): "No Time for Church: School, Family and Filipino-Japanese Children's Acculturation". In: *Social Science Japan Journal*, 21 (1), pp. 9-25.

LeMay, Alec R. (2019): "Mushūkyō Identification and the Fragile Existence of Catholic Children in Japan". In: *Religions*, 10 (414), pp. 1-16.

Lesser, Jeffrey (1999): *Negotiating National Identity: Immigrants, Minorities and the Struggle for Ethnicity in Brazil*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Lesser, Jeffrey (ed.) (2003): *Searching for Home Abroad: Japanese Brazilians and Transnationalism*. Durham [et al.]: Duke University Press.

Lesser, Jeffrey (2013): *Immigration, Ethnicity, and National Identity in Brazil, 1808 to the present*. (New Approaches to the Americas). Cambridge [et al.]: Cambridge University Press.

Lewgoy, Bernardo (2008): "A Transnacionalização do Espiritismo Kardecista Brasileiro: uma Discussão Inicial" [Transnationalization of the Brazilian Kardecian Spiritualism: an initial discussion]. In: *Religião e Sociedade*, 28 (1), pp. 84-104.

Lidola, Maria (2011): "Appropriating 'die Brazilianerin': Negotiating Belonging and Unbelonging in Everyday Practice in Berlin". In: *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 136 (2: Afroatlantische Allianzen / Afro-Atlantic Alliances), pp. 379-400.

Lieberman, Carl (1980): "The Use of Mediating Institutions in Implementing Public Policy". In: *Social Science*, 55 (1), pp. 13-18.

Linger, Daniel Touro (2001): *No One Home: Brazilian Selves Remade in Japan*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Linger, Daniel T. (2003): "Do Japanese Brazilians Exist?". In: Jeffrey Lesser (ed.) (2003): *Searching for Home Abroad: Japanese Brazilians and Transnationalism*. Durham [et al.]: Duke University Press, pp. 201-214.

Liu-Farrer, Gracia (2020): *Immigrant Japan: Mobility and Belonging in an Ethno-nationalist Society*. Ithaca, NY; London: Cornell University Press.

- Loobuyck, Patrick (2016): "Towards an Intercultural Sense of Belonging Together: Reflections on the Theoretical and Political Level". In: Nasar Meer, Tariq Modood, and Ricard Zapata-Barrero (eds.) (2016): *Multiculturalism and Interculturalism: Debating the Dividing Lines*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 225-245.
- Lulle, Aija (2014): "Spaces of encounter-displacement: contemporary labour migrants' return visits to Latvia". In: *Geografiska annaler. Series B, Human geography*, 96 (2), pp.127-140.
- Maeda, Hitomi (2012): *Japanese Brazilians in Japan: A Formula of Assessing the Degree of Social Integration*. Saarbrücken: AV Akademikerverlag.
- Maeyama, Takashi (1979): "Ethnicity, Secret Societies, and Associations: The Japanese in Brazil". In: *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 21 (4), pp. 589-610.
- Manning, Julian (2007): "Creating Space and the Performance of Cultural Identity: A Study of Brazilians in Oizumi-Machi, Gunma-ken: Creating Space and the Act of Migration". In: *Nihon Daigaku Geijutsu Gakubu Kiyō*, 2007, pp. 127-165.
- Manzenreiter, Wolfram (2013): "Diaspora ohne Heimat: Einfluss der Rückkehrmigration auf Japanische Auswanderergemeinschaften in Südamerika" [Diaspora without a home: Influence of return migration on Japanese emigrant communities in South America]. In: *Asiatische Studien / Études Asiatiques*, 67 (2: Ein neues Japan? Politischer und sozialer Wandel seit den 1990er Jahren), pp. 651-680.
- Margolis, Maxine L. (1994): *Little Brazil. An Ethnography of Brazilian Immigrants in New York City*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Margolis, Maxine L. (1995): "Transnationalism and Popular Culture: The Case of Brazilian Immigrants in the United States". In: *Journal of Popular Culture*, 29 (1): 29-41.
- Margolis, Maxine L. (2013): *Goodbye, Brazil: Émigrés from the Land of Soccer and Samba*. Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Mariano, Ricardo (2004): "Expansão Pentecostal no Brasil: O Caso da Igreja Universal" [Pentecostal expansion in Brazil: the case of the Universal Church]. In: *Estudos Avançados*, 18 (52), pp. 121-138.

Martes, Ana Cristina Braga (2001): "Migration and Religion: A safe Place for Sociability: Brazilian Immigrants and Church Affiliation in Massachusetts". In: *Migration World Magazine*, 29 (5), pp. 28-33.

Masterson, Daniel M., with Sayaka Funada-Classen (2004): *The Japanese in Latin America*. (The Asian American Experience). Urbana [et al.]: Illinois University Press.

Matovina, Timothy (2012): *Latino Catholicism: Transformation in America's Largest Church*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Matsuo, Shin (2009): "Burajiru nikkeijin no gengo shiyō" [Language use of Brazilian Nikkeijin]. In: Kayoko Noro et al. (ed.): *'Tadashisa' e no toi: hihanteki shakai gengogaku no tameshi* [A question of rightness: a trial of critical sociolinguistics]. Tōkyō: Sangensha, pp. 149-182.

Matsuo, Shin (2011): "Hosuto jūmin ga motsu gaikokuseki jūmin to no sōri kyōsei ishiki" [Host residents' perception of compatibility with foreign residents]. In Kōji Ueda and Hitoshi Yamashita (eds.) (2011): *'Kyōsei' no najitsu – hihanteki shakai gengogaku kara no toikake* [Facts about 'coexistence': a critical sociolinguistic inquiry]. Tōkyō: Sangensha, pp. 81-105.

Matsuoka, Marie (2014): "Tayōna Hamamatsu shimin to tsukuru mirai no shakai" [Creating a future society with diverse Hamamatsu citizens]. In: *Gekkan Jichiken (Tokushū: Bunka no kotonaru rinjin to tomo ni hataraku)*, 56 (659), pp. 45-49.

Matsuoka, Marie (2018): *Tabunka kyōsei wo kangaeru* [Thinking about *tabunka kyōsei*]. April 4. (Presentation at the Hamamatsu University School of Medicine, Course for Midwives).

McGinnis, John O. (2002): "Reviving Tocqueville's America: The Supreme Court's New Jurisprudence of Social Discovery". In: *California Law Review*, 90 (2), pp.485-571.

McLaughlin, Levi (2010): "All Research is Fieldwork: A Practical Introduction to Studying in Japan as a Foreign Researcher". In: *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, 8 (30). <https://apjif.org/-Levi-McLaughlin/3388/article.pdf>. Retrieved from: <https://apjif.org/-Levi-McLaughlin/3388/article.html> (last access: November 10, 2023).

McLaughlin, Levi (2020): “How to do fieldwork: Studying Japan in and outside of Japan”. In: Nora Kottmann and Cornelia Reiher (eds.) (2020): *Studying Japan: Handbook of Research Designs, Fieldwork and Methods*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, pp. 157-168.

Meagher, Caitlin (2020): “How to make sense of data: Coding and theorising”. In: Nora Kottmann and Cornelia Reiher (eds.) (2020): *Studying Japan: Handbook of Research Designs, Fieldwork and Methods*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, pp. 323-334.

MEC (Ministério da Educação) (2018): *Escolas de Educação Básica no Japão* [Elementary schools in Japan]. <http://portal.mec.gov.br/expansao-da-rede-federal/323-secretarias-112877938/orgaos-vinculados-82187207/12971-escolas-de-educacao-basica-no-japao> (last access: November 10, 2023).

MEC (Ministério da Educação) ([2023]): *Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas Educacionais Anísio Teixeira (Inep): Exame Nacional para Certificação de Competências de Jovens e Adultos (Encceja)* [National Institute for Educational Studies and Research Anísio Teixeira (Inep): National examination for the certification of skills for young people and adults (Encceja)]. <https://www.gov.br/inep/pt-br/areas-de-atuacao/avaliacao-e-exames-educacionais/encceja> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Mecila (Maria Sibylla Merian International Centre for Advanced Studies in the Humanities and Social Sciences Conviviality-Inequality in Latin America) (2017): “Conviviality in Unequal Societies: Perspectives from Latin America. Thematic Scope and Research Programme”. In: *Mecila Working Paper Series*, (1). São Paulo: The Maria Sibylla Merian International Centre for Advanced Studies in the Humanities and Social Sciences Conviviality-Inequality in Latin America.

Meer, Nasar; Modood, Tariq (2016): “Interculturalism, Multiculturalism and Citizenship”. In: Nasar Meer, Tariq Modood, and Ricard Zapata-Barrero (eds.) (2016): *Multiculturalism and Interculturalism: Debating the Dividing Lines*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 27-52.

