

**TOWARD A THEORY OF
INTERCULTURAL PLACEMAKING:
BRAZILIAN RESTAURANTS IN TŌKYŌ, JAPAN**

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI‘I AT MĀNOA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING

DECEMBER 2015

By
Vera Zambonelli

Dissertation Committee:
Karen Umemoto, Chairperson
Priyam Das
Mike Douglass
Jon Goss
Patricia Steinhoff

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am deeply grateful for the supervision of Dr. Karen Umemoto. I would have never completed this dissertation without her inspiring mentorship, support and kindness, so instrumental in keeping me moving forward. Special thanks are due to my examining committee, Dr. Mike Douglass, Dr. Patricia Steinhoff, Dr. Jon Goss, and Dr. Priyam Das, for their guidance and helpful suggestions. I would also like to thank the entire department of Urban and Regional Planning, for providing a collegial and inspiring learning environment. My sincere gratitude extends to Dr. Katia Balassiano, Chihiro Ishii, Bryan Bushley, and Tai-An Miao for their friendship and comradeship. A big thank you also goes to Dana Singer, whose caring and proactive attitude makes the difference in many students' lives.

I would like to specially acknowledge the tremendous support and graceful leadership of Dr. Maenette Benham and her staff at Hawai'i inuiākea. My heartfelt thanks are especially bestowed to my fierce colleague and friend Dr. Kaiwipunikauikawēkiu Lipe for her aloha.

I wish also to extend my deep appreciation to Dr. Richard Rapson for his friendship, mentorship, and so meaningful conversations. Special acknowledgment goes to Dr. James Farrer for offering the opportunity to be a visiting scholar at Sophia University. I would like to express my sincere thanks to Dr. Leonie Sandercock for her inspiration in crossing intellectual boundaries and belief in the power of a million tiny empowerments, which I fully subscribe, and Dr. John Friedmann for his commitment to students across the world. I am particularly indebted to Leonie and John for organizing the Jamboree, where I met my circle of sanity's sisters: Dr. Aftab Erfan, Dr. Alex Hickman, Dr. Anna Livia Brand, Dr. Arianna Martinez, Dr. Carolina Sarmiento, and Dr. Felicity Hee-Wee Chan. Our time at the Jamboree and the several conferences we attended together are among my most cherished memories. I am so honored to know you as friends. Your friendship and encouragement has made this journey so much more engaging and special.

I owe a special acknowledgment to my Japanese family, Seiko, Yoshihiko, Yukino, and Fuyuka Mori for their hospitality and friendship during my visits in Tōkyō, Japan. Their house has been my home far from home and our long conversations helped me so much to better

navigate Japanese culture. And, in Tōkyō, I am particularly grateful to Rossella Ceccarini, Roberto Maxwell, Ricardo Yamamoto, Sabrina Hellmeister, Pamela Hata, Arturo Urena, and Pauline Cheerier for all their ongoing support and friendship and making my stay in Japan always enjoyable. I am especially thankful to all the restaurateurs and restaurants' staff whose openness and support made my visits to the site of research so pleasant.

I am deeply grateful for the support and friendship of my Japanese sister Sanae Nakamura Rosenberg, who kept me sane throughout these years. Special gratitude goes to my friend Rachel Pfeffer for her 'of course' everything is possible attitude, mentoring, and open-heart conversations. I would also like to extend my gratitude to Cindy Spencer, Nancy Aleck, Leanne Ferrer and Tricia Nakamatsu, and all my fellow activists and community organizers for their unwavering support, time, and encouragement.

Last but not least, I want to thank my family, my dad Antonio, my mom Rita, my brother Cristiano, zio Enrico and nonna Nella, for their unconditional love and unwavering support, even in times they had no clue what I was trying to do. And, I want to thank my husband, Melvin who lovingly and patiently has waited for years for this moment to come, and my hanae son Raven Hōkū, who brings so much joy to our lives. Their love and understanding made all this possible, through the everyday of every single day.

I want to dedicate this dissertation to Valeria, Simona, and Antonio Zambonelli, who I love with all my heart, and all the young women I work with, whose brilliance nurtured and kept me motivated the most.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation develops a theory of intercultural placemaking through the study of Brazilian restaurants in Tōkyō, Japan. In what ways do Brazilian restaurants serve as places of intercultural interaction and understanding between Japanese and Brazilian people in Tōkyō, and how and under what conditions, can urban places, like ethnic restaurants, enable interculturalism were the main research questions that drove this exploratory research. Through these and a related set of questions, I designed this research taking a grounded theory approach using comparative case study as a qualitative method, and used an intercultural lens to examine how each restaurant in this study was made, produced, and experienced – known as the concurrent processes of placemaking.

This process-oriented approach allowed me to distinguish different types of intercultural experience and the overall conditions that contribute to these occurrences in Brazilian restaurants in Tōkyō. Different forms of interculturalism result from significant variation within the main factors that contribute to the experience of the restaurant as a place. These variations could be observed in the characteristics, intentions, motivations and management styles of the proprietors, in where the place was located and how it presented itself in terms of layout, design, usage and activity, and in the characteristics and motivations of the patrons. The orchestration of these various factors affected the type of intercultural interaction and experience occurring within its premises.

Three main types of Brazilian restaurants emerged in relation to interculturalism. These are: ethnic restaurants as places for intercultural encounter through food, mostly of a commodified nature and of a side-by-side co-existence; ethnic restaurants as places for

intercultural exchange that lead to the development of intercultural competence besides food consumption; and ethnic restaurants as places for intercultural engagement where learning, communicating and understanding about Brazil, its culture, and the Brazilians living in Tōkyō is fostered and expected. Based on the findings and acknowledgement of the site-specific circumstances and social relations that allow these places to function as they do, I extracted key factors, conditions and processes and present a theory of intercultural placemaking that could inform the planning process to encourage interculturalism in every place.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
LIST OF TABLES.....	viii
LIST OF FIGURES	viii
LIST OF PICTURES	viii
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
Research questions.....	4
Research purpose and significance of the study.....	5
Research design	6
Overview of the chapters	7
CHAPTER 2. GUIDING THEORIES AND THEORETICAL INTERSECTIONS.....	10
Interculturalism.....	10
Honoring the inter- in interculturalism	13
Difference and urban spaces.....	15
Space, place, and placemaking	17
Being and becoming intercultural.....	22
Developing a place-based intercultural lens	25
CHAPTER 3. BRAZILIANS IN JAPAN.....	29
Historical overview of the relations between Brazil and Japan.....	29
Multicultural initiatives in Japan	33
Japanese-Brazilians in Japan	37
Intra-community relations.....	40
CHAPTER 4. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH	45
Studying places and placemaking.....	45
Data collection methods.....	49
Data sources	54
Data analysis.....	55
Analytical tool to study place and placemaking.....	56
The place-based intercultural lens	58
Limitations of the study	59

CHAPTER 5. BRAZILIAN RESTAURANTS AS PLACES FOR INTERCULTURAL ENCOUNTER	62
The proprietors.....	63
The places	69
The patrons	83
Summary.....	88
CHAPTER 6. BRAZILIAN RESTAURANTS AS PLACES FOR INTERCULTURAL EXCHANGE	90
The proprietors.....	91
The places	92
The patrons	106
Summary.....	112
CHAPTER 7. BRAZILIAN RESTAURANTS AS PLACES FOR INTERCULTURAL ENGAGEMENT.....	117
The proprietors.....	118
The places	124
The patrons	132
Summary.....	140
CHAPTER 8. INTERCULTURAL PLACEMAKING	143
Intercultural placemaking as a relational theory.....	147
Concluding thoughts	150
APPENDIX A. Guiding questions in examining interculturalism in place.....	154
APPENDIX B. Interview guide.....	155
REFERENCES	158

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Brazilians registered in Japan by year	33
Table 2. Fieldwork phases	48
Table 3. Guiding data collection framework about place	50
Table 4. List of Brazilian restaurants by -ku and area	58

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Experiencing difference	23
Figure 2. Types of intercultural experience that a place can enable	27
Figure 3. Distribution of Brazilian restaurants in Tōkyō	49
Figure 4. Analytical tool to approach and organize place narratives	57
Figure 5. Location of Brazilian restaurants as places for intercultural encounter	62
Figure 6. Location of Brazilian restaurants for intercultural exchange	90
Figure 7. Location of Brazilian restaurants as places for intercultural engagement	117
Figure 8. Relation between type of intercultural experience and the main characteristics of the places, proprietors, patrons	147
Figure 9. Factors in intercultural placemaking relational theory	148

LIST OF PICTURES

Picture 1. Çhega+Mais manager	65
Picture 2. Çhega+Mais	68
Picture 3. Tucano view from the street	70
Picture 4. Tucano	71
Picture 5. Barbacoa entrance	72
Picture 6. View of Carioca from the street	72
Picture 7. Çhega+Mais view from the street	73
Picture 8. Tucano menu	75
Picture 9. Carioca interior	76
Picture 10. Barbacoa entrance	77
Picture 11. Barbacoa motif	77
Picture 12. Tucano interior	78
Picture 13. Çhega+Mais entrance	79
Picture 14. Çhega+Mais interior	79
Picture 15. Cabana interior	80
Picture 16. Segredo interior	81
Picture 17. Barbacoa waiting area	81
Picture 18. Some of the promotional material found at the restaurants	82

Picture 19. Dining at Barbacoa	88
Picture 20. Espeto Brazil view from the street and entrance	93
Picture 21. Praça 11 view from the street	94
Picture 22. Praça 11 signage at nighttime	94
Picture 23. Saci Perere view from the street	95
Picture 24. Saci Perere performance area	96
Picture 25. Espeto Brazil interior	97
Picture 26. Praça 11 outdoor mural	98
Picture 27. Praça 11 wall of fame	99
Picture 28. Praça 11 signature wall	99
Picture 29. Saci Perere interior	100
Picture 30. Café do Centro Portuguese language class	105
Picture 31. Patrons at Praça 11	107
Picture 32. Copo do Dia proprietors	119
Picture 33. Aparecida proprietor	120
Picture 34. Alvorada proprietor	121
Picture 35. Aparecida	125
Picture 36. Alvorada street view	125
Picture 37. Alvorada decorations	127
Picture 38. Alvorada interior	128
Picture 39. Aparecida stairwell and decorations	129
Picture 40. Aparecida interior	130
Picture 41. Copo do Dia street view and entrance	131
Picture 42. Forró at Aparecida	134
Picture 43. Liberdade Escola de Samba practice	138
Picture 44. Copo do Dia	139

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Que Bom is a Brazilian restaurant in the heart of Asakusa, Tōkyō. As soon as I opened the door to enter, in stark contrast with the silent alley outside, I was welcomed and overwhelmed by loud music. A flight of stairs with colorful murals painted on both walls led me down to the basement area. As I descended, I glimpsed several depictions of Tucano (a bird native to Brazil), the Figure of a curvaceous black Samba girl and a soccer player in pirouette among the many images. The colors and music drew me in. At the bottom of the stairs, there was a table with many fliers, magazines, and other promotional material on display. I turned to the right and found myself in a bar area separated by the main area of the restaurant by a clear glass wall, where an excerpt from the national Brazilian anthem “*Ó Pátria amada....*” was inscribed. Every single material detail aimed at making the impression we were in Brazil – an effort that was matched by what was happening inside.

It was Tuesday night and the tables were chaotically arranged to accommodate the musicians and surrounding patrons, some drumming and some dancing to the rhythm of the *batuque na cozinha* (drumming in the kitchen) *pagode* (a Samba style of music). Some of the patrons shook improvised maracas—empty guarana juice cans with dry rice inside—made available by the restaurant. Others played instruments they themselves brought in to join the pagode. One of the waitresses was teaching some Samba steps to a patron while another skillfully passed by the two carrying a churrasco plate. Despite the commotion, people sitting in the far corners seemed to chat without interruption. Simultaneously, a soccer game played on a big screen television; some patrons consumed food. The soft lighting created a warm ambience, and overall, people seemed to relax and have a good time. I counted thirty or thirty-five people.