Meer, Nasar; Modood, Tariq; Zapata-Barrero, Ricard (2016): “A Plural Century: Situating Interculturalism and Multiculturalism”. In: Nasar Meer, Tariq Modood, and

Ricard Zapata-Barrero (eds.) (2016): *Multiculturalism and Interculturalism: Debating the Dividing Lines*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 1-26.

Mejía, Anne-Marie de; Rodríguez, María Emilia Montes (2008): "Points of Contact or Separate Paths: A Vision of Bilingual Education in Colombia". In: Christine Hélot and Anne-Marie de Mejía (eds.) (2008): *Forging Multilingual Spaces: Integrated Perspectives on Majority and Minority Bilingual Education*. (Bilingual Education and Bilingualism; 68). Bristol [et al.]: Multilingual Matters, pp. 109-139.

Mendel, Stuart C. (2003): "The ecology of games between public policy and private action: Nonprofit community organizations as bridging and mediating institutions". In: *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*, 13 (3), pp. 229-236.

Meyer, John W.; Rowan, Brian (1977): "Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony". In: *American Journal of Sociology* 83 (2): pp. 340-363.

MEXT (Monbu kagakushō [Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology]) (2022): *Wagakuni ni oite, kōtō gakkō sōtō toshite shitei shita gaikokujin gakkō ichiran (reiwa 4-nen 2-gatsu 15-nichi)* [List of foreigner's schools in Japan which are designated as equivalent to Japanese high school (as of February 15, 2022)]. February 15. https://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/koutou/shikaku/07111314/003.htm (last access: November 10, 2023).

MEXT (Monbu kagakushō [Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology]) (n.d.): *Wagakuni no gimu kyōiku seido no hensen* [Changes in the Compulsory Education System of Japan]. https://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/shingi/chukyo/chukyo0/toushin/05082301/017.htm (last access: November 10, 2023).

MHLW (Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare of Japan) (2009): *Nikkeijin rishokusha ni taisuru kikoku shien jigyo no gaijo* [Outline of repatriation support program regarding unemployed nikkeijin]. March 31. <https://www.mhlw.go.jp/houdou/2009/03/dl/h0331-10a.pdf>. Retrieved from: <https://www.mhlw.go.jp/houdou/2009/03/h0331-10.html> (last access: November 10, 2023).

MIC (Sōmushō [Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications]) (2006): *Tabunka kyōsei no suishin ni kansuru kenkyūkai hōkokusho: chiiki ni okeru tabunka kyōsei no suishin ni mukete* [Report of the Working Group on Multicultural Coexistence Promotion: towards the Promotion of Multicultural Coexistence in regional Communities]. March. http://www.soumu.go.jp/kokusai/pdf/sonota_b5.pdf (last access: November 10, 2023).

MIC (Sōmushō Tabunka kyōsei jireishū sakusei wākingugurūpu [Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, Working Group for Compiling the Collection of Examples for Multicultural Coexistence]) (2017): *Tabunka kyōsei jireishū: tabunka kyōsei suishin puran kara 10-nen, tomoni hiraku chiiki no mirai* [Collection of examples of multicultural coexistence: 10 years since the plan for the promotion of multicultural coexistence, lead to the region's future together]. March. https://www.soumu.go.jp/main_content/000731370.pdf (last access: November 10, 2023).

MIC (Sōmushō, Jichi gyōseikyoku kokusaishitsu [Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, Local Administration Bureau International Office]) (2020): *Chiiki ni okeru tabunka kyōsei suishin puran (kaitei)* [Plan for the promotion of multicultural coexistence in local communities (revision)]. https://www.soumu.go.jp/main_content/000706218.pdf (last access: November 10, 2023).

MIC (Sōmushō Tabunka kyōsei jireishū sakusei wākingugurūpu [Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, Working Group for Compiling the Collection of Examples for Multicultural Coexistence]) (2021): *Tabunka kyōsei jireishū (Reiwa 3 nendo-han)* [Collection of examples of multicultural coexistence (2021 edition)]. August. https://www.soumu.go.jp/main_content/000765992.pdf (last access: November 10, 2023).

MIC (Statistics Japan Sōmushō Tōkeikyoku [Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, Statistics Bureau]) [2022]a: *Dai 2-shō Jinkō, setai: 2-1 Jinkō no sui'i to shōrai jinkō* [Chapter 2 Population, households: 2-1 population development and future population]. <https://www.stat.go.jp/data/nihon/02.html> (last access: November 10, 2023).

MIC (Statistics Japan Sōmushō Tōkeikyoku [Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, Statistics Bureau]) [2022]b: *Dai 2-shō Jinkō, setai: 2-8 Kokuseki-betsu zairyū gaikokujinsū* [Chapter 2 Population, households: 2-8 number of foreigners residing in Japan, divided by nationality]. <https://www.stat.go.jp/data/nihon/02.html> (last access: November 10, 2023).

MIC (Sōmushō tōkeikyoku [Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, Statistics Bureau]) (2022c): *Reiwa 2-nen Kokusei chōsa (Sōmushō tōkeikyoku): Todōfuken, shikuchōson-betsu no omona kekka* [Reiwa 2 [2020] National census (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, Statistics Bureau): main results divided by prefectures and municipalities]. July 22. Retrieved from: <https://www.e-stat.go.jp/stat-search/files?page=1&layout=datalist&toukei=00200521&tstat=000001049104&cycle=0&tclass1=000001049105&tclass2val=0> (last access: November 10, 2023).

MIEF (Mie International Exchange Foundation) ([2023]): *Chisana Burajiru toshokan, gaikokugo tosho* [Small Brazilian Library and books in foreign languages]. <http://www.mief.or.jp/jp/brasil.html> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Minami, Thiago Amaral (2012): “The Social Costs of Labor Migration and Global Recession on Brazilian Schools in Japan: Rethinking Minority School Education”. In: David A. Urias (ed.): *The Immigration & Education Nexus* (Comparative and International Education book series; 12), pp. 227-244.

Ministerial Conference (Gaikokujinzai no ukeire / kyōsei ni kansuru kankei kakuryō kaigi [Ministerial Conference on Acceptance and Coexistence of Foreign Nationals]) (2022): *Gaikokujinzai no ukeire / kyōsei no tame no sōgōteki taiō-saku (Reiwa 4-nendo kaitei)* [Comprehensive Measures for Acceptance and Coexistence of Foreign Nationals (FY2022 revised)]. June 14. <https://www.moj.go.jp/isa/content/001374803.pdf> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Mita, Chiyoko (2009): *‘Dekasegi’ kara ‘dekasegi’ e: Burajiru imin hyaku-nen ni miru hito to bunka no dainamizumu* [From ‘dekasegi’ [in *kanji*] to ‘dekasegi’ [in *katakana*]: dynamism of people and culture seen in 100 years of Brazilian immigration]. Tōkyō: Fuji Shuppan.

Mita, Chiyoko (2011): “Tōrai shita Burajiru no shūkyō” [Brazilian religions which came to Japan]. In: Chiyoko Mita (ed.) (2011): *Gurōbaruka no naka de ikiru to há: Nikkei Burajirujin no toransunashonaruna kurashi* [What it means to live in an age of globalization: The transnational lives of Japanese Brazilians in Japan]. Tōkyō: Sophia University Press, pp. 223-229.

Mitsui (Mitsui & Co. (Brasil) S.A.) (2023): *Sustentabilidade* [Sustainability]. <https://www.mitsui.com/br/pt/sustainability/index.html> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Mizuno, Tatsuya (2016): *Imin no uta: Ōizumi Burajiru taun monogatari* [Immigrant's poetry: The tale of the Brazil town of Ōizumi]. Tōkyō: CCC Media House.

MOJ (Hōmushō nyūkoku kanrikyoku) (ed.) (2006): *Heisei 18-nen han “shutsunyūkoku kanri”: nihongo-han* [2006 edition “immigration control”: Japanese version]. <https://www.moj.go.jp/isa/content/930002496.pdf>. Retrieved from: https://www.moj.go.jp/isa/policies/policies/nyukan_nyukan53.html (last access: November 10, 2023)

MOJ (Hōmushō Shutsunyūkoku Zairyū Kanrichō [Ministry of Justice, Immigration Services Agency of Japan]) ([2021]): *Nikkei yonsei no saranaru ukeire seido* [Further acceptance system for the fourth generation Nikkei]. http://www.moj.go.jp/isa/publications/materials/nyuukokukanri07_00166.html (last access: November 10, 2023).

MOJ (Hōmushō, Shutsunyūkoku Zairyū Kanrichō [Ministry of Justice, Immigration Services Agency of Japan]) ([2023]): *Zairyū gaikokujin tōkei (moto tōroku gaikokujin tōkei) tōkeihyō* [Statistics on foreigners residing in Japan (former Statistics on registered foreigners)]. [1959-2022]. https://www.moj.go.jp/isa/policies/statistics/toukei_ichiran_touroku.html and subordinated pages (last access: November 10, 2023).