As I sat, this euphoric and cheerful place washed over my senses and I caught myself drumming on the table.

Que Bom is one of approximately thirty Brazilian restaurants in Tōkyō, a city that pullulates with eateries. Since the economy recovered from WWII, the Japanese culinary scene progressed rapidly into what it is today: “a foodscape saturated with local and international fast-food chains, ubiquitous vending machines, and culinary mass entertainment” (Cwierka, 2005, p. 424). By the 1990s, reflecting the economic growth of Japan, dining out options had expanded and established a major leisure activity, and cuisines labeled *esunikku* (ethnic) led the way (Doi, 1992; Francks, 2009). Whereas the Kansai area of Japan is considered the home of the Japanese culinary traditions (Ishige, 2001), Tōkyō is a culinary global city (Farrer, 2010) and “the center for foreign restaurants as popular leisure spots. Tōkyō is the place where the trends are set” (Ceccarini, 2010, pp. 62-63). In Tōkyō, eating Western and other foreign foods is a long-standing common practice and cooking is considered a craft. Chef-owner-operated boutique restaurants serving high quality foods to small numbers of patrons are prevalent (Farrer, 2010, pp. 2-3). Thus, dining out, and at an ethnic restaurant, is an everyday practice either out of necessity or for leisure.

Eating out at a Brazilian restaurant, like Que Bom, may well epitomize the global commoditization of tastes and a superficial experience of cosmopolitanism afforded by the ease with which international products now circulate (Calhoun, 2002; Vertovec, 2002). Eating a foreign cuisine may be “a strategy to stave off a kind of personal boredom, which consumer culture is particularly prone to encourage” (Warde, 2000, p. 307), as well as a claim of social rank, distinction, and performance (Cwierka, 2003; Bourdieu, 1984; Finkelstein, 1989).

Alternatively, visiting an ethnic restaurant like Que Bom may as well be “one of the easiest ways to encounter the *Other*” (Spang, 1999, p.80), as expressions of ethnicity associated with food are generally considered constructive (Warde, 2000). In fact, ethnic restaurants are also considered incubators of multiculturalism, a public space where social diversity is negotiated and designed, and a social space for the exchange of ideas that allow for social interaction (Zukin, 1995; Turgeon and Pastinelli, 2002; Wood and Landry, 2007). In the “urban context, food not only reinforces ethnic ties, it is also the most rewarding and easiest bridge *across* ethnic lines” (italics in the original, Van den Berghe, 1984, p. 393), and ethnic restaurants provide the place for such intercultural encounters.

Informed by these diverging perspectives, in this dissertation, my main interest has been in examining ethnic restaurants in relation to interculturalism. Focusing on Brazilian restaurants in Tōkyō, I examined the processes of placemaking—the processes that lead to the making of tangible locations and social spaces—to identify how and under what conditions these everyday places in the city’s urban landscape support or impede intercultural encounter, exchange, and engagement between Japanese and Brazilians in Tōkyō.

Ethnic restaurants afford us opportunities to study how the images and traditions of a culture are used to appropriate space and how these sites and their practices are located in larger networks and socio-cultural practices (Beriss and Sutton, 2007). These are key sites for examining issues of restaurant migrant entrepreneurship, the role that the ‘ethnic factor’ may play (Krogstad, 2004) and processes of economic and social integration (Smart, 2003). Ethnic restaurants are also sites to examine how each place relates to the surrounding community (Beriss and Sutton, 2007). They provide locations where ethnic identity could be commoditized, or whose ingestion is promoted symbolically (Girardelli, 2004). They are places where a dual life

is lived, standardized as well as made special, or where forms of cultural resistance toward the dominant system are declared (Ferrero, 2002, p. 216). Restaurants can form a “bustling microcosm of social and symbolic processes focused on the formation and maintenance of identities” (Beriss and Sutton, 2007, p. 3). Moreover, ethnic restaurants bring together people in convivial, non-utilitarian ways and so offer, as Thrift (2005) argues, “rich insights into the kinds of ‘lighter touch forms of sociality’ that are vital and yet overlooked elements of urban life” (cited in Bell, 2007, p. 15). In summary, ethnic restaurants are particularly rich terrain to study.

Research questions

The questions that drove this research were:

- In what ways do Brazilian restaurants serve as places of intercultural interaction and understanding between Japanese and Brazilian people in Tōkyō?
- How and under what conditions, can urban places, like ethnic restaurants, enable interculturalism?

The first question, empirical in nature, aimed at examining with a bottom-up approach the Brazilian restaurants as places in relation to interculturalism, and through a critical intercultural lens, understand how people create, use and experience these places and discover what makes the experiences intercultural. The second question aimed to build on the empirical findings and provide insights on how intercultural places can be designed and how planners can be more effective in promoting intercultural placemaking.

Interculturalism recognizes the importance of interaction and intercultural dialogue across cultural differences and fosters a “pluralist transformation of public space, civic culture and institutions” (Bloomfield and Bianchini, 2002, p.6; Wood and Landry, 2007; Agyeman and Erickson, 2012; Zapata-Barrero, 2013). The possible occurrence of interculturalism implies the

provision of place, and in this dissertation, I present the ethnic restaurant as a particular place to examine what are the key factors in making a place intercultural.

Culture is here employed as a common framework of understanding, through which people may act, see and interpret the world around them, which is far from being “static, eternally given, [and] essentialist” (Sandercock, 2003, pp.102-103). And, I situated this study in a conceptual frame of planning for diversity based on human encounter and interaction (Fincher and Iveson, 2008) as I focused on recognizing and identifying convivial places and placemaking processes that welcome people and encourage interactions across cultural differences and lead to new attachments and pluralist transformations of place.

Research purpose and significance of the study

I used the Brazilian restaurants to think about the place –literal and metaphorical- of the Brazilian presence in contemporary Tōkyō, Japan. Whereas Japanese society is ethnically diverse (Weiner, 1997; Lie, 2001) and increasingly multicultural because of immigration (Douglass and Roberts, 2003; Tsuda, 2003), Japanese cultural diversity has been muted by a discourse of homogeneity. The notion of homogeneity has been instrumentally used to modernize the polity and economy since the late nineteenth century, reinforced by the introduction of the Nationality Act of 1900 that allocated citizenship by *jus sanguinis* (Tarumoto, 2003, p. 93; Shipper, 2008, p. 3). Moreover, the “one nation, one ethnicity slogan” has contributed not only to the belief “that Japan’s democracy is based on the idea that everyone is equal because everyone is Japanese” (Yamanaka, 1994, p. 413), but it has also positioned the foreigners as a threat to this notion of homogeneity, purity, self-assured superiority and uniqueness (Morris-Suzuki, 2010, pp. 9-10).

The attention paid to the Brazilian presence is justified by it being the third largest group of foreigners living in Japan for over 20 years since the early 1990s, a consequence of a special visa that created the *Nikkeijin* category. The Nikkeijin visa category allowed individuals of Japanese ancestry to work and reside in Japan for three consecutive years with possibility of renewal. As it will be further presented in Chapter 3, the special visa has been issued exclusively to supply Japan's demand for labor and by-pass the Japanese immigration policy that in general denies entry to unskilled foreign workers and advocates only for admission of skilled workers on a temporary basis (Tsuda, 2008).

This research emanates from my commitment to uncover ways to create places that bring people together and facilitate the learning of each other's culture. Increased understanding of how everyday intercultural places emerge may reduce cross-cultural distance and neglect, but also increase our understanding and appreciation of the role that ordinary places play in the making of a city of diverse cultures. This is of particular interest in a context like the Japanese one, unable to fully embrace immigrants as members of society and limiting their status to foreign workers. Ultimately, it is not only a matter of how to manage our co-existence in the shared spaces. It is also a matter of how to transform these sites into places where we all, in our differences, thrive, and we get closer to the idea of Cosmopolis as a city "where inhabitants can negotiate their differences in a productive and affirmative way" (Conley, 2002, p. 129), and be at home wherever we are (Sandercock, 1998, 2003).

Research design

I designed this research taking a grounded theory approach using comparative case study as a qualitative method. I identified Brazilian restaurants through online sources, printed material

and word-of-mouth, and purposefully selected restaurants that were listed as serving only Brazilian food.

Over a period of approximately seven months between 2007 and 2012, I collected data adopting the “walking with video” phenomenological method (Pink, 2007). Walking with video is a method that attends to the sensorial elements of the human experience and placemaking. It helped me produce an emphatic and sensory embodied (emplaced) understandings of (my own and) another person’s experience of the restaurants (Pink, 2007, pp. 240-250). The walking with video was used in concomitance with observations and interviews of restaurants’ proprietors, patrons, and staff as main informants. I also drew information on the restaurants from magazines, promotional material that I collected on site, and online food-blogs. An iterative review of the relevant literature shaped and refined the data sources and collection methods used. I coded the data collected and themes and categories were developed and refined on ongoing bases in the theory building process.

Overview of the chapters

In Chapter 2, I review interculturalism as a new approach presented at the local level to understand and treat cultural difference. Next, I delve into the literature on space, place, and placemaking, and then into the notions of the cultural competency and intercultural development as they inform the conceptual framework used in the operationalization of interculturalism and the discussion of this dissertation’s findings.

In Chapter 3, I contextualize the Brazilian presence in Japan by reviewing the country’s immigration policies and overall approach in dealing with cultural diversity. Next, I provide a historical overview of the relations between Brazil and Japan and the changes in the Japanese immigration policies that led to the high rate of immigration inflow from Brazil. Unsurprisingly,

as any other group, the Brazilian presence is not homogenous and in Japan, a main factor of differentiation is being (or not) of Japanese descent. Thus, I discuss how this element of differentiation plays a role in the making as well as experiencing of the places that are part of this study.

In Chapter 4, I review the challenges associated with studying place and introduce the analytical tool and the guiding framework used to collect and analyze data in relation to placemaking and interculturalism. I also present the different fieldwork phases, the data sources, and the data analysis method, and conclude the chapter by acknowledging the limitations I faced during this research.

In the next three chapters, Chapter 5, 6, and 7, I present my findings on how these ethnic restaurants support intercultural interaction and of what type. In Chapter 5, I present Brazilian restaurants as places for intercultural encounter and interaction through food, mostly of a commodified nature and of a side-by-side co-existence. These are sites where intercultural encounter and interaction is defined by and limited to the consumption of Brazilian cuisine. In Chapter 6, I present Brazilian restaurants as places for intercultural exchange and learning through food and the enacting of cultural practices. These are sites where consuming food is secondary and mostly nested in other experiences aimed at learning and/or practicing a particular type of activity related to Brazilian culture (this being music, dance, or sport for example). In Chapter 7, I present Brazilian restaurants as places for intercultural engagement besides food. These are sites where people gather to share knowledge and learn from each other through a multiplicity and diversified range of activities aimed at widening the commonly known elements of the Brazilian cultural landscape. Cultural competence leads to reflection, understanding,

engagement, new attachments, and in some instances, to action to ameliorate the conditions of Brazilians living in Japan.

In the last and concluding Chapter 8, I first revisit the research questions and purpose of the study in light of the findings and then present a visualization of the emerging theory that can inform planning practice in supporting and creating intercultural places. Next, I insert the findings back to the larger context in which the Brazilian restaurants as intercultural incubators operate and reflect on the status of government policy and action about Brazilian immigrants in Japan and their current situation, pondering to what extent interculturalism at a larger scale stands a chance in Japan.