Mondwurf, Chaline (2021): “Brazilian Immigrants and Multiculturalism in Japan: Local *tabunka kyōsei* Policies and their Effect on the Brazilian Diaspora in Hamamatsu”. In: Gunter Schubert, Franziska Plümmer, and Anastasiya Bayok (eds.) (2021): *Immigration Governance in East Asia: Norm Diffusion, Politics of Identity, Citizenship*.

(Routledge Series on Asian Migration). Abingdon, Oxon / New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 277-294.

Morimoto, Ikuyo; Hattori, Keiko (2011): “Chiiki nihongo shien katsudō no genba to shakai wo tsunagumono: nihongo borantia no koe kara” [People connecting the ground of local Japanese language support activities with society: voices of Japanese language volunteers]. In: Kōji Ueda and Hitoshi Yamashita (eds.) (2011): *‘Kyōsei’ no naijitsu – hihanteki shakai gengogaku kara no toikake* [Facts about 'coexistence': a critical sociolinguistic inquiry]. Tōkyō: Sangensha, pp. 127-155.

MRE (Ministério das Relações Exteriores) (2022): *Consulado Nagóia: Educação: Guias e cartilhas sobre educação para brasileiros no Japão* [Consulate Nagoya: education: guides and readers about education for Brazilians in Japan]. July 29. <https://www.gov.br/mre/pt-br/consulado-nagoia/educacao/guias-e-cartilhas-sobre-educacao-para-brasileiros-no-japao> (last access: November 10, 2023).

MRE (Ministério das Relações Exteriores) (2023a): *Embaixada do Brasil em Tóquio: escolas homologadas* [Embassy of Brazil in Tōkyō: recognized schools]. November 10. <https://www.gov.br/mre/pt-br/embaixada-toquio/escolas-brasileiras/escolas-homologadas> (last access: November 10, 2023).

MRE (Ministério das Relações Exteriores, Secretaria de Comunidades Brasileiras e Assuntos Consulares e Jurídicos) (2023b): *Comunidades Brasileiras no exterior: Ano-base 2022* [Brazilian communities abroad: base year 2022]. <https://www.gov.br/mre/pt-br/assuntos/portal-consular/BrasileirosnoExterior.pdf>. August. Retrieved from: <https://www.gov.br/mre/pt-br/consuladomunique/noticias/estimativas-da-comunidade-brasileira-no-exterior> (last access: November 10, 2023).

MRE (Ministério das Relações Exteriores) (2023c): *Consulado Hamamatsu: Escolas Brasileiras em atividade na Província de Shizuoka* [Consulate Hamamatsu: Brazilian schools operating in Shizuoka prefecture]. June 28. <https://www.gov.br/mre/pt-br/consulado-hamamatsu/escolas-brasileiras-em-atividade-na-provincia-de-shizuoka> (last access: November 10, 2023).

MRE (Ministério das Relações Exteriores) (2023d): *Consulado Hamamatsu: Informações gerais* [Consulate Hamamatsu: general information]. May 25.

<https://www.gov.br/mre/pt-br/consulado-hamamatsu/informacoes-gerais> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Mundo de Alegria ([2023]): *Mundo de Alegria*. <http://www.mundodealegria.org/index.html> and subordinated pages (last access: November 10, 2023).

Murai, Rosa Mercedes Ochante (2018): “Katorikku Kyōkai no tabunka kyōsei: Kodomo no bunka, shinkō keishō no jittai, Mie-ken Iga-shi Katorikku Ueno Kyōkai no jirei” [Multicultural coexistence at the Catholic Church: The actual state of the inheritance of children’s culture and faith, taking the Catholic Ueno Church in Iga city, Mie prefecture as example]. In: *M neto*, 199, pp. 32-33.

Musante, Kathleen (2015): “Participant Observation”. In: H. Russell Bernard; Clarence C. Gravlee (eds.) (2015): *Handbook of Methods in Cultural Anthropology*. Lanham, MD [et al.]: Rowman & Littlefield, pp. [238]-[276].

N-Pocket [Hamamatsu NPO Network Center] (2013): *Guia de Consultas Sobre Carreiras Para Crianças e Jovens Estrangeiros* [Consultation guide about careers for foreign children and adolescents]. <https://tabunka.n-pocket.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/guia%20para%20futuro2013.pdf> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Nagayoshi, Kikuko (2011): “Support of Multiculturalism, But For Whom? Effects of Ethno-National Identity on the Endorsement of Multiculturalism in Japan”. In: *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 37 (4), pp. 561-578.

Nakagawa, Kyoko Yanagida (2018a): “Projeto Kaeru: Retrospectiva de 10 anos de atividades” [Project Kaeru: retrospect of 10 years of activities]. In: Kyoko Yanagida Nakagawa (ed.) (2018): *Projeto Kaeru: 10 Anos*. São Paulo: Benjamin, pp. 13-22.

Nakagawa, Kyoko Yanagida (2018b): “Trabalhadores Brasileiros no Japão: O Movimento Dekassegui” [Brazilian workers in Japan: the dekasegi movement]. In: Kyoko Yanagida Nakagawa (ed.) (2018): *Projeto Kaeru: 10 Anos*. São Paulo: Benjamin, pp. 23-40.

Nakagawa, Kyoko Yanagida (2018c): “Pesquisa sobre Transtorno do Espectro Autista (TEA) no Japão” [Investigation about autism spectrum disorder (ASD) in Japan]. In: Kyoko Yanagida Nakagawa (ed.) (2018): *Projeto Kaeru: 10 Anos*. São Paulo: Benjamin, pp. 99-102.

Nakamatsu, Tomoko (2013): “Under the Multicultural Flag: Japan's Ambiguous Multicultural Framework and its Local Evaluations and Practices”. In: *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 40 (1), pp. 137-154.

Nihon Keizai Shimbun (2018): *Gaikokujin shūrō kakudai, shushō ga hyōmei kensetsu, nōgyō, kaigo nado* [Expansion of foreign employment, Prime Minister announces construction, agriculture, nursing care, etc.]. June 5. <https://www.nikkei.com/article/DGXMZO31413180V00C18A6MM8000/> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Nikkei Asia (2017): *Japan expanding free preschool, part of Abe's \$17.5bn spending: Program to cover 2 million more children; cost-benefit link unclear*. November 9. <https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/Japan-expanding-free-preschool-part-of-Abe-s-17.5bn-spending> (last access: November 10, 2023).

NIKKEYWEB ([2016]): *NIKKEYWEB Integrando a comunidade: Senac forma a primeira turma de brasileiros que vivem no Japão* [NIKKEYWEB Integrating the Community: Senac graduates the first class of Brazilians who live in Japan]. <https://www.nikkeyweb.org.br/senac-forma-a-primeira-turma-de-brasileiros-que-vivem-no-japao/> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Nishida, Mieko (2018): *Diaspora and Identity: Japanese Brazilians in Brazil and Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Niwatori no kai ([2023]): *Mugen no kanōsei wo motsu kodomotachi wo dabururimiteddo ni shinai tame* [To not make children who have infinite possibilities double limited]. <https://www.niwatoris.org/> and subordinated pages (last access: November 10, 2023).

Ó Laoire, Muiris (2008): “Educating for Participation in a Bilingual or a Multilingual Society? Challenging the Power Balance between English and Irish (Gaelic) and Other Minority Languages in Ireland”. In: Christine Hélot and Anne-Marie de Mejía

(eds.) (2008): *Forging Multilingual Spaces: Integrated Perspectives on Majority and Minority Bilingual Education*. (Bilingual Education and Bilingualism; 68). Bristol [et al.]: Multilingual Matters, pp. 256-264.

Obama, Barack (2015 [1995]): *From the Vault, Barack Obama, SEP 1995* [speech at the Cambridge Public Library, originally aired on Channel 37 Cambridge Municipal Television]. 22-CityView - Cambridge, MA. March 12. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w5JlqDnoqlo> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Oda, Ernani (2010): "Ethnic Migration and Memory: Disputes over the Ethnic Origins of Japanese Brazilians in Japan". In: *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 33 (3), pp. 515-532.

Ogino, Taichi; Sugita, Sanae; Dohi, Masato (2009): "Gunma-ken Ōizumi-machi ni okeru Nikkei Burajirujin no teijūka ni kansuru kenkyū: kūkan kōzō to shakai kōzō no henyō kara" [A study on the Nikkei Brazilian settlement in Ōizumi town, Gunma prefecture: From the spatial and social structure shift]. In: *Journal of the City Planning Institute of Japan*, 44 (3), pp. 139-144.

OIA (Ōizumi International Association) (2023): *Ōizumi kokusai kōryū kyōkai* [Ōizumi International Association]. <http://www.oia-gunma.jp/> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Oishi, Nana (2012a): "Immigration and Social Integration in Japan". In: James Frideres and John Biles (eds.) (2012): *International Perspectives: Integration and Inclusion*. (Queen's Policy Studies Series). Montreal [et al.]: McGill-Queen's Press, pp. 165-184.

Oishi, Nana (2012b): "The Limits of Immigration Policies: The Challenges of Highly Skilled Migration in Japan". In: *American Behavioral Scientist*, 56 (8), pp. 1080-1100.

Ōizumi Town ([2023]): *Ōizumi-machi* [Ōizumi town]. <http://www.town.oizumi.gunma.jp/> and subordinated pages (last access: November 10, 2023).

Okano, Kaori H. (2018): "Patterns of Variations in the 'Internationalising Education' Discourse and Practice". In: *Educational Studies in Japan: International Yearbook*, 12, pp. 35-48.

Oliveira, Italo Takassaki (2018): “Ciclo de Palestras sobre Crianças com Transtorno do Espectro Autista (TEA)” [Lecture series on children with autism spectrum disorder (ASD)]. In: Kyoko Yanagida Nakagawa (ed.) (2018): *Projeto Kaeru: 10 Anos*. São Paulo: Benjamin, pp. 103-114.

Onai, Tōru (2001): “Nikkei Burajirujin no teijūka to chiiki shakai no henka” [Nikkei Brazilians’ settlement and local community changes]. In: Tōru Onai and Eshin Sakai (eds.) (2001): *Nikkei Burajirujin no teijūka to chiiki shakai: Gunma-ken Ōta, Ōizumi chiku wo jirei toshite* [Nikkei Brazilians’ settlement and local community: A case study of the districts Ōta and Ōizumi, Gunma prefecture]. Tōkyō: Ochanomizu Shobō, pp. 351-373.

O’Reilly, Karen (2012): *Ethnographic methods*. London [et al.]: Routledge.

Oro, Ari Pedro; Tadvall, Marcelo (2018): “A Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus no espaço público religioso global” [The Universal Church of the Kingdom of God in the global religious public space]. In: *Sociologia: Revista da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto*, 36 (1), pp.51-69.

Otani, Kagari (2012): “Rīmanshokku ni yotte Burajirujin ha donoyōna koto ni konnan o kanjiteiru no ka: Toyota-shi Homi Danchi de no firudowāku kara” [Which things do the Brazilians consider as difficult due to the Lehman shock: From fieldwork in Toyota City, Homi Complex]. In: *JICA Hamamatsu Kaigai Imin Shiryōkan Kenkyū Kiyō*, 7, pp. 105-115.

Palma, Paul J. (2020): *Italian American Pentecostalism and the Struggle for Religious Identity*. (Routledge Studies in Religion). London [et al.]: Routledge.

Park, Robert Ezra (1950): “Our racial frontier on the Pacific”. In: Robert Ezra Park (ed.): *Race and culture*. Glencoe: Free Press, pp. 81-116.

Pedroza, Luicy, Palop, Pau; Hoffmann, Bert (2016): *Emigrant Policies in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Santiago de Chile: FLACSO-Chile.

Perroud, Mélanie (2007): “Migration Retour ou Migration Détour? Diversité des Parcours Migratoires Des Brésiliens D’ascendance Japonaise” [Return Migration or Detour Migration? Diverse Migration Paths of Brazilians of Japanese Descent]. In: *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales*, 23 (1), pp. 49–70.

Pew Research Center (2013): *Brazil's Changing Religious Landscape*. July 18. <https://www.pewforum.org/2013/07/18/brazils-changing-religious-landscape/> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Pew Research Center (2018): *'New Age' beliefs common among both religious and nonreligious Americans*. October 1. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/10/01/new-age-beliefs-common-among-both-religious-and-nonreligious-americans/> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Espaço Pimentinha Kids ([2023]): *espacopimentinhakids* [Space Pimentinha Kids]. <https://www.instagram.com/espacopimentinhakids/?hl=de> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Portal Japão (2023): *Brazilian Day Hamamatsu 2023 tem data definida e novo local* [Brazilian Day Hamamatsu 2023 has a definitive date and a new venue]. <https://portaljapao.com/brazilian-day-hamamatsu-2023-tem-data-definida-e-novo-local/> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Portes, Alejandro; Guarnizo, Luis E.; Landolt, Patricia (1999): "The Study of Transnationalism: Pitfalls and Promise of an Emergent Research Field". In: *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22 (2), pp. 217-237.

Portes, Alejandro (2001): "The Debates and Significance of Immigrant Transnationalism". In: *Global Networks*, 1 (3), pp. 181-193.

Portes, Alejandro; Rumbaut, Rubén G. (2001): *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation*. Berkeley [et al.]: University of California Press.

Portes, Alejandro; Zhou, Min (1993): "The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and Its Variants". In: *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 530 (Interminority Affairs in the U. S.: Pluralism at the Crossroads), pp. 74-96.

Pries, Ludger; Sezgin, Zeynep (2009): "Migrantenorganisationen als Grenzüberschreiter – ein (wieder)erstarkendes Forschungsfeld" [Immigrant organizations as border crossers: a (re-)emerging field of research]. In: Ludger Pries and Zeynep Sezgin (eds.) (2010): *Jenseits von 'Identität oder Integration': Grenzen überspannende Migrantenorganisationen* [Beyond 'identity or integration': migrant

organizations that transcend borders]. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, pp. 7-13.

Projeto Chōchō (2022): Projeto Chōchō: Desenvolvimento Socioemocional [Project Butterfly: socioemotional development]. <https://www.projetochochou.com/workshop-hamamatsu-ver3> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Projeto Kaeru ([2023]): *Projeto Kaeru: Um programa de inclusão às escolas públicas do Estado de São Paulo de filhos de trabalhadores brasileiros no Japão* [Project Kaeru: An inclusion program at public schools in the State of São Paulo for children of Brazilian workers in Japan]. <https://projetoKaeru.org.br/> and subordinated pages (last access: November 10, 2023).

Projeto Manoel Philomeno de Miranda (2012): *Terapia pelos Passes* [Therapy through Passes]. Salvador: Livraria Espírita Alvorada.

Quero, Hugo Córdova (2010): "Faithing Japan: Japanese Brazilian Migrants and the Roman Catholic Church". In: Glenda Tibe Bonifacio and Vivienne S. M. Angeles (eds.) (2010): *Gender, Religion, and Migration: Pathways of Integration*. Lanham, MD [et al.]: Lexington Books, pp. 37-54.

Bonifacio, Glenda Tibe; Angeles, Vivienne SM. (2010): "Introduction". In: Glenda Tibe Bonifacio and Vivienne S. M. Angeles (eds.) (2010): *Gender, Religion, and Migration: Pathways of Integration*. Lanham, MD [et al.]: Lexington Books, pp. 1-16.

Reiher, Cornelia; Wagner, Cosima (2020): "How to conduct reliable and fair research: Good research practice". In: Nora Kottmann and Cornelia Reiher (eds.) (2020): *Studying Japan: Handbook of Research Designs, Fieldwork and Methods*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, pp. 428-441.

Reino da Alegria ([2021]): *Creche Reino da Alegria*. https://pt-br.facebook.com/pg/Creche-Reino-da-Alegria-590956084330768/about/?ref=page_internal (last access: November 10, 2023).

Roberts, Glenda S. (2003): "Bottom Up, Top Down, and Sideways: Studying Corporations, Government Programs, and NPOs". In: Theodore C. Bestor, Victoria Lyon Bestor, and Patricia G. Steinhoff (eds.) (2003): *Doing fieldwork in Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, pp. [294]-314.

Robertson, Jennifer (1991): *Native and Newcomer: Making and Remaking a Japanese City*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Rocha, Cristina (2014): "Triangular Circulation: Japanese Brazilians on the Move between Japan, Australia and Brazil". In: *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 35 (5), pp. 493-512.

Rosas, Nina (2016): "A Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus: Ação Social Além-fronteiras" [Universal Church of the Kingdom of God: Social action across borders]. In: *Ciências Sociais Unisinos*, 52 (1), pp. 17-26.

Roth, Joshua Hotaka (2002): *Brokered Homeland: Japanese Brazilian Migrants in Japan*. (The anthropology of contemporary issues). Ithaca [et al.]: Cornell University Press.

Roth, Joshua Hotaka (2003): "Responsibility and the Limits of Identification: Fieldwork among Japanese and Japanese Brazilian Workers in Japan". In: Theodore C. Bestor, Victoria Lyon Bestor, and Patricia G. Steinhoff (eds.) (2003): *Doing fieldwork in Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, pp. [335]-351.

R7 (2020): *Universal completa 43 anos com 10 milhões de fiéis pelo mundo* [Universal turns 43 with 10 million believers worldwide]. September 7. <https://noticias.r7.com/brasil/universal-completa-43-anos-com-10-milhoes-de-fieis-pelo-mundo-09072020> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Saito, Hiroshi (1961): *O Japonês no Brasil: Estudo de Mobilidade e Fixação*. São Paulo: Sociologia e Política.