CHAPTER 2. GUIDING THEORIES AND THEORETICAL INTERSECTIONS

“The capacity to *thrive* with difference is, in my view, the coming question of the 21st century”

My adaptation of Stuart Hall (1993, p. 361)

I begin this chapter by introducing the background of the intercultural turn and interculturalism as the normative standpoint that informs this dissertation, emphasizing the role that place plays in the intercultural approach. Then, given the centrality that I attribute to place and its making, I delve into the literature on space, place, and placemaking, and also review studies of intercultural development, intercultural orientations and competences to clarify my normative standpoint as well as the operationalization of intercultural places and placemaking. I conclude by positing the conceptual framework and a working definition of intercultural place that has led this study.

Interculturalism

We have been living in the age of migration (Castles and Miller, 1993) for a while now and cities, large and small, have become increasingly multicultural and socially diverse. People from different places and of different cultures have gathered under a wide range of circumstances, from massive recruitment of foreign workers to cross-border family formations, to live within the same urban space and under the same governmental umbrella. Differences abound in language communication styles, social protocols and familial traditions, normative values and overall epistemic lenses.

Presented as a new model of local governance and policy in the age of diversity, the emerging language of interculturalism stresses the importance of intercultural dialogue.

Interculturalism is in contrast with versions of cosmopolitanism that speculate on the gradual erosion of cultural difference through interethnic mixture and hybridization, and it also differs from versions of multiculturalism that essentialize culture, build boundaries, and stress cultural difference without resolving the problem of communication between cultures (Hall, 2000; Amin, 2002, p. 967). Interculturalism emphasizes interaction, dialogue, and social cohesion (Rattansi, 2011).

Culture is understood as fluid and shifting and cultural difference is taken for granted, as a given, “to be exchanged, to circulate, to be modified and evolve” (Sze and Powell 2004 cited in Meer and Modood, 2012, p. 185). Interculturalism, with its necessity for interaction and mixing, encourages the formation of interdependencies and connections committed to a stronger sense of the whole. Dialogue plays a significant role in this transformation (Booth, 2003; Wood and Landry, 2007; Meer and Modood, 2012; Zapata-Barrero, 2013).

However, interculturalism, as many other concepts in social science, is polysemic and the term can be interpreted in several ways. Zapata-Barrero (2013) has identified three main interpretations in how the concept is used to inform intercultural policies. These interpretations are the contractual, the cohesion, and the constructivist approach to interculturalism (Zapata-Barrero, 2013, p. 8).

According to the contractual interpretation of interculturalism, individuals from birth hold a national cultural identity that determines certain cultural behaviors and attitudes towards the others (Zapata-Barrero, 2013, p. 17). Belonging to a nation-state is a determining factor in defining an integration policy where the diversity of immigrants is directed by a foundational dominant core of citizens (Agustí-Panareda, 2006; Bouchard, 2011; Taylor, 2012). Therefore, as Bader (2005) writes, the process of integration is determined by the ethno-national and religious

histories in which the local civic and democratic cultures are embedded (cited in Meer and Modood, 2012, p. 188). Interactions are conceived in vertical terms between a founding majority and a diverse culture of minority newcomers (Bouchard, 2011, p.60),

The cohesion perspective breaks this distinction between migrant and citizen, taking the person qua human being into account (independent of his or her nationality), and advocating for cohesive unity (Zapata-Barrero, 2013, p. 12). It focuses on commonalities among individuals and promotes relationships based on what it is shared, regardless of differences. In this manner, interculturalism, as advanced by Cantle (2012) for example, exposes the idea of a common public sphere and community cohesion as a way to prevent social conflict promoting a policy mechanism designed to avoid social exclusion and segregation along the ethnic lines (as cited in Zapata-Barrero, 2013, pp. 17-18). Hence, cultural difference is inherently associated to social conflict and interactions are conceived in horizontal terms as we all share common humanity.

According to both interpretations, interaction is ultimately deemed better than non-interaction to restore stability and cohesion, which was lost because of diversity (Zapata-Barrero, 2013, pp. 19-21). The consensus is that interculturalism tends to be a conflict-oriented and social problem-solving policy.

However, as Zapata-Barrero (2013) argues, interculturalism can be conceived as a proactive policy when informed by a constructivist approach. Rather than consider diversity as a source of conflict, interculturalism informed by a diversity advantage literature, perceives diversity as an asset and a public good. Intercultural policies would then be concentrated on producing an innovative outcome from the interaction and it is creativity-based” (Zapata-Barrero, 2013, p. 27). People cannot be “forced” into interactions, but intercultural policies informed by an understanding of diversity as an asset would provide an “institutional framework, an urban

scenario and a social space that motivate people to interact, even if in the end, they do not” (Zapata-Barrero, 2013, p. 30). Thus, the constructivist approach to interculturalism is about creating the conditions to enable intercultural interactions towards innovation, transformation, and change. These interactions produce “something new for all agents of interaction. [...] It transforms the context for all involved, accommodates diversity, creates new spaces for action” (Zapata-Barrero, 2013, p. 30). In brief, the intercultural city is one of creative interdependence, not of simple co-existence, where urban spaces are places of encounter and exchange that cultivate “connectedness, interaction, and interweaving of different belief, practices, and lifestyles” (Rattansi, 2011, pp. 152-153).

In this dissertation, I situate my understanding of interculturalism in the constructivist approach, but I advocate for the integration of the notion of the right to the city, a more critical understanding of urban space in relation to difference, how place is produced, and how intercultural competences are developed. I develop each point in the sections that follow.

Honoring the inter- in interculturalism

The notion of the right to the city was originally meant to redress the displacement and dispossession of ordinary citizens at the hand of dominant classes and corporate elites whose interests did not lay in the working of the city as an oeuvre (Lefebvre, 1996). In its more recent developments, the right to the city is no longer only the right of citizens as urban dwellers, it is also the right of the urban dwellers as citizens. In other words, it is no longer only the marginalized citizens who have to appropriate the city space and participate in its making. Now, it is also the non-citizens, as urban dwellers needing to be solicited to appropriate and participate in the making of the city.

I argue that intercultural policies aimed at creating places that would motivate and/or facilitate interaction should be informed by the notion of the right to the city to emphasize the role that a pluralist transformation of public space should play in conceptualizing interculturalism. Integrating the notion of the right to the city into intercultural policies would substantially honor the *inter-* prefix of interculturalism. In fact, the prefix *inter-* does not only mean between or among. *Inter-* also implies mutuality and reciprocity. If interculturalism is supplemented by the notion of the right of the city, it furthers the idea of interaction and co-creation in the making of the city. So far, the *inter-* has neglected the different positionality of immigrants in society, where the newcomer/immigrants are more likely to do most of the adjustments (Sandercock, 2003). There is an intrinsic asymmetry of power regarding who is going to do the integrating. The between/reciprocal aspect of mutual transformation and learning is rarely fulfilled. Therefore, “an intercultural model requires space for creation and mutual accommodation – a conception that at the same time invites the adoption of an integration model and practice based on the adaptation of not only the immigrants but also of the host society and its norms” (Agustí-Panareda, 2006, p. 427).

The notion of right to the city entails the right to claim presence in the city, democratizing its spaces and engaging residents fully in civic life as subjects rather than objects. Harvey (2008) insists the “freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves” as a human right must entail the democratic management over urban development (p. 23). An undergirding principle is the idea that every individual who contributes to urban life should have a say in its operations and planning. This principle favors lived engagement in a given place over formal status, cultural identity, or group association.

These forms of participation reflect several changes in the notion of citizenship as membership. The nation-state is still dominant in world mentalities (Taylor, 1995), but many “new forms and practices have proliferated in recent years [undermining] the hegemony of the current model of citizenship, helping to loosen the traditional ties between citizenship and the nation-state, the national scale, and the nation” (Purcell, 2003, p. 564). Therefore, the focus is on the “social process through which individuals and social groups engage in claiming, expanding or losing rights” (Isin, 2000, p.5). Citizenship takes a relational form. It is less of a matter of “access to social goods, [it is now] the right to be considered in the range of forums, alliances and nodes which constitutes governance” across places (Rogers, 2000, p. 206). As Rose (2000) writes, “citizenship is much a capacity to act in relation to the particular circumstances of one’s environment [...] no longer a matter of possession, rather of capacity” (p. 99).

In light of these new conceptualizations of citizenship, cities, urban space and places emerge as the main and privileged site for envisioning and realizing alternatives to the current citizenship order (Purcell, 2003, p. 564; Holston and Appadurai, 1996). Cities are the major force of attraction for international migrants and a place of emerging new social identities (Taylor, 1995), making urban places one of the best terrains to study intercultural phenomena.

Difference and urban spaces

Urban spaces do offer the possibility of encounter and “the freedom to associate and mingle in cafés, parks, streets, shopping malls and squares,” which relates to the development of an urban culture based on the freedom and pleasure to linger and the public awareness that these are shared spaces (Amin, 2002). However, focusing on how urban spaces can enable such encounters implicitly reproduces “a potentially naïve assumption that contact with others necessarily translates into respect for difference” (Valentine, 2008). Habitual contact in itself is

no guarantor of cultural exchange (Amin, 2002, p. 969), and, whereas contact theory shows contact may reduce prejudice (Allport, 1954), particular groups often territorialize urban public places or they remain spaces of transit with very little contact between strangers (Amin, 2002).

This is apparent especially in light of the many ‘experiments’ that have failed in using place to manage intercultural relations. For example, there is the case of public housing, which is often promoted as “as a site where people from diverse backgrounds can engage as a community with shared interests. [In actuality, they have been] riddled with racism, interethnic tension, and cultural isolation” (Amin, 2002, p. 968). The working class is “the usual target of the public housing scheme,” expected to do all the mixing. Meanwhile, the middle class, equally “implicated in racial and ethnic discrimination, escapes any such obligation” (Amin, 2002, p. 968). Or as Sin (2002) writes, “Blanket policies designed to remedy the ills of observed spatial separation are doomed to fail without detailed understanding of how spatial forms have been mediated by particular sets of social, cultural, economic and political factors” (cited in Wood and Landry, 2007, p. 124).

As Valentine (2008) writes, “there is increasing evidence that contact between different social groups alone is not sufficient to produce respect. Indeed, many everyday moments of contact between different individuals or groups in the city do not really count as encounters at all” (p. 326). And, even when intergroup contact occurs, “while potentially beneficial in reducing majority prejudice – it can be very stressful for minority groups” (Valentine, 2008). In other words, proximity in city spaces does not necessarily lead to association and exchange, and city spaces are key, but not naturally endowed of intercultural properties. I argue that a more nuanced understanding of space, place, and placemaking would benefit intercultural policies aimed at the creation of intercultural places. In fact, in the intercultural city, urban spaces are no longer

thought of as places of co-existence, but thought as places of contact, zones of encounters, interactions and transformation. Places are thought as having a role in fostering interculturalism and intercultural competences, but up until now the conditions that need to be in place have not been well defined.

Space, place, and placemaking

In the early 1970s, concurrently to the ascendancy of spatial sciences and especially through the works of Henri Lefebvre, the notions of space and place and society were no longer kept separated, but examined as being in a mutually constitutive relationship. Gupta and Ferguson (1997) wrote about how the understanding of place and space moved beyond being a kind of neutral grid on which cultural difference, historical memory and societal organization are inscribed (as cited in McIntyre, 1999, p. 37).

Lefebvre (1991) writes of spatial practices, representations of space and representational spaces: perceived, conceived and lived. Perceived space

“refers to the relatively objective, concrete space people encounter in their daily environment. Conceived space refers to mental constructions of space, creative ideas about and representations of space. Lived space is the complex combination of perceived and conceived space. It represents a person’s actual experience of space in everyday life. Lived space is not just a passive stage on which social life unfolds, but represents a constituent element of social life” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 39).

People are in a dialectical relation with place: sensory and bodily experiences are shaped by space, and space is shaped by those experiences (McIntyre, 1999, p. 34). Lefebvre writes of social space as generated by the activities of people in a particular place and as a “social product and an unfolding process that continually set and reset the material conditions of life” (McIntyre, 1999, p. 44). The conceptual and material dimensions of space and place emerge as determinants in the production of social life (Kuper, 2003).

Human geographers, such as Buttimer (1971), Tuan (1974) and Relph (1974), focused on place as a “concept that expressed an attitude to the world that emphasized subjectivity and experience” (cited in Cresswell, 2004, p. 20). The work of Tuan notably shifted the attention paid to the hard logic of spatial science -where abstractions and generalizations are made- to the attachment that people have to place or what place means to people. Gradually, space and place become acknowledged as crucial in understanding “the symbolic and psychical dimension of our identifications” (Carter, Donald and Squires, 1993, p. xii). Place was no longer disregarded as background information and emerged to the forefront of research. Scholars began questioning what place is and what factors make a place a place. This phenomenological turn sought to understand place’s essence and significance.

By the late 1980s, the phenomenological spatial turn began percolating throughout social theory and cultural study. Scholars began to interpret space and the embracing spatiality of human life with the same critical insight and emphasis that has traditionally been given to time and history on the one hand, and spatial relations and society on the other. In the 1990s, studies whose focus was space and place began to flourish. This is the context of studies like the ones of Soja (1996) who, drawing on Lefebvre, describes a trialectics of spatiality and writes of third space as the one which is lived and not simply materially conceived or mentally perceived. Harvey (1989) brings attention to the politics of place and the time-space compression, and Massey (1994) redefines place as an inclusive and progressive site of social life. I draw particularly from Massey for this dissertation because she considers the idea of place to encompass the multiplicity of processes that occur in its making. As she writes, “what gives a place its specificity is not some long internalized history but the fact that it is constructed out of a particular constellation of social relations, meeting and weaving together at a particular locus”

(Massey, 1994, p. 154). Her insights informed my understanding of place as composed of constant, intersecting occurrences, which can be crystallized when observed, like in a snap-shot, but because they are in constant flux, place is always subject to change.

Place continues to retain its importance even in times of the imaginary place-ness of globalization, because just like all social relations, [it needs] to operate for the most part in the material world, and as Harvey (1985) writes, capitalism requires “fixed and secure spatial infrastructures” (p. 149). In the 2000s, place still holds centrality in social studies, where studies of place have more of a relational approach and are no longer exclusive of particular disciplines.

However, place escapes an unequivocal definition. Though place “is a word that seems to speak for itself, no-one quite knows what they are talking about when they are talking about place. Place is both simple and complicated” (Cresswell, 2004, p. 2). In other words, though it seems simple to talk about *place* and use the word deliberately, the more we think about it and what we mean by it, the more it gets complicated.

Place differs from space. Whereas space is often associated with notions of abstractness, unfamiliarity and the unknown, the idea of place elicits concreteness, familiarity, meanings, and memories. Agnew’s (1987) provides a definition of place that is the easiest to operationalize. In his definition, he outlines three fundamental aspects of place. These are: location, locale and sense of place. Location is generally used to refer to the simple notion of where, locale means the material setting for social relations – “the actual shape of place within which people conduct their lives as individuals” – and sense of place denotes the subjective and emotional attachment people have to place (as cited in Cresswell, 2004, p. 7). Moreover, there is no singularity to place, as a *place* results from innumerable intersections, and its specificity derives from a distinct mixture of social relations at different scales, from the local to the global (Massey, 1994, pp. 155-156).

Combined with Agnew (1987) aspects of place (location, locale, and sense of place), the notion of placemaking is here understood as producing different perceptions of place, which altogether constitute a place. There are placemaking activities purposefully aimed at the production of physical and tangible sites (places as location, i.e. position, whereabouts) and locale (i.e. setting, background, scene). And, there are placemaking activities that more or less unintentionally occur in existing locations (experience of place) and that transform those material settings into places of significance, memory, attachment, and sense of place, or social spaces (using Lefebvre's terminology). Placemaking is posited as the process that enables a transformative journey of a space into a place through which the latter acquires its reality and identity.

Friedmann (2007) has determined that we place-make simply by inhabiting the "absolute, material space for a while, and by making ourselves 'at home' in it, begin appropriating it" (p. 2). In this definition, the temporal dimension plays a key role. If we are somewhere long enough, we inevitably place-make and "the place becomes an extension of ourselves, part of our daily round of activities, part of a more general pattern of life" (Friedmann, 2007, p. 3). Thus, placemaking and the resulting places can "neither be planned for nor designed from the outside, but emerge spontaneously from within civil society itself" (Friedmann, 2007, p. 1).

If in Friedmann's notion, placemaking happens in place as a pause, Feuchtwang (2004) has a more fluid understanding of placemaking and integrates movements in his definition. Feuchtwang defines placemaking as "the centering and marking of a place by the actions and constructions of people tracing salient parts of their daily lives as a homing point in their trajectories," and writes that "places are made by the selection and establishment of focal centers" (pp. 10-12). Focal centers spatially organize and punctuate human existence and make a

territorial place “a home base of familiarity and apparent permanence” (Feuchtwang, 2004, p. 12). As this research concludes, placemaking assumes the shape of a web or a relational network of locations, whose nodes are represented by these focal centers. It is not too clear if these focal centers are consciously selected or they become so because they are part of the daily trajectories that take us to where we need to go. In other words, it is not too clear if we are active or passive agents in this type of placemaking.

Thus, placemaking happens as a result of inhabitation and ongoing experience of place. As clarified by Tuan (1977), “to experience is to learn; it means acting on the given and creating out of the given. The given cannot be known by itself. What can be known is a reality that is a construct of experience, a creation of feeling and thought” (as cited in Wunderlich, 2008, p. 128). It is a “product of everyday practices. Places are never finished, but produced through the reiteration of practices – the repetition of seemingly mundane activities on a daily base” (Cresswell, 2004, p. 82).

Carter, Donald and Squires (1993) shift our attention to the power of discourse in placemaking. They write, “a space becomes a place by being named” and as such reveals “the symbolic and imaginary investments of a population” (p. xii). In his narrative-descriptive approach, Tuan (1991) highlights the role that language plays in the making of place and how words and their use in naming “can have the power to render objects, formerly invisible because unattended, visible, and impart to them a certain character” (p. 684).

In the section that follows, I shift attention from our attention to a phenomenological understanding of space, place and placemaking to interculturalism as the process of learning and engaging with cultures other than our own. This would help to have a more nuanced understanding of what being intercultural means and how an individual becomes intercultural.

Being and becoming intercultural

The potential for an individual person to develop intercultural competence to communicate effectively and become intercultural has been at the center of concerns in the field of education, where most of the theories on how people construe cultural difference and how to direct those processes towards acceptance and engagement with the cultural *Other* have emerged. For one to keep a hospitable mindset forwards cultural engagements, meeting new people, being intercultural as an individual usually imply essential attitudes, characteristics and set of competencies. Respect, openness, curiosity are, for example, deemed crucial, as well as competence to be not only effective but also appropriate in intercultural exchanges (Byram, 2003; Deardorff, 2006). However, we are not born with this set of competences.

On the contrary, it is likely that we are “born and socialized into specific groups [and] tend to assume that the conventions and values by which [we] live within [our] groups are inevitable and natural” (Alred, 2003, p.3). And, whereas we may have intercultural contacts in all sorts of functional levels, these contacts do not necessarily entail nor foster the development of intercultural competence and friendship (Holmes and O’Neill, 2012, p. 707) nor engagement for that matter. Becoming intercultural entails a process where individuals bring “their critical cultural awareness (the ability to interpret, evaluate and negotiate), on the basis of explicit criteria, perspectives, practices and products in their own and other cultures, which may lead to some degree of acceptance of new ideas” (Holmes and O’Neill, 2012, p. 709). As we become intercultural beings, we are able “to overcome our ethnocentric tendency to impose our categories and values on their behavior. We enhance our self-awareness, tolerate and understand culture as a concept that does not determine the individual’s behavior” (Bredella, 2003, p. 237).

Moreover, in the process of becoming intercultural, encountering diversity may elicit different types of responses depending on the original individual orientations that call for different strategies to facilitate intercultural dialogue and understanding (Bennett, 1986, 2004). Therefore, for the process to be effective process it must also take into account the different ways people may react to cultural difference to devise strategies to move us closer to intercultural understanding. As Bennett (1986) writes, the key to the development of intercultural sensitivity and the skills necessary for intercultural communication resides first in the vision that each person has when faced with cultural difference.

In fact, puzzled by the different types of responses that encountering the “other” seemed to elicit, Bennett (1986) conducted a grounded theory study and identified six main types of responses organized in the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) in Figure 1. He identified six main types of individuals’ responses to cultural difference. These spanned from ethno-centric responses, where difference is perceived as immutable and threatening, to the ethno-relativist ones, where difference is perceived as malleable, a source of renewal and also of equilibrium. In the Figure below, the different orientations are presented in their progression from the most ethno-centric to the most ethno-relativist. They range from denial (there is no difference), defense (against the difference) and minimization (of the difference), while acceptance (a new way of seeing), adaptation (a new way of acting) and integration (a new way of being) are defined as ethno-relativist responses.

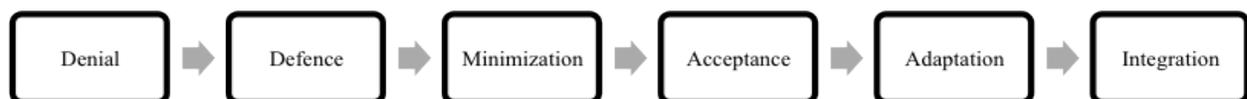


Figure 1. Experiencing difference

These orientations can be refashioned and Bennett (2004) suggests some ways educators (and others) may support the transitioning from one type of response to the other. For example, people in denial would be directed to the recognition of the simple existence of other cultures, both globally and domestically (Bennett, 2004, p. 64). When in a defensive state, individual will be brought to recognizing the common humanity of people of other cultures. When in a minimization state, cultural self-awareness is key because only when beliefs, behaviors, and values are understood as being influenced by the particular context in which individuals are socialized, alternatives can be imagined. Therefore, to become intercultural is a process that occurs through small steps.

In the process of becoming intercultural beings, the ethnocentric tendency to impose the known categories and values is relinquished. Meanwhile, self-awareness, tolerance and the understanding of culture as a non-deterministic factor becomes evident in one's individual behavior. In fact, "being intercultural comprises both involvement and the reflection on this involvement" (Bredella, 2003, p. 237). Similarly, Kymlicka (2003) writes of the individual becoming intercultural as someone "curious rather than fearful about other peoples and cultures, open to learning about other ways of life, and willing to consider how issues look from other people's point of view, rather than assuming that their inherited way of life or perspective is superior" (p.157).

Based on these notions of becoming intercultural, I began formulating a working definition of what means being a place that enables processes where ethnocentric tendencies are suspended and where involvement is facilitated. To better understand what type of experience these places enable, we also need to take into account the original orientation of the visitor and the length as well as recurrence of the visit. Therefore, a place of incipient interculturalism

would activate processes of awareness for those individuals whose orientations are more in the ethno-centric realm, and then moving towards learning of skills and then engagement for the people in the ethno-relativist realm. In other words, a place potentially can foster different degrees of interculturalism at the same time, and so to be intercultural effective the placemaking approach needs to respond, match and nurture the multiplicity of orientations that its visitors bring into the place.