Sambuc Bloise, Joëlle (2010): "International Human Rights Law in Japan: The Cultural Factor Revisited". In: *SSRN Electronic Journal*, (2010), pp. 1-40. Available at: https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1715348 (last access: November 10, 2023).

Santos, Maristela (2017): *O Japão Atual e o Espiritismo - Maristela Santos - (Entrevista - Parte 1)* [Japan today and Spiritism - Maristela Santos - (Interview - Part 1)]. April 27. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_i7OxjU6ZrQ (last access: November 10, 2023).

Sawaguchi, Glaucia Tiyomi (2018): “Bullying, segregação e marginalização sofridos pelas crianças e adolescentes atendidos pelo Projeto Kaeru” [Bullying, segregation and marginalization suffered by children and adolescents attended by Projeto Kaeru]. In: Kyoko Yanagida Nakagawa (ed.) (2018): *Projeto Kaeru: 10 Anos*. São Paulo: Benjamin, pp. 65-77.

Schensul, Jean J.; LeCompte, Margaret D. (2013): *Essential Ethnographic Methods: A Mixed Methods Approach*. (Ethnographer's toolkit; 3). Lanham, MD [et al.]: AltaMira.

Scholze, Martha Luciana; Giacomelli, Giancarlo Silva; Rossi, Sidinei (2016): *Cursos Técnicos a Distância para Brasileiros no Exterior: A Experiência do Senac no Japão* [Technical distance courses for Brazilians abroad: the experience of Senac in Japan]. <http://www.abed.org.br/congresso2016/trabalhos/216.pdf> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Sellek, Yoko (2002): “Nikkeijin: The Phenomenon of Return Migration”. In: Michael Weiner (ed.) (2002): *Japan's Minorities: The Illusion of Homogeneity*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 178-210.

Semente para o Futuro (n.d.): *Futuro Semente Para O*. <https://pt-br.facebook.com/futuro.s.o> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Sera, Anna (2019): *Crianças e Escolas Brasileiras no Japão Multiétnico* [Brazilian children and schools in multi-ethnic Japan]. Fundação Japão em São Paulo. October 14. <https://fjsp.org.br/estudos-japoneses/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2019/11/texto-anna-sera-v1.pdf> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Sharpe, Michael Orlando (2010): “When Ethnic Returnees are *de facto* Guestworkers: What does the Introduction of Latin American Japanese *Nikkeijin* (Japanese descendants) (LAN) Suggest for Japan's Definition of Nationality, Citizenship, and Immigration Policy?”. In: *Policy and Society*, 29, pp. 357-369.

Shibata, Hiroyuki (2009): “Rōkaruna tabunka shugi toshite no kyōsei: Shizuoka-ken Hamamatsu-shi no gaikokujin shisaku no tenkai ni miru kyōsei gainen no henyō” [Coexistence as local multiculturalism: a shift in the conception of coexistence seen in the development of foreigners' policies in Hamamatsu city, Shizuoka prefecture]. In: *The Annual Review of Migration Studies*, 15, pp. 97-114.

Shiobara, Yoshikazu (2020): "Genealogy of *tabunka kyōsei*: A Critical Analysis of the Reformation of the Multicultural Co-living Discourse in Japan". In: *International Journal of Japanese Sociology*, 29 (1), pp.22-38.

Shirahase, Tatsuya (2016): "Tabunka kyōsei no ninaite toshite no katorikku: imin shien no jūsō ni chakumoku shite" [Catholic as the bearer of multiculturalism: Focusing on the multiple layers of migrant support]. In: Kansai Gakuin Daigaku Kirisutokyō to Bunka Kenkyū Sentā (ed.) (2016): *Gendai bunka to kirisutokyō* [Contemporary culture and Christianity]. Tōkyō: Kirisuto Shinbunsha, pp. 99-133.

Shirahase, Tatsuya; Takahashi, Norihito (2012): "Nihon ni okeru katorikku kyōkai to nyūkamā: Katorikku Hamamatsu kyōkai ni okeru gaikokujin shien o jirei ni" [Catholic Church and newcomer in Japan: Taking the support for foreigners at the Hamamatsu Catholic Church as an example]. In: Hizuru Miki; Yoshihide Sakurai (eds.) (2012): *Nihon ni ikiru imin tachi no shūkyō seikatsu: nyūkamā no motarasu shūkyō tagenka* [The Religious Life of Immigrants in Japan: the shift to religious pluralism brought about by the newcomers]. (MINERVA Shakaigaku Sōsho; 38). Kyōto: Mineruva Shobō, pp. 55-86.

Shoji, Rafael (2008a): "Religiões entre Brasileiros no Japão: Conversão ao Pentecostalismo e Redefinição Étnica" [Religions among Brazilians in Japan: Conversion to Pentecostalism and ethnic redefinition]. In: *REVER (Revista de Estudos da Religião)*, (junho), pp. 46-85.

Shoji, Rafael (2008b): "The Failed Prophecy of Shinto Nationalism and the Rise of Japanese Brazilian Catholicism". In: *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 35 (1), pp. 13-38.

Shoji, Rafael (2014): "The Making of 'Brazilian Japanese' Pentecostalism: Immigration as a Main Factor for Religious Conversion". In: Hugo Córdoba Quero and Rafael Shoji (eds.) (2014): *Transnational Faith: Latin-American Immigrants and Their Religions in Japan*. Farnham, Surrey / Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, pp. 33-52.

Shoji, Rafael; Quero, Hugo Córdoba (2014): "Transcendental Communications: The Reinterpretation of the Brazilian Spiritist *Continuum* in Japan". In: Hugo Córdoba Quero and Rafael Shoji (eds.) (2014): *Transnational Faith: Latin-American*

Immigrants and Their Religions in Japan. Farnham, Surrey / Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, pp. 189-214.

Sigl, Eveline (2011): "Identidades de diáspora a través de la danza folclórica: Un estudio ciberantropológico" [Identities of the diaspora through folkloristic dance: A cyberanthropological study]. In: *Anthropologica*, 29 (29), pp.187-213.

Silva, Cristiomar da; Nalini, Lauro Eugênio Guimarães (2015): "Religião e Mídias Sociais: A Disseminação do Discurso Religioso no Facebook" [Religion and social media: the dissemination of religious discourse on Facebook]. *Revista Panorama*, 5 (1), pp. 65-77.

Silva Moreira, Alberto da (2014): "The Crisis of Religious Identity and Religious Landscape in Contemporary Brazil". In: *Open Journal of Social Sciences*, 2014 (2), pp. 12-18.

Sousa, Mauricio de (2017): *Turma da Mônica e a Escola no Japão* [Turma da Mônica and school in Japan]. São Paulo: Mauricio de Sousa Produções.

St. Misha International School (2020): *St. Misha International School*. <https://www.his-ymis.org/> 複製 -our-school and subordinated pages (last access: November 10, 2023).

Stahl, Silvester (2010): "Ethnische Sportvereine zwischen Diaspora-Nationalismus und Transnationalität" [Ethnic sports clubs between diaspora nationalism and transnationality]. In: Ludger Pries and Zeynep Sezgin (eds.) (2010): *Jenseits von 'Identität oder Integration': Grenzen überspannende Migrantenorganisationen* [Beyond 'identity or integration': migrant organizations that transcend borders]. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, pp. 87-114.

Strausz, Michael (2021): "'This is not an Immigration Policy': The 2018 Immigration Reform and the Future of Immigration and Citizenship in Japan". In: Gunter Schubert, Franziska Plümmer, and Anastasiya Bayok (eds.) (2021): *Immigration Governance in East Asia: Norm Diffusion, Politics of Identity, Citizenship*. (Routledge Series on Asian Migration). Abingdon, Oxon [et al.]: Routledge, pp. 257-276.

Sugisawa, Michiko (2011): "Tagengo / tabunka shakai ni okeru senmon jinzai no yōsei" [The education (training) of experts in multilinguistic / multicultural societies]. In:

Atsushi Kondō (ed.) (2011): *Tabunka kyōsei seisaku e no apurōchi* [Approach to multicultural coexistence measures]. (Tabunka kyōsei seisaku no kiso kōza / Tabunka kyōsei kanren no jitsumuka yōsei kōza). Tōkyō: Akashi Shoten, pp. 193-208.

Suzuki, Erika (2013): “Hamamatsu ni okeru ongaku o tsūjita tabunka kyōsei kyōiku no arikata: gaikokujin shien kyōiku o koete” [The current state of multicultural coexistence education through music in Hamamatsu: transcending foreigner support education]. In: *Bunka Seisaku Kenkyū*, 7, pp. 59-79.

Tagsold, Christian; Ullmann, Katrin (2020): “How to observe people and their environment: Participant observation”. In: Nora Kottmann and Cornelia Reiher (eds.) (2020): *Studying Japan: Handbook of Research Designs, Fieldwork and Methods*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, pp. 211-222.

Takahashi, Norihito (2015): “Paneru no shushi to matome” [Aim and summary of the panel]. (Proceedings of the 73rd annual convention of the Japanese Association for Religious Studies). In: *Journal of Religious Studies*, 88 (Suppl), pp. 104-105.

Takenaka, Ayumi (2010): “How Ethnic Minorities Experience Social Mobility in Japan: An Ethnographic Study of Peruvian Migrants”. In: Hiroshi Ishida and David Slater (eds.) (2010): *Social Class in Contemporary Japan: Structures, Sorting and Strategies*. Abingdon, Oxon / New York: Routledge, pp. 221-238.

Tamura, Tarō (2011): “NGO / NPO to seifu / jichitai to no kyōdō” [Cooperation of NGOs and NPOs with the government and municipalities]. In: Atsushi Kondō (ed.) (2011): *Tabunka kyōsei seisaku e no apurōchi* [Approach to multicultural coexistence measures]. (Tabunka kyōsei seisaku no kiso kōza / Tabunka kyōsei kanren no jitsumuka yōsei kōza). Tōkyō: Akashi Shoten, pp. 149-179.

Tausch, Arno; Obirek, Stanislaw (2020): *Global Catholicism, Tolerance and the Open Society: An Empirical Study of the Value Systems of Roman Catholics*. Cham: Springer.

Tegtmeyer Pak, Katherine (2000): “Foreigners are Local Citizens too: Local Governments Respond to International Migration in Japan”. In: Mike Douglass and Glenda S. Roberts (eds.) (2000): *Japan and Global Migration: Foreign Workers and the Advent of a Multicultural Society*. London [et al.]: Routledge, pp. 244-274.

Tenbenschel, Tim (2002): "Interpreting Public Input into Priority-Setting: The Role of Mediating Institutions". In: *Health Policy*, 62, pp. 173-194.

TIA (Toyota International Association) (2016): *Both Ways Toward a Diverse Society: How Can we Make a Society Better?* Toyota: Toyota International Association. [handout for interview, based on the presentation at 2016 International Metropolis Conference Aichi-Nagoya, Japan].

Timmerarens, Chaline (2018): "Brasilianische Migranten in Hamamatsu: Zugang zu einem multikulturellen Feld" [Brazilian migrants in Hamamatsu: Access to a multicultural field]. In: *ASIEN – The German Journal on Contemporary Asia*, 149, pp. 47-64.

Tobace, Ewerthon (2016): "O que pode estar por trás do alto índice de autismo entre crianças brasileiras no Japão?" [What could be behind the high index of autism among Brazilian children in Japan?]. July 10. <https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/internacional-36580919> (last access: November 10, 2023).

TOKYO EXPRESS (2019): *4-gatsu kara shikō sareta kaisei nyūkanhō – gaikoku jinzai no ukeire to shūrō kakudai, soshite seikatsu shien e* [The Revised Immigration Control Act, which went into effect in April – towards the acceptance of foreign human resources, expansion of employment, and livelihood support]. July 17. <http://tokyoexpress.info/2019/07/17/4月から施行された改正入管法―外国人材の受入/> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Tomasi, Silvano M. (1975): *Piety and Power: The Role of the Italian Parishes in the New York Metropolitan Area, 1880 – 1930*. Staten Island, NY: Center for Migration Studies.

Torres Barderi, Daniel de (2018): *Antirumours handbook*. [s.l.]: Council of Europe. Available at: <https://rm.coe.int/anti-rumours-handbook-a-standardised-methodology-for-cities-2018-/168077351c> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Torres Barderi, Daniel de; Ueno, Takahiko [transl., ed.] (2020): *Han uwasa senryaku no tsukurikata: Antirumours Handbook 2018, Nihongo daijesuto-han* [How to create an anti-rumor strategy: Antirumours Handbook 2018, Japanese gigest version]. [s.l.]:

Council of Europe. Available at: <https://rm.coe.int/antirumours-handbook-2018-version-japonaise/16809ee073> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Torry, Malcolm (2016): *Mediating Institutions: Creating Relationships between Religion and an Urban World*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Torushīda ([2023]): *Torushīda e yōkoso* [Welcome to Torcida]. <https://torcida.jimdo.com/> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Toyota City (2023): *Toyota-shi* [Toyota City]. <https://www.city.toyota.aichi.jp/index.html> and subordinated pages (last access: November 10, 2023).

Tsuda, Takeyuki (1999a): "The Permanence of 'Temporary' Migration: The 'Structural Embeddedness' of Japanese-Brazilian Immigrant Workers in Japan". In: *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 58 (3), pp. 687-722.

Tsuda, Takeyuki (1999b): "The Motivation to Migrate: The Ethnic and Sociocultural Constitution of the Japanese-Brazilian Return-Migration System". In: *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 48 (1), pp. 1-31.

Tsuda, Takeyuki (2000): "Acting Brazilian in Japan: Ethnic Resistance among Return Migrants". In: *Ethnology*, 39 (1), pp. 55-71.

Tsuda, Takeyuki (2003): *Strangers in the Ethnic Homeland: Japanese Brazilian Return Migration in Transnational Perspective*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Tsuda, Takeyuki (Gaku) (2009): "Japanese-Brazilian Ethnic Return Migration and the Making of Japan's Newest Immigrant Minority". In: Michael Weiner (ed.) (2009): *Japan's Minorities: The Illusion of Homogeneity*. Abingdon, Oxon / New York: Routledge, pp. 206-227.

Tsuda, Takeyuki "Gaku" (2010): "Crossing Ethnic Boundaries: Japanese Brazilian Return Migrants and the Ethnic Challenge of Japan's Newest Immigrant Minority". In: Nelson H. H. Graburn, John Ertl, and R. Kenji Tierney (eds.) (2010): *Multiculturalism in the New Japan: Crossing the Boundaries Within*. (Asian Anthropologies; 6). New York [et al.]: Berghahn Books, pp. 117-138.

Tsuda, Takeyuki (2016): *Japanese American Ethnicity: In Search of Heritage and Homeland across Generations*. New York: New York University Press.

Tsuda, Takeyuki (Gaku) (2018): "Ethnic Return Migration in East Asia: Japanese Brazilians in Japan and Conceptions of Homeland". In: Gracia Liu-Farrer and Brenda S.A. Yeoh (eds.) (2018): *Routledge Handbook of Asian migrations*. Abingdon, Oxon [et al.]: Routledge, pp. 103-113.

Tsuneyoshi, Ryoko (2011): "Three Frameworks on Multicultural Japan: Towards a More Inclusive Understanding". In: *Multicultural Education Review*, 3 (2), pp.125-156.

Tsūshinsei kōkō nabi (2023): *Teijisei kōkō wa zennichisei to dō chigau? Jikantai ya gakuhi, sotsugyō made no nensū wo tettei shōkai wo tettei shōkai* [How does a part-time high school differ from an all-day high-school? In-depth introduction of time slots, tuition, and years until graduation]. <https://www.tsuushinseina.com/tsuushinsei/teijisei.php> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Tsuzuki, Kurumi (2003): "Nikkei Burajirujin o ukeireta Toyota-shi H danchi no chiiki henyō: 1990~2002-nen" [Community transformation in H danchi, Toyota city, which received Nikkei Brazilians: 1990-2002]. In: *Kansai Sociological Review*, 2, pp. 51-58.

TUFS (Tōkyō University of Foreign Studies Center for Multilingual Multicultural Education and Research) (2011): *Projeto Tucan: Projeto para Elaboração de Material Didático para os Alunos Brasileiros que Residem no Japão* [Project Toucan: project for elaboration of didactic material for Brazilian students who reside in Japan]. <http://www.tufs.ac.jp/common/mlmc/kyouzai/brazil/por/index.html> (last access: November 10, 2023).

TV Mundo Maior (2013): *Nova Consciência 47 - Júlia Nezu Espiritismo no Japão* [New Consciousness 47 - Júlia Nezu Spiritism in Japan]. January 4. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6l4jfyKWpR0> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Ueta, Shun; Matsumura, Kazunori (2013): "Sēfutinetto-ka suru imin no supōtsu kūkan: Gunma-ken Ōizumi-machi no Burajiru futtosaru sentā (BFC) no jirei" [Sport space becomes a safety net for immigrants: A case study of the Brazil Futsal Center (BFC) in Oizumi town, Gunma prefecture]. In: *Japan Journal of Physical Education, Health and Sport Sciences*, 58 (2), pp. 445-461.

UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) (2009): *UNESCO World Report: Investing in Cultural Diversity and Intercultural Dialogue*. Retrieved from: <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000185202> (last access: November 10, 2023).

UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) (2023): *Integration through sports*. <https://globalcompactrefugees.org/good-practices/integration-through-sports> (last access: November 10, 2023).

UNIP – Polo Japão ([2023]): *UNIP Universidade Paulista Polo Japão*. https://pt-br.facebook.com/pg/unipjapao/about/?ref=page_internal (last access: November 10, 2023).