Developing a place-based intercultural lens

In this last section, I present a lens that combines a place-based approach to examine interactions and provides evidence of the process of becoming intercultural. I describe the process of becoming intercultural through a place-based experience undergoing three main stages to reflect the development process identified by Bennett (1986) in the forming of intercultural sensitivities. There is an initial stage of encounter with difference in place, next a stage of exchange, then followed by a stage of engagement. The process is on a continuum and the fact that the place is permanent allows for return and continuation of the process that may be initiated within its premises. Therefore, a place may enable different types of intercultural interactions that can span from encounter, exchange, to engagement.

Next, informed by the literature on intercultural competences, I associated to each stage a set of attitudes and competencies. In the first stage, encounter is associated with attitudes of openness, curiosity and awareness. In the second stage, exchange is associated to the demonstration of knowledge and skills. And in the third and last stage, engagement requires the competence of practice and understanding.

Based on this framework, a place part of this study enables intercultural *encounter* when it promotes attitudes of curiosity, respect, and openness. The experience occurring in such place

would raise awareness about Brazil, Brazilian culture, and Brazilians living in Tōkyō. A place enables intercultural *exchange* when provides the possibility to acquire knowledge and skills about Brazil, Brazilian culture and Brazilians living in Tōkyō. And, a place enables intercultural *engagement* when it provides opportunities for widening and deepening the understanding of Brazil, Brazilian culture, and Brazilians living in Tōkyō.

In Figure 2 below, I represent visually the relation between the different stages and the type of intercultural experience that the places part of this study could enable.

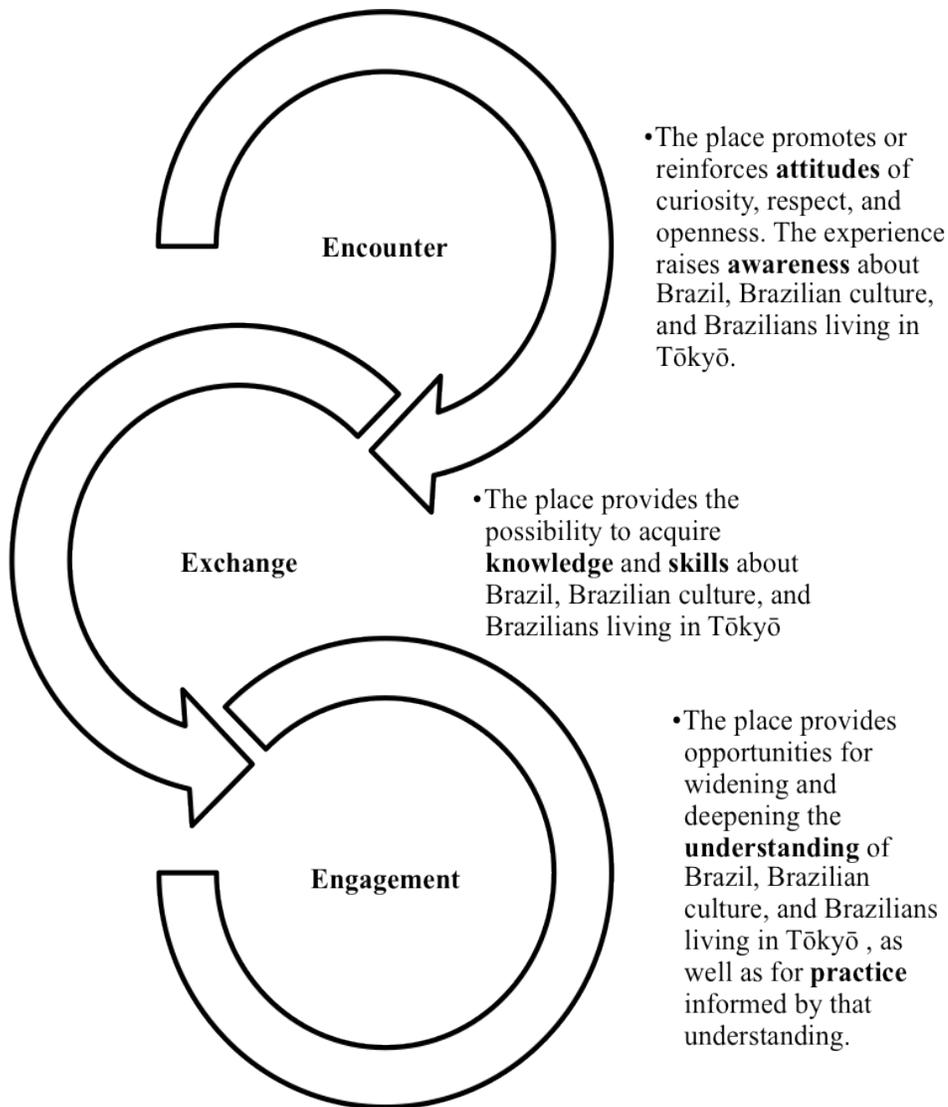


Figure 2. Types of intercultural experience that a place can enable

This framework was then used as a lens to elaborate sets of questions aimed at identifying what is in place and the several processes of placemaking that support—or impede—the different type of intercultural experiences that may range from encounter to engagement.

Thus, my working definition of place that is intercultural at its highest potential entails its operating as a gathering place for people from different social groups with different cultures who can actively participate in its making. It eases intercultural engagement when it provides opportunities for widening and deepening the understanding of Brazil, Brazilian culture and

Brazilians living in Tōkyō, as well as for practice informed by that understanding. A place offers the possibility to discuss and share the intercultural experience in a reflective manner and the possibility to act on that information/reflection. It offers learning experiences that can lead to changes in the individual. These can be cognitive, attitudinal, behavioral change, change in self-perception, and change in relationships with people of different social and cultural groups (Alred et al., 2006, p. 233).

CHAPTER 3. BRAZILIANS IN JAPAN

In this chapter, I contextualize the presence of Brazilians in Japan. I begin by providing an historical overview of the relations between Brazil and Japan. Then, I review the Japanese immigration system and policies, address the changes in policy that led to the high rate of immigration influx from Brazil and the reasons for Brazilians to relocate, and the involvement of the Japanese government in response to multicultural urbanization. Next, I transition to the overall positioning of the Brazilian experience vis-à-vis the larger Japanese context. I conclude this chapter by highlighting a more nuanced understanding of the intra-community relations and tensions rising from what it means to be Brazilian in Tōkyō, whether of Japanese ancestry or not, and how this plays out in the making of Brazilian places throughout the city.

Historical overview of the relations between Brazil and Japan

Relations between Brazil and Japan date back to 1908, when Japanese people first migrated to Brazil to work in coffee plantations to relieve “perceived problems of scarce resources, overpopulation, and social unrest (Kingsberg, 2015). This relocation of Japanese people to Brazil has continued steadily ever since, but registered a particular surge during the aftermath of World War II, as Brazil was one of the few countries that accepted Japanese immigrants. By the early 1940s, Tsuchida (1998) reports that nearly two hundred thousand Japanese people had settled in Brazil (cited in Kingsberg, 2015).

In the 1960s and 1970s, the Japanese and Brazilian economies grew increasingly complementary. However, due to the onset of the Brazilian economic crisis of the 1980s, Japanese investors began losing confidence and interest in its economy while they grew preoccupied with investment opportunities in Asia (Purcell and Immerman, 1992). In the 1980s,

while the Japanese economy was growing, the Brazilian one was experiencing the deepening of the economic crisis, prompting the first wave of substantial temporary inverse migration of mainly first-generation Japanese-Brazilian from Brazil to Japan—a first expression of the larger Brazilian diaspora (Ishi, 2008).

This instance went almost unnoticed, as the people who migrated were first generation Japanese-Brazilians, fluent in Japanese, and familiar with uses and customs of Japanese mainstream. Moreover, these Japanese-Brazilians intentionally kept their presence undetectable to avoid the stigma generally associated with the Japanese who left Japan to seek opportunities abroad (Higuchi, 2003), believed to have given up too easily, or that they have abandoned, fled, or discarded Japan (Tsuda, 2003). Nevertheless, this initial presence played a crucial role in establishing the connections that led to the subsequent movements of Japanese-Brazilians to Japan.

As Brazil's crisis was deepening, Japanese economy was blooming and facing labor scarcity. Despite pressure from some economic sectors, the Japanese government opposed a liberal immigration policy and resisted reform of the immigration control system and its main acts and laws. However, as the demographic of the foreigners coming to work to Japan became visibly different (mostly single men, employed in manufacturing and construction industries, and mainly from China, Korea, Philippines, Bangladesh and Thailand), foreign workers became the target of criminal stereotyping and deemed culpable of vicious crimes (Sellek, 2001). Foreign nationals were portrayed “as international predators feeding on Japanese prey, while in turn enforcing the image of Japan as an originally safe, crime-free country” (Yamamoto, 2004, p. 27). Immigrants were linked with criminality by interpreting physical characteristics of migrants as

signs of high propensity to crime (Morris-Suzuki, 2010; Yamamoto, 2010, p. 301) – even when the crime rates are actually low (Hamai and Ellis, 2006) and the statistics inflated (Debito, 2013).

As argued by Beauregard (1993), these discourses of fear shaped Japanese mainstream attention and provided the reasons for how the government acted in response to perceived problems (cited in Sandercock, 2003, p. 123). Rather than being framed as a foreign worker force issue, the presence of these visibly different people became framed as an issue of social concern. The *Gaikokujin rōdōsha mondai* (foreign worker problem) became major topic of debate and commentary in political arenas and public spheres (Morooka, 2006, p. 79).

At the end of 1989, the government presented a bill to revise the Immigration Control Act, one of the pillars of the immigration control system, to the National Diet. The Revised Immigration Control Act was framed as a response to the rising presence of illegal workers (Mori, 1997), and was mostly meant to preserve the existing law and contain the presence of foreigner workers. The bill was enacted and went into force in 1990, June 1.

The Revised Immigration Control Act imposed a system of penalties by establishing the crime of abetting illegal labor, increased the types of residence for foreign nationals from 18 to 27, and granted a special visa to the *Nikkeijin*, individuals of Japanese ancestry (Komai, 2001; Yamanaka, 2003; Tsuda, 2009; Morris-Suzuki, 2010). The visa offered the possibility to reside and work in Japan for three years without restriction in terms of access to labor markets for *Nikkeijin* and their family. It opened “the doors to large-scale immigration of workers of Japanese descent predominantly from Latin America” (Douglass and Roberts, 2003, p. 8). This migration became known as the *dekasegi* (labor migration) phenomenon.

The implementation of co-ethnic immigration policies seemed to stop the alarming influx of foreigners and was believed to be a sound solution because, presumably, co-ethnic

immigration would have granted a pool of unskilled workers, who in virtue of their ethnicity would pose a minimal threat to Japan's stability and ethnic homogeneity (Chung, 2010). In creating the category of Nikkeijin, the government maintained the core principle of the nationality and immigration laws, based on *jus sanguinis* (by blood), making the revision a technical rather than political one (Yamanaka, 2003, p. 133). Accordingly, Japanese-Brazilians were officially invited to Japan to learn the Japanese language, explore their cultural heritage and visit relatives, while also being officially recruited to work in the construction and manufacturing sectors (Chung, 2010, p. 681). The number of advertisements in local Japanese newspapers in Brazil on job opportunities in Japan went from one hundred in 1987 to more than one thousand in the second half of 1990. Recruiting agencies allowed Japanese-Brazilians to migrate once a job in Japan was secured (Higuchi, 2003, pp. 6-8).

Given the depth of Brazilian economic crisis, Japanese-Brazilians welcomed these incentives and began to arrive in Japan in large numbers, reaching a peak of almost 100,000 in 1991 after only one year of the revised immigration policy (Yamanaka, 2003, p. 133). The number of registered Brazilians reached its peak in 2007, consistently ranking 3rd after the number of Chinese and Koreans. The majority of Japanese-Brazilians resided in the regions of Aichi, Shizuoka, Kanagawa, Saitama and Gunma. Within these non-metropolitan prefectures, they were in cities and towns where manufacturing industries were clustered, for example Hamamatsu in Shizuoka Prefecture, and Ota and Oizumi in Gunma Prefecture (Yamanaka, 2003, p. 135).

Table 1. Brazilians registered in Japan by year (Source: Ministry of Justice)

1980	1,400	1991	119,333	2002	268,332
1981	1,700	1992	147,803	2003	274,700
1982	1,600	1993	154,650	2004	286,557
1983	1,900	1994	159,619	2005	302,080
1984	2,000	1995	176,440	2006	312,979
1985	2,100	1996	201,795	2007	316,967
1986	2,000	1997	233,254	2008	312,582
1987	2,300	1998	222,217	2009	267,456
1988	4,200	1999	224,299	2010	230,552
1989	14,500	2000	254,394	2011	210,032
1990	56,429	2001	265,962	2012	190,609

Multicultural initiatives in Japan

It is important to note that the changes in the Revised Immigration Act conceded the presence of foreign nationals, but not of immigrants, dismissing the need for any process of integration (Flowers, 2012, p. 518). Foreigners continued to be viewed as temporary workers, even when skilled, with no incentive to naturalize (Shipper, 2008, p. 7). The Japanese government has adopted a piecemeal and ad-hoc approach to its multicultural reality and avoided “the internal multicultural logic in which multicultural actors can be granted citizenship to prevent their disadvantages and in recognition of their own *raison d’être*,” allowing for a form of “differential exclusion” (Tarumoto, 2003, pp. 94-99). The exclusion is considered differential because incorporation occurs in “some areas of society, such as the labor market, without official policies for them, and with no access to other areas such as welfare systems and political participation” (Tarumoto, 2003, p. 94). Immigration policies, by setting the rules of entry and exit, define the means the state uses to regulate migrant life. The visa allowance, duration and work permitted, length of permitted stay, entitlement to temporary or permanent residency, and

the eventual entitlement to citizenship rights and political participation all create a preordained infrastructure of legality for the life of the migrant (Morawska, 2003).

Given this context, the main institutional actors that have led the advancement and implementation of policies dealing with their multicultural realities are the local governments, which have relative autonomy and considerable capacity for independent action from the national government. Local authorities have established an ongoing dialogue with activists, arranging discussion meetings and citizens' assemblies, and setting up NPO advisory councils to incorporate foreign residents' priorities into the process of policy-making proving that the politicization of this presence emerges from and is driven by local circumstances (Tegtmeyer Pak, 2003). As a consequence, local initiatives and incorporation programs and their results vary widely, as shown in a survey of the incorporation programs in Kawaguchi, Shinjuku, Kawasaki and Hamamatsu. These cities experienced a dramatic increase in their foreign population in just a decade, from 1984 to 1994. Each city differs in the degree of recognition and the degree to which they actively seek their involvement of foreign citizens as local citizens in the community (Tegtmeyer Pak, 2003, p. 253).

In this context, the Foreigners' Assemblies have been one of the few official forums for foreigners to participate in local governance (Umemoto and Igarashi, 2009, p. 42). The idea of Foreigners' Assemblies was first introduced at a city-led conference on local governing in Kawasaki in 1994 and later came to fruition in Tōkyō, Kanagawa and Hyogo prefectures and in the cities of Ōsaka, Kawasaki, Kyotō, and Hamamatsu (Han, 2004; Umemoto and Igarashi, 2009).

Ethnic, religious, and activist communities also give assistance to foreigners. NPOs have emerged to assist unauthorized foreigners. These NPOs fight for the provision of basic rights and

welfare services for foreigners (Shipper, 2008). Some NPOs, for example, formed to assist Filipina entertainers by providing counseling and shelter. Others, including labor unions and lawyer associations, support foreigners working in the construction industry and small manufacturing. And, as overstayed foreign workers were excluded for the National Insurance program in 1990, support groups for foreigners appeared in medical and occupational safety centers (Shipper, 2008, p. 12).

These targeted initiatives may appear rather uncontroversial, yet they are still “at odds with the official national migration policy that is based on the premise of controlling foreigners as people who are a potential threat to the integrity of the nation” (Tegtmeyer Pak, 2003, p. 252). Although none of these marginalized groups enjoys the consensus of the entire Japanese society, “by way of their protests, appeals, conferences, and presence, Japan’s NPOs” they encourage Japanese citizens to examine their relationship to foreigners. They also “speak to a society more open to the possibility of multi-culturality and multi-ethnicity” than what is usually portrayed in media (Roberts, 2003, p. 295).

However, these forms of associative activism (Shipper, 2008)—which involve a partnership employing local authorities, activists, and NPOS to address issues between Japanese and the foreigners living in the local areas—maintain an ad-hoc type of approach where the partnership is likely to dissolve once the issue is addressed and allegedly resolved (Chung, 2010). Moreover, if completely left to localities, each with its own local conditions, resources, and contingencies, these partnerships and forms of local participation become subject to regional variation, ultimately sacrificing uniformity and quality (Tsuda, 2008, p. 7).

In 2001, the mayors of thirteen municipalities where many foreigners live – and where at least 3% of the population is of Brazilian descent (Ishi, 2008, p. 127) - gathered in Hamamatsu

for a *Gaiikokujin Shuju Toshi Taigi* (Convention for Cities and Towns with Concentrations of Foreign Residents). The purpose of this Convention was to discuss how to foster coexistence between Japanese people and foreigners as it became clear to society that these are “people who share the same local life and are increasingly staying longer” (Chung, 2010, p. 683; Ishi, 2008, p. 127). Whereas the 2001 Convention reiterated the relative autonomy and independence in policy-making at the local level, the network recognized the limits to locally-based immigrant incorporation programs (the *Tabunka Kyōsei* approach) in addressing the many recurring issues—such as housing discrimination, workplace abuse and police harassment—and called for national-level legislation (Chung, 2010, pp. 683-689).

In 2006, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (MIC) released its Report of the Working Group on Multicultural Coexistence Promotion (the MIC Report), as its response to the needs of the increasing population of foreign residents, especially newcomers, who need to access public services.

The MIC Report is “an encyclopedia of local government multicultural coexistence ‘initiatives’ informing local governments what other local governments have done and giving them ideas about what they can do” (Aiden, 2011, p. 225). It rests “on pillars of support and foreign residence participation in the local community through decentralized coordination between local governments, civil society organizations and foreign residents themselves” (Chung, 2010, p. 683). In the report, the foreigners are often referred to as foreign residents, a term that “confers an added sense of belonging” (Aiden, 2011, p. 220). It seems to downplay the fact that migrants may have come to Japan for employment and looks “at the issue in terms of support for foreign nationals as residents, as opposed to the measures taken previously, which had addressed issues related mostly to foreign workers and foreign crime” (Yamawaki, 2012, p. 2). Yet, no

specific group of foreigners is targeted, nor are specific guidelines on how to protect foreign residents' human rights offered (Chung, 2010, p. 684).

Japanese-Brazilians in Japan

As the Japanese who migrated to Brazil settled there a century earlier, the Brazilians began to settle in Japan (Goto, 2007, p. 17). The possibility to work and reside in Japan, however, has not been translated into the possibility to fully integrate into Japanese society (De Carvalho, 2003, p. 196). This is because the Japanese government has mostly considered the foreigner workers as flexible labor resources to match the economic cycles (Sellek, 2001; Higuchi, 2003), without preparation for what the presence of this foreign workforce entails, especially in the case of Japanese-Brazilians who brought with them their family.

Moreover, the experience of the Japanese-Brazilians cannot be entirely explained in terms of wage differentials, but it has to include the “the peculiarities of their cultural, social, and economic adaptation” (Ishi, 2003, p. 76). In Brazil, the majority of Japanese-Brazilians has a middle class status and one of the main reasons to migrate to Japan has been “an attempt to construct in Japan a typical Brazilian middle-class life” (Ishi, 2003, p. 77). For many, as the Brazilian economy worsened, migration was a way “to prevent a decline in social status more than an effort to seek a better life or improve their social condition in Brazil” (Ishi, 2003, p. 77). In Brazil, Japanese-Brazilians are perceived as a socially prominent and culturally respected positive minority (Tsuda, 2003). Brazilians viewed them very highly as hard-working and sincere people (Hasegawa, 2007) and they have maintained a prominent “Japanese” minority identity. However, once in Japan, they are marginalized. “Japan is a tough society to break into” (Coleman, 2007).

When in Japan, the Japanese-Brazilian display of Brazilian-ness, or rather non Japanese-ness, confuses the Japanese, some of whom feel disappointed to the extent of considering them as “second rate Japanese or inadequate Japanese” (Tsuda, 2003, p. 118). Japanese-Brazilians feel they are expected to be culturally Japanese, which entails being able to speak and understand Japanese because of their Japanese ancestry (Tsuda, 2003). But, Japanese “must realize that we can’t understand and act like them because we are from a foreign country,” which entices them to display a conspicuously Brazilian behavior to distinguish themselves (Tsuda, 2003, p. 275).

Additionally, because Japanese-Brazilians are most likely factory workers, their jobs are considered a source of Japanese contempt. Blue-collar factory jobs in Japan are well paid in comparison to Brazil, therefore to migrate for factory work made economical sense, even though it entailed downward social status mobility. About 80% of the Japanese-Brazilians who migrated to Japan were engaged in professional work before entering Japan and had to change their main occupations. This downward mobility caused a professional identity conflict at a personal level. As one migrant explained, “when I compare my intellectual job (the interviewee was a high-school teacher in Brazil) with the manual labor I am doing now, I fall into depression” (Ishi, 2003, p. 80). However, despite the social class prejudices that mainstream Japanese may harbor, Japanese-Brazilians are still preferred to non co-ethnic foreigner workers and hold privileged positions when compared to other immigrants’ groups in terms of their visa and access to the country, although their overall condition while in Japan is far from being optimal. Japanese are inclined to believe that because of their Japanese descent, Japanese-Brazilians must have inherited some Japanese characteristics (De Carvalho, 2003, p. 205), which results in “a certain amount of affinity with them and preference for them to foreigners of non-Japanese descent, who are completely alien” (Tsuda, 2003, p. 104).

In fact, a structurally unequal position in the labor market engenders their lack of access to socio-economic opportunities. Japanese-Brazilians are largely dependent upon labor demand in factories for subcontract workers (Takenoshita, 2006, p. 72), a demand that makes it very difficult for them to reverse their downward mobility. As subcontract workers, they have to change workplaces more often through job brokers because subcontractors' companies can easily fire them when the demand for products and labor declines.

Japanese-Brazilian factory workers are not expected to continue to work for a relatively long period, nor are they expected to accumulate human capital, so they must take unskilled jobs that require no job training within a flexible labor market section, which makes it very difficult to increase their income (Takenoshita, 2006). Working as subcontract workers makes them easily disposable labor resources to match the unpredictable turns of economic cycles and the "main victims of employment adjustment" (Mori, 1997, p. 78; Sellek, 2001, p. 222) which became apparent with the setting of the 2008 economic crisis.

The Japanese economic downturn caused many Japanese-Brazilians to lose their jobs and the Japanese government came up with an emergency program offering funds for repatriation to Brazil under the condition that once in Brazil they would not reapply for a work visa (Tabuchi, 2009). The emergency program was later renegotiated, but it made Japanese-Brazilians aware of the ways Japan deemed them disposable workers. The Japanese plan for Japanese-Brazilians' return demonstrated "that in a context of economic turmoil, identity protectionist reflexes come first and command Japanese immigration policies have been guided by a utilitarian and short-term vision" (Cherrier, 2011, p. 150).

In response to a largely unwelcoming environment, Japanese-Brazilians created "their own, self-contained, infrastructure" (Hongo, 2008). Experiencing social liminality may lead

migrants to rely on the internal cohesion and solidarity of their immigrant communities, which fosters supportive power (Tsuda, 2003, p. 144). Socializing happens at the work site, but also outside of work; in fact, the weekday routine as factory workers is “tempered by the re-creation of a Brazilian way of life and a middle class, decent lifestyle on weekends and holidays” (Ishi, 2003, p. 82). Creative forms of expression, such as the songs in *Kaisha de Musica* and/or by *Tensais MC*, show how Brazilians are tackling their challenging lives in Japan (Ishi, 2003, p. 83; Cherrier, 2011). The middle-class consumptive patterns (Ishi, 2003), creative forms of expression, and the possibility of relying on cohesive immigrant communities help the Japanese-Brazilians to overcome “the debilitating effects of the social and self-alienation they experience as transnationally marginalized, liminal beings in Japan” (Tsuda, 2003, p. 147).

Intra-community relations

Whereas Japanese-Brazilians are the largest constituency of Brazilians living in Japan, the presence of Brazilians is rather diversified and there are Brazilians with no Japanese ancestry who have been living and working in Japan for decades. Part of this group are Brazilians, who first came to Japan as musicians, dancers, or performers in general and then decided to stay, work and build a life in Japan. These Brazilians have had an instrumental role in launching initiatives such as the Asakusa Carnival, held each summer in Tōkyō since 1981 (with the exception of the summer of 2011 due to the Tohoku earthquake).

Brazilians, regardless of their descent, might have experienced an equalizing displacement as foreigners in Japan, however, a closer look at the Brazilian community as a whole reveals its own internal sources of tensions and divisiveness. I deem this tension being more acutely present in Tōkyō because it is where Brazilians not of Japanese ancestry have likely resided even before the changes in the immigration policies.

In Japan, Japanese-Brazilians reproduce the close-knit community they left in Brazil. As one of my informants lamented, when involved in the entertainment sector, they emerge as the official face of Brazilian culture. The Brazilians, who are not Japanese-Brazilians and who originally, migrated to Japan as artists, performers and entertainers, resent these Japanese-Brazilian entertainers (Urena, 2012, p. 26). To be a Japanese-Brazilian cultural artist in Japan is to live under scrutiny by the non-Japanese-Brazilians, who are likely to look at them with suspicion. This became particularly apparent during my fieldwork as I was interviewing the artists who used to perform in the Brazilian restaurants in Tōkyō and so contributed in the making of the places.

In his recent study on Brazilian popular culture in Japan, Urena (2012) examines the agents in the process of dissemination of Brazilian culture in Tōkyō. While the globalization of popular Brazilian culture, deeply informed by its Afro-Brazilian roots, has not left Japan untouched, what is unique to Japan, Urena finds, is that professional Brazilian musicians and dancers are not the ones leading its promotion. Based on how his informants define themselves, Urena distinguishes between Japanese-Brazilians and “real” Brazilians. Non-Japanese-Brazilians define themselves as the *real* Brazilians to distinguish and distance themselves from the Japanese-Brazilians, who, when engaged in cultural performances, are more likely to be perceived as not able to be culturally representative.

The “real” Brazilian asserts her/his cultural authenticity through his/her earlier involvement and exposure to Afro-Brazilian culture while in Brazil and before moving to Japan (Urena, 2012, p. 22). S/he generally dismisses the Japanese-Brazilians because they have most likely had a cultural upbringing leaning toward Japanese (or more specifically Okinawan) culture and were rarely involved in any Afro-Brazilian cultural activity when in Brazil. “I feel like they

are aliens, because Brazilian music is so far from their culture in Brazil. They came to Japan, and this is where they learned about popular Brazilian music. The quality of Brazilian music here in Japan that the Japanese-Brazilians produce is very low in quality” (Urena, 2012, p. 30).

The “real” Brazilians explain the Japanese-Brazilians’ involvement with Brazilian culture in Japan as a reaction to their inability to fit into Japanese mainstream society,

“They can’t be Japanese [...] so, they try to create a Brazilian identity, but this is only while they are here in Japan. No Japanese-Brazilians will do Samba or anything black (Afro-Brazilian) in origin in Brazil, because they don’t want to embarrass themselves or their families in Brazil. They are Brazilian only here, not when they go back to Brazil. When they return to Brazil, they will return to be Japas” (Francis, in Urena, 2012, p. 19).

In other words, Urena’s informant had a constructive approach to culture as something we are socialized into. Or, as another interviewee shared with me, to be born in Brazil does not make you directly representative of Brazilian culture while in Japan.

What sounded problematic was not necessarily the discovery of a cultural identity, but how this newly acquired connection to Brazil has profit making implications. “The problem is they do it as a business, and don’t really have any idea about Brazilian culture. For them it’s just a business. What little they know of Brazil, they have a passport, that’s what they want to show” (Isabel, in Urena, 2012, p. 19). Moreover, Japanese-Brazilians have the advantage of being Nikkeijin. Similar criticism has been also directed to the local institutions, such as embassies and consulates, but also television stations or other media outlets, for acknowledging exclusively the existence of Japanese-Brazilians.

As an interviewee shared with me, a Japanese employer is believed to prefer someone who has a Japanese looking name and face. As I asked for examples, one interviewee referred to someone who migrated to Tōkyō to work at a bank, and who, when his company went bankrupt, decided to become a “musician because it was ‘easier’ and a source of rapid cash.” The

interviewee pointed out how this type of situation was troubling for him because, in his view, his culture was undervalued and easily sold for entertainment.

Many of the “real” Brazilian interviewees shared this sentiment with me, longing for higher standards of professionalism and a cultivation and deeper knowledge of Brazilian culture before enacting it. Unless the “right path” was followed, whoever was ascribing her/himself the status of artist/musician would be dismissed as someone just seeking profits, being inauthentic, labeled as inauthentic and guilty of selling a culture to entertain.

Another layer on how different Brazilians felt was dependent on their respective location in Japan. One of my informants, who lived in Hamamatsu before moving to Tōkyō, shared that when in Hamamatsu, he was one of the many Brazilians, and although in Hamamatsu as a university student, he was often assumed to be working in the local factories. However, in Tōkyō his status completely changed. He became a spokesperson for the Brazilians in Japan, invited to conferences and talks, and felt highly regarded and appreciated.

In sum, the Brazilian presence in Japan is not a monolithic entity, whose internal differences become particularly evident in Tōkyō. It is as if there are two different kinds of Brazilians in relation to cultural dissemination in Japan. There are the ones, born in Brazil, who came to Japan to disseminate Brazilian culture. Then, there are the Japanese-Brazilians who, according to the “real” Brazilians, are context-based Brazilians because they enact their being Brazilian once in Japan, though they spent their life in Brazil as Japanese. The Japanese-Brazilians may contest this description, but this is how the “real” Brazilians (Urena, 2012) are inclined to categorize them. The places that are at the center of this study are the sites where some of the intra-community tensions exist, although they are rarely expressed publicly to maintain good working and business relationships.

For Brazilians living in Tōkyō, the Brazilian restaurants are a place of employment. And Brazilians hired to work in these places, as performers as well as staff, affect how the place is perceived and received by the Brazilian as well as by the Japanese. Their presence may facilitate (or possibly inhibit) the visitation of other fellow Brazilians who may find comfort in the fact that there are other known Brazilians there. Their presence is also used to grant ‘authenticity’ to the venue by the Japanese patrons and may be sought by those patrons who visit as a means to know more about Brazil and its cultural practices.

CHAPTER 4. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

In this chapter, I begin by reviewing some of the challenges associated with studying place. Then, I introduce the analytical tool and the guiding framework that I developed to collect and analyze data to overcome these challenge. Next, I present the different fieldwork phases, the data sources and analysis method. I conclude this chapter by acknowledging the limitations I faced during this research.

Studying places and placemaking

In the context of studying place, one of the main difficulties for the researcher is to ascertain what criteria should be used to select the place and explain the processes leading to its making. What the researcher identifies and describes as place may differ from how the actual agent (or agents) finds it because what drives the researcher in studying a place “may differ from those of the agent in everyday life” (Entrikin, 1991, p. 13). For the researcher, as an outsider, place is generally limited to location and generic uses, but for the insider, place goes beyond its location and is endowed with subjective meanings “in relation to an individual’s or a group’s goals and concerns,” which, unless solicited, are not self-evident to the researcher because of their unfamiliarity (Entrikin, 1991, p. 5). Entrikin therefore suggests taking on an “in-between” position. In this way, the study of place becomes an experiment of mediation between different placements in a setting. Furthermore, it is important to consider how the dimension of time affects the relative place-study because each observation can elicit noticeably different impressions on the when the experience occurs. Thus, in this study of Brazilian restaurants, my research questions and point of observations are established upon my personal role as researcher

and inhabitant of the place, while I collected narratives at different times and from insiders' perspectives to acknowledge the multiplicity of place's interpretations (Madanipour, 1999).

In designing this research, I used a grounded theory approach using comparative case study as a qualitative research method. I situated this research in a qualitative tradition of inquiry to build a complex and holistic picture of placemaking through an intercultural lens (Creswell, 1998). I designed this research as a grounded theory study for its inductive approach, theory production's orientation, and the use of flexible and heuristic strategies of research (Charmaz, 2000).

I considered the greater Tōkyō area (here to include the original 23 wards, or *ku*, and three adjacent prefectures of Kanagawa, Saitama, and Chiba) a location in which I could study Brazilian restaurants from different perspectives and reliable resources. Tōkyō offers Brazilian restaurants that speak to the foodscape of global cities. These restaurants include the international chain establishment Barbacoa, for example, with locations in other parts of the city and the world. The data expands to areas with high-concentrations of Brazilians living in them, such as Kawasaki, where Japanese-Brazilians work in the local manufacturing industries. There, I was able to look at Brazilian restaurants from an ethnic enclave perspective, much as Linger (2001) explored Restaurant 51 in Nagoya. The dynamics of Tōkyō's international scene allowed me to examine ethnic restaurants that cater to patrons that may include Brazilians, but are more likely to depend on a Japanese clientele, and so observe the interactions and negotiations that occur and/or have to occur in these places. Moreover, Tōkyō has been also a major destination for the Brazilians who have Japanese ancestry and who do not work in factories as well as the Brazilians who have no ancestral tie to Japan. To my advantage, Tōkyō presented me with the opportunity to observe variations in the places I was going to examine.

I initially located Brazilian restaurants through an online search. My initial online search produced a list limited to seven establishments, but once in Tōkyō, I discovered additional sites by word of mouth, promotional material found on location, and Japanese food blogs, such as Tabelog, to which fellow researchers based in Japan introduced me. According to Tabelog, dining options are categorized into four genres: Japanese, Foreign/Western, Chinese, and then Asian/Ethnic (Brazilian cuisine is grouped in the ethnic genre). The fieldwork was conducted in two main phases. In the table below, I present each fieldwork phase in relation to the main purpose, the type of data that I managed to collect, the geographical focus, and the place I visited.

Table 2. Fieldwork phases

	Phase I	Phase II-a	Phase II-b
	10/2007; 12/2008	11/2009	6-8/2010; 5-6/2012
Purpose	Develop a place/placemaking/intercultural matrix Locate the restaurants, observe their imaging, clientele, proprietors and staff, and establish contacts with potential informants	Interviews of place makers of Brazilian restaurants	Interview place recipients of Brazilian restaurants
Data collected	Name and location of restaurants, field notes, field notes from direct observations and material found at location	Interviews, video-recordings of events on location	Interviews, video-recordings, comments on food blogs
Geographical focus	Inner and central wards	Inner and central wards + Outer wards	Inner and central wards + Outer wards + Larger Tōkyō
Site visit and observations	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Acaraje (closed in 2007) 2. Barbacoa 3. Casa Verde 4. Corvorado 5. Espeto Brasil 6. Favela 7. Ilha Branca (closed in 2011) 8. Muito Bom (closed in 2009) 9. Praça 11 10. Tucano 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Aparecida 2. Carioca 3. Que Bom 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Alvorada 2. Blen Blen Blen 3. Cabana 4. Café do Centro 5. Çhega+Mais 6. Colombo 7. Copa 8. Copo do Dia 9. Ricardo 10. Saudade 11. Saci Perere 12. Segredo

I originally located approximately twenty-five ethnic restaurants serving Brazilian cuisine within the larger Tōkyō metropolitan area. I reduced the original pool from which to sample to twenty based on the following criteria: they served exclusively Brazilian food (some restaurants offered Brazilian and Mexican cuisines) and were in operation in 2010, when I was conducting the longest term of fieldwork. This initial research phase was particularly important in giving me my first glimpse of a niche intercultural environment but also in revisiting and adjusting accordingly the tools I was using in studying place.

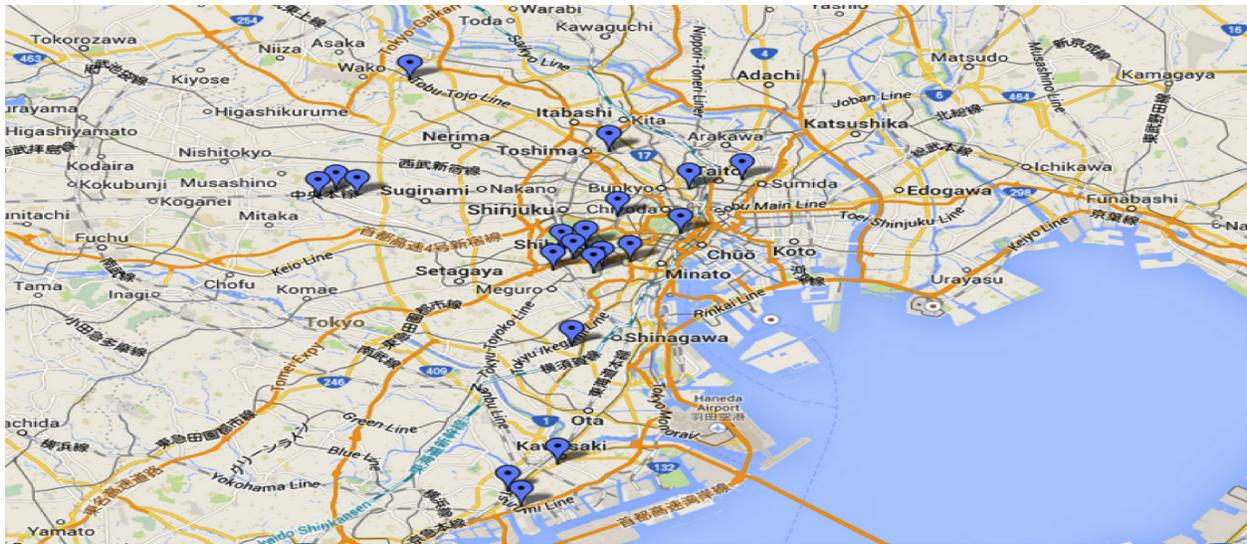


Figure 3. Distribution of Brazilian restaurants in Tōkyō (Source: www.tabelog.com)

The second phase was mainly dedicated to on-site data collection moving from restaurants in the inner wards to the ones in outer areas. During this phase, I started with my interviews exploring the proprietor’s role in the making of a restaurant, and then I concentrated on the clientele as inhabitants of the restaurant. The gathering of information from the proprietor and clientele perspectives did not always follow this clear-cut procedure. In reality, I had to shift my focus several times during the fieldwork to accommodate people’s unpredictable schedules and the fact that the more people I met at these restaurants, the more people I would be introduced to and so the more people I could either interview for research purposes or simply talk in earnest to gain new perspective.

Data collection methods

While on site, I collected data using the walking with video method as well as making direct observations and conducting interviews. It became obvious and appropriate to approach the study of these places by adopting the “walking with video” phenomenological method to attend to the sensorial elements of human experience and placemaking (Pink, 2007). I video-

recorded places and participants and then produced visual and audio data that define and represent place at particular moments in time to communicate a sense of each person’s respective experience (Pink, 2007, p. 250). The walking with video method used in examining place complements my observations, interviews and numerous extemporaneous conversations, also identified as “unstructured interviewing” (Fontana and Frey, 2000, p. 652), to include material that was otherwise a random selection of experiences while sitting and observing at the restaurants.

Informational data on the restaurant was collected and organized according its location, locale, and sense of place, which are the three foundational aspects of place identified by Agnew (1987). In the table below, I present the guiding data collection framework organized around each aspect.

Table 3. Guiding data collection framework about place

Place aspect	Place dimension
Location	Area Street Surrounding
Locale	Layout Size
	Imaging Ambience
	Food Menu Cost
	Hours of operation
	Promotional Material about Brazilian events
	Staff
	Events offered and their frequency
Sense of place	Patrons’ uses of the space
	Clientele Frequency of clients’ visits
	Interactions at the restaurant
	Focus of the blog posts on the place Content of the comments from the neighborhood Content of the comments on/from the guests to the staff/proprietor on site Social media posts

The location aspect was examined in relation to the area, street, and surrounding. To what extent are Brazilian restaurants in Tōkyō accessible? Are they easy to find? Are they in popular areas or in isolated ones? In answering these questions, I reviewed how and to what extent the

location of these restaurants would enable or hamper these places' ability to promote interculturalism in terms of access.

The locale aspect, which refers to how the restaurant would look like as a setting and the type of impression it could give, was examined by looking at the marking of the restaurant's presence, its layout, its visuals, and the type of uses and activities it offered. Therefore, I considered the street signage, its size, the menu, the naming, the promotional material on site, the hours of operation, and the events (list not exhaustive). I thought of them as factors that define the type of environment the restaurant is made to be and how each of them would define the type of experience offered and so make the place more or less conducive to intercultural encounters, exchanges, and/or engagement. How are people using the place? Are people in groups? How many different types of activities are occurring?

The sense of place aspect was examined by observing the patrons, how they inhabited the place and interacted with the proprietors and amongst themselves, and how they wrote about their experience in food blogs. This aspect of place called my attention to forms of sociability occurring in the place. Sociability occurs when people see friends, meet and greet their neighbors, and seem comfortable interacting with strangers. The notion of sociability was of particular interest in this study because of its reference to "domains of everyday interaction around some point of shared interest that is not primarily utilitarian" (Schiller et al., 2011, p. 402). This focus raised many questions to consider. Were people meeting friends, were they in groups, or were they alone? Were they talking with one another? Did people seem to know each other by face or by name? Were they interacting? Were they participating in the activities offered in the restaurant? Were the patrons sharing anything about their visits to the restaurant on social media?

If so, what sentiments were they posting? Were those social practices forms of intercultural encounters, exchanges, or engagement?

This guiding data collection framework was instrumental in tuning me “into what the data may be indicating” (Strauss and Corbin, 1998, p. 77). The many insightful questions allowed me to create thick descriptions of each single place and identify emerging patterns in terms of similarity, difference, frequency, sequence, correspondence, and causation (Saldaña, 2009). However, aware that the questions we ask and the way we collect data affect the phenomena we see and what sense we will make of them, I remained “as open as possible to whatever” I was seeing and perceiving throughout the entirety of this study (Charmaz, 2006, pp. 15-17).

I conducted fifty scheduled interviews in total with proprietors, staff, and patrons. The interviews were conducted in Portuguese, Japanese, and/or English, according to the informant’s language preference. I initially visited the restaurants as a patron and then introduced myself and asked for an interview, or I called by telephone, introduced myself and then asked for an interview. Interviews with the proprietors and the staff were often on location and set for an afternoon or mid-morning time, which is usually less hectic for the people in the restaurant business. The interviews with the artists were mostly off-site, but I recorded several of their events on-site.

At the beginning of each interview, I explained the purpose of the interview, which mostly concerned a practical study of the relation of the interviewee to the place, and then discussed how the interview was organized so that the interviewee had an idea of what to expect (Spradley, 1979, p. 60). The list of questions in English is attached in Appendix A at the end of this study.

I also had conversations with patrons that were extemporaneous in nature, less structured and more than often open-ended discussions, especially if we just met at the restaurant. In certain cases, when I saw the same patrons at different places and times, I reached out to them and gauged their availability to meet either on or off-site.

Whereas the restaurant as a place was the focus of my attention, I also interviewed people who provide services to Brazilians living in Tōkyō, like the staff of the *Serviço de Atendimento aos Brasileiros no Japão Associação SABJA* (Association to Assist Brazilians in Japan), a local NPO, and the Brazilian priests at a local Meguro church. This helped me have a better grasp of the overall conditions of Brazilians living in Tōkyō.

During my stay, I also befriended several Brazilians (Japanese-Brazilians and Brazilians) living in Tōkyō. By spending as much time as I could with them and asking questions about their everyday life, I became familiar with their own opinions and experiences of the places I was researching. Their views were critical in grasping a first-hand emotional response to how Brazilian culture was used to create a Brazilian place and instrumental in understanding their perceptions on what may interest Japanese to learn about Brazil.

I developed my own attachments and inevitably contributed to the making of these places while gaining an understanding of other peoples' experiences in relation to these same places (Pickering, 2008). In this way, I was able to weave together my own researcher persona with a subjective observation of the place and gain a more insightful perspective.

The longest interview lasted over three hours and the shortest about thirty minutes. For practical reasons, mainly the English translations of the original-language quotes are presented in this dissertation. However, I used the original language (Japanese, English, or Portuguese) when deemed essential to convey the tone of the conversation.

Whenever I obtained consent, the interviews were video-recorded or otherwise audio-recorded. I have respected the privacy of my informants by omitting their names whenever possible, and I obtained written consents for all the interviews that were video and/or audio recorded. However, despite my intentions to protect their privacy, a few informants are popular actors in the entertainment and restaurant businesses and the places here described are easily recognizable.

Data sources

The grounded theory approach advocates the use of multiple data sources, where data can be “anything that may shed light on the questions under study” (Corbin and Strauss, 1990, pp. 5-6). My sources of references were printed and online material, and footage and pictures I collected during the interviews, the events and various uses of the places.

Main data sources were the restaurants’ proprietors and inhabitants, but also food blog entries (155 in total) mainly from *Tabelog*, the main online nation-wide gourmet guide. These blogs about the restaurants are used to assess patrons’ opinions and comments regarding their experience in going to one of the restaurants. Other food blogs consulted were *GuruNavi*, and *Sunny Pages*. I also collected promotional material on-site and online via social media platforms. The footage that I collected about the places served as an excellent record of sound, image, movement, gestures, time and place and overall non-verbal communication and body movements in place for observational purposes (Garrett, 2011). By recording events, activities and the different functions within each space, I captured the unfolding of social actions and unprocessed forms of experience as they occurred (Throop 2003 cited in Pink, 2007, p. 136). It proved to be extremely valuable to review the footage in later times not only to rebuild events, but also to notice what I did not observe during the initial recording. In fact, there were several instances

when I was comparing what the camera captured with what I was writing about in my own journal entries and memos that I happened to notice parallel circumstances that did not catch my attention when I was first recording