Universal Japan (n.d.): *Universal: Jesus Cristo é o Senhor* [Universal: Jesus Christ is the Lord]. [s.l.]: Universal. [leaflet].

Universidade Brasil ([2023]): *Universidade Brasil* [University Brazil]. <https://universidadebrasil.edu.br/portal/index.php> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Urmeneta, Cristina Escobar; Unamuno, Virginia (2008): “Languages and Language Learning in Catalan Schools: From the Bilingual to the Multilingual Challenge”. In: Christine Hélot and Anne-Marie de Mejía (eds.) (2008): *Forging Multilingual Spaces: Integrated Perspectives on Majority and Minority Bilingual Education*. (Bilingual Education and Bilingualism; 68). Bristol [et al.]: Multilingual Matters, pp. 228-255.

Valle Leonardo (2022): *O que está por trás da xenofobia contra nordestinos? Racismo, ódio de classe e desconhecimento sobre o semiárido estão presentes nas manifestações de preconceito* [What's behind the xenophobia against northeasterners? Racism, class hatred and lack of knowledge about the semi-arid region are present in the manifestations of prejudice]. Instituto Claro: Cidadania. December 20. <https://www.institutoclaro.org.br/cidadania/nossas-novidades/reportagens/o-que-esta-por-tras-da-xenofobia-contra-nordestinos/> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Vertovec, Steven (1999): “Conceiving and Researching Transnationalism”. In: *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22 (2), pp. 447-462.

Vertovec, Steven (2007): "Super-diversity and its implications". In: *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30 (6), pp. 1024-1054.

Vertovec, Steven (2009): *Transnationalism*. (Key ideas; 10). London: Routledge.

Vogt, Gabriele (2017): "Multiculturalism and Trust in Japan: Educational Policies and Schooling Practices". In: *Japan Forum*, 29 (1), pp. 77-99.

Wakamatsu Juku (2022): *Hisshūka shita shōgakkō no eigo, sono naiyō to odoroki no shin kyōkasho: shōgakusei ni eikaiwa wa hitsuyō?* [English at elementary schools made compulsory, its contents and surprising new textbooks: Do elementary school students need English conversation?]. May 31. https://www.wa-juku.co.jp/media/english2021_ele_student/ (last access: November 10, 2023).

Watanabe, Takako (2010): "Education for Brazilian Pupils and Students in Japan: Towards a Multicultural Symbiotic Society". In: *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 7, pp.164-170.

Weiner, Michael (2009): "'Self' and 'Other' in Imperial Japan". In: Michael Weiner (ed.) (2009): *Japan's Minorities: The Illusion of Homogeneity*. Abingdon, Oxon / New York: Routledge, pp. 1-20.

White, Anne (2014): "Double Return Migration: Failed Returns to Poland Leading to Settlement Abroad and New Transnational Strategies". In: *International Migration*, 52 (6), pp. 72-84.

Wiemann, Anna (2020): "Qualitative content analysis: A systematic way of handling qualitative data and its challenges". In: Nora Kottmann and Cornelia Reiher (eds.) (2020): *Studying Japan: Handbook of Research Designs, Fieldwork and Methods*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, pp. 363-366.

World Population Review (2023): *World Population Review*. <https://worldpopulationreview.com/> and subordinated pages (last access: November 10, 2023).

Yamada, Masanobu (2011): "Dekasegi Burajiru-jin no shūkyō seikatsu: esunikku nettowāku no keiryūten toshite no Burajiru-kei purotesutanto kyōkai" [Religious life of *dekassegui* Brazilians: The Brazilian Protestant church as anchorage of an ethnic network]. In: Chiyoko Mita (ed.) (2011): *Gurōbaruka no naka de ikiru to há: Nikkei*

Burajirujin no toransunashonaruna kurashi [What it means to live in an age of globalization: The transnational lives of Japanese Brazilians in Japan]. Tōkyō: Sophia University Press, pp. 195-222.

Yamanaka, Keiko (2000): "I will go home, but when?' Labour Migration and Circular Diaspora Formation by Japanese Brazilians in Japan". In: Mike Douglass and Glenda S. Roberts (eds.): *Japan and Global Migration: Foreign Workers and the Advent of a Multicultural Society*. London: Routledge, pp. 123-152.

Yamanaka, Keiko (2012): "Immigration, policies, and civil society in Hamamatsu, central Japan". In: David W. Haines, Keiko Yamanaka, and Shinji Yamashita (eds.): *Wind over water: migration in an East Asian context*. (Foundations in Asia Pacific studies; 2). New York, NY [et al.]: Berghahn Books, pp. 106-120.

Yamawaki, Keizo; Ueno, Takahiko (2021): *An Introduction to the Intercultural City for Local Governments in Japan*. <https://rm.coe.int/an-introduction-to-the-intercultural-city-for-local-gvts-in-japan/1680a1cd3f> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Yom, Alex (2018): "The Need for Mediating Institutions" (Letter to the editor). In: *The Observer*. October 30. Retrieved from: <https://ndsmcobserver.com/2018/10/the-need-for-mediating-institutions/> (last access: November 10, 2023).

Zapata-Barrero, Ricard (2016): "Theorizing Intercultural Citizenship". In: Nasar Meer, Tariq Modood, and Ricard Zapata-Barrero (eds.) (2016): *Multiculturalism and Interculturalism: Debating the Dividing Lines*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 53-76.

Appendix: Short description of interlocutors

Institutions

ABRAH (*Associação Brasileira de Hamamatsu; Hamamatsu burajiru kyōkai; Hamamatsu Brazilians Association*)

founded in 2003, provides legal consultation and connects Brazilian authorities and companies with the Japanese prefectural and municipal governments

Aichi-ken tabunka kyōsei suishinshitsu

Aichi prefectural office for the promotion of *tabunka kyōsei*, situated in Nagoya

Aliança de Intercâmbio Brasil Japão (*Nippaku kōryū kyōkai; Brazil Japan Exchange Alliance*)

established in 2009, aims at deepening the ties and friendship between Japanese and Brazilian people through activities of sports, culture, and education

Amizade

program of the local radio station FM Haro! which aims at introducing Brazilian people and things to Japanese people and vice versa. The program also invites guests from other countries and introduces aspects of the respective country.

Arace

NPO, founded in 2007, provides educational support for foreign children in the Japanese school system, Japanese classes for children and adolescents not yet attending Japanese schools or having problems attending them, and preparation classes for the Japanese Language Proficiency Test as well as for high school examinations, classes on Saturdays and on weekdays

Board of Education

representative council established in prefectures or municipalities to oversee matters related to education

Catholic Church La Iglesia San Francisco de Asís de Hamamatsu

belongs to the Roman Catholic congregation Salesio, located in the western part of the city center, consists of five ethnic communities

Central Library (*chūō toshokan*)

one of the 24 municipal libraries in Hamamatsu, has around 200.000 volumes out of which around 300 books are in Portuguese

COLORS (Communicate with Others to Learn Other Roots and Stories)

a group of around ten young people with foreign roots under the lead of HICE, founded in 2014, organizes exchange events, job seminars, and workshops at Japanese schools

Consulado-Geral do Brasil em Hamamatsu

Brazilian Consulate General in Hamamatsu, established in 2009

Escola Alcance

Brazilian School, established in 2004, recognized by MEC in 2007, around 60 students, Brazilian headmaster

Escola Alegria de Saber (E.A.S.)

network of Brazilian schools in Japan consisting of six schools located in four prefectures, the Hamamatsu branch was founded in 2001 and recognized by MEC in 2006, around 200 students, Brazilian headmaster

Força Jovem Universal (FJU)

financed by the Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus (IURD), provides social work for youth and adolescents of all nationalities

FRECTiVE

Japanese civil society organization, events aim at raising the Japanese residents' awareness for the situation of foreign residents in the city

Hamamatsu Kokusai Rikai Kyōiku Netto

Japanese civil society organization, organizes seminars on *tabunka kyōsei* and *kokusai rikai kyōiku*

HICE (Hamamatsu Foundation for International Communication and Exchange; *Hamamatsu Kokusai Kōryū Kyōkai*)

established in 1982, operates the Hamamatsu Intercultural Center (*Hamamatsu-shi tabunka kyōsei sentā*) and the Hamamatsu Foreign Resident

Study Support Center (U-ToC), promotes international exchange and helps creating a local *tabunka kyōsei* society by offering information, consultation services, training and language courses, and cultural exchange events

IIEC (International Institute of Education and Culture)

civil society institution, offers tutoring for the Japanese and Portuguese languages as well as on Japanese and Brazilian cultures on Saturdays

Lápis de Cor

Brazilian nursery school, established in 2009, around 40 children

Ōizumi kokusai kyōdōka and *tabunka kyōsei komyuniti sentā*

International Cooperation Division of the municipal government, operates the municipal multicultural community center which provides support and consultation for foreign residents

SOS Mamães no Japão (SMJ)

NPO, consists of a network of Brazilian residents spanning the whole of Japan, helps Brazilian families in need by providing basic products, information, and support, plans projects related to social inclusion of children

TIA (*Toyota-shi kokusai kōryū kyōkai*; Toyota International Association)

International Association of Toyota city, established in 1988, provides support, consultation, and language classes for the foreign residents of Toyota, activities are based on the three pillars of international exchange, understanding, and unity

U-ToC (*Hamamatsu-shi gaikokujin gakushū shien sentā*; Hamamatsu Foreign Resident Study Support Center)

operated by HICE, established in 2010, offers free Japanese classes, trains Japanese volunteers, and offers Portuguese classes for Japanese people

Yamaguchi International Heart Clinic

a clinic in Sanarudai, attends many foreign residents

Individuals

Aaron	Brazilian father in his 40s, no Japanese descentance, cook, Israeli roots
Akane	Brazilian university student, Nikkei <i>sansei</i> , COLORS member
Akiko	Japanese counter volunteer at HICE for 20 years, supports foreign residents by teaching Japanese and interpreting, speaks Spanish
Amanda	Brazilian mother in her 40s, lives in Japan since 2005, no Japanese descentance, married to a Nikkei
Caroline	Brazilian mother in her 40s, Nikkei <i>sansei</i> , lives in Japan since 1994, works as foreign student assistant for the Board of Education
Diego	Nikkei Brazilian JiuJitsu teacher, lives in Japan since the beginning of the 1990s
Fernanda	Brazilian mother in her 40s, Nikkei <i>sansei</i> , lives in Japan since the beginning of the 1990s
Gabriela	Brazilian in her 40s, no Japanese descentance, former employee of a Brazilian school in Hamamatsu, lives in Japan for two years with her (non-Nikkei) Brazilian husband, does not speak much Japanese and does not have Japanese friends
James	American, JET program CIR (Coordinator for International Relations) at Hamamatsu City Hall (<i>kokusaika</i>)
Keiko	Brazilian university student, Nikkei <i>sansei</i> , COLORS member
Megumi	Japanese retired teacher, living in Iwata
Mikako	Nikkei Brazilian in her 50s, psychologist at HICE, lives in Japan since the beginning of the 1990s
Pedro	Brazilian father in his 50s, married to a Nikkei <i>nisei</i> Brazilian woman, factory worker, Forró dancer, living in Japan since the beginning of the 1990s, in between returned to Brazil, afterwards came to Hamamatsu

Rafaela	Brazilian mother, lives in Japan since 1991, married to a Japanese national
Roxana	Nikkei Brazilian in her 50s, married to a Brazilian Nikkei, former employee of a municipal institution, lives in Japan since 1990
Shiori	Japanese in her 50s, Forró dancer
Thamara	Brazilian artist and dance teacher, in her 40s, no Japanese descendance, came to Japan after graduating from university
Vitor	Brazilian psychologist at HICE in his 50s, lives in Japan since 1991, in between returned to Brazil for two years, since 2010 in Hamamatsu
Yara	Brazilian mother in her 30s, factory worker, lives in Japan since the mid-2000s, married to a Nikkei <i>nisei</i>
Yōko	Japanese counter volunteer at HICE
Yumi	Nikkei Brazilian mother in her 30s, factory worker, lives in Japan since the end of the 1990s, in between returned to Brazil for two years
Yuriko	Brazilian university student, Nikkei <i>sansei</i> , COLORS member

Abstract

In the 1990s, the economic downturn and hyperinflation in Brazil motivated many descendants of Japanese migrants (Nikkeijin) living in Brazil to 'return' to Japan, where an aging population and a booming economy had led to a labor shortage. Another incentive was the revision of the Japanese Immigration Law in 1990 that allowed Nikkeijin up to the third generation to obtain special permanent residency visa. Approximately 220.000 Latin American returnees arrived in the 1990s, and more than 200.000 Brazilians live in Japan today, constituting the fifth largest group of foreigners. As many have decided to stay in Japan for the time being, integration and multiculturalism have become important societal challenges, especially at the local level.

This dissertation examines the role of mediating institutions for the integration of Brazilian return migrants in Japan. Based on ethnographic field research in Hamamatsu, the Japanese city with the highest number of Brazilian residents, three research areas have been determined: everyday life and community, religion, and education. The relevant mediating institutions, such as cultural centers, libraries, churches, schools, and civil society institutions, were identified and their activities analyzed with regard to the research question of what role these institutions play for the process of integration into the host society and the relation to Japanese residents.

The analysis revealed that as spaces of interaction and encounter and as providers of knowledge, education, and information, mediating institutions serve as promoters of multiculturalism, mutual understanding, and integration. At the same time, they offer a space of belonging and creation of an ethnic support network, which facilitates the formation of a parallel society and exacerbates existing divisions. In other words, mediating institutions simultaneously foster and hinder integration processes.

Zusammenfassung

In den 1990er Jahren führten Wirtschaftsabschwung und Hyperinflation in Brasilien dazu, dass viele der in Brasilien lebenden Nachkommen von japanischen Migranten (Nikkeijin) nach Japan ‚zurückkehrten‘, wo eine alternde Bevölkerung und ein Wirtschaftsboom zu Arbeitskräftemangel geführt hatten. Ein weiterer Anreiz war die Revision des japanischen Einwanderungsgesetzes im Jahr 1990, das es Nikkeijin bis zur dritten Generation erlaubte, ein spezielles Visum für den Daueraufenthalt zu erhalten. Etwa 220,000 Rückkehrer aus Lateinamerika kamen in den 1990ern und mehr als 200,000 Brasilianer leben heutzutage in Japan, wo sie die fünftgrößte Ausländergruppe bilden. Da mittlerweile viele entschieden haben, vorerst in Japan zu bleiben, wurden Integration und Multikulturalismus zu sozialen Herausforderungen, vor allem auf lokaler Ebene.

Diese Dissertation untersucht die Rolle von mediating institutions für die Integration der brasilianischen Immigranten in Japan. Während einer ethnographischen Feldforschung in Hamamatsu, der japanischen Stadt mit der größten brasilianischen community, wurden drei Forschungsbereiche festgelegt: Alltagsleben und Community, Religion, und Bildung. Die jeweils darin tätigen relevanten mediating institutions, wie zum Beispiel Kulturzentren, Bibliotheken, Kirchen, Schulen, and zivilgesellschaftliche Institutionen, wurden identifiziert und deren Aktivitäten im Hinblick auf die Forschungsfrage, welche Rolle diesen Institutionen bei dem Prozess der Integration mit der Aufnahmegesellschaft und der Beziehung zu japanischen Einwohnern zukommt, analysiert.

Die Analyse ergab, dass mediating institutions als Orte der Interaktion und Begegnung und als Anbieter von Wissen, Bildung und Informationen Multikulturalismus, gegenseitiges Verständnis und Integration fördern. Gleichzeitig bieten sie einen Ort der Zugehörigkeit und des Aufbaus eines ethnischen Unterstützungsnetzwerks, was die Bildung einer Parallelgesellschaft begünstigt und die bestehenden Spaltungen verschärft. Das bedeutet, mediating institutions fördern und hindern zugleich Integrationsprozesse.

Lebenslauf

Chaline Mondwurf ist Promotionsstudentin an der GEAS (Graduate School of East Asian Studies) der Freien Universität Berlin. Nach einem Studium der Informationswissenschaften mit Abschluss als Diplom-Bibliothekarin an der FH Potsdam studierte sie Ostasienwissenschaften / Japanstudien (BA) und im Anschluss Japanologie (MA), beides an der Freien Universität Berlin. Auslandsaufenthalte führten sie für ein Jahr an die International Christian University in Mitaka, Tōkyō, Japan und für ein Semester an die Universidade de São Paulo in São Paulo, Brasilien. Für die vorliegende Dissertation führte sie eine neunmonatige ethnographische Feldforschung in Hamamatsu, Japan durch.

Vorveröffentlichungen

keine

sonstige im Rahmen des Dissertationsthemas entstandene Publikationen

Mondwurf, Chaline (2021): "Brazilian Immigrants and Multiculturalism in Japan: Local *tabunka kyōsei* Policies and their Effect on the Brazilian Diaspora in Hamamatsu". In: Gunter Schubert; Franziska Plümmer; Anastasiya Bayok (eds.) (2021): *Immigration Governance in East Asia: Norm Diffusion, Politics of Identity, Citizenship*. (Routledge Series on Asian Migration). Abingdon, Oxon and New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 277-294.

Timmerarens, Chaline (2018): "Brasilianische Migranten in Hamamatsu: Zugang zu einem multikulturellen Feld" [Brazilian migrants in Hamamatsu: Access to a multicultural field]. In: *ASIEN – The German Journal on Contemporary Asia*, 149, pp. 47-64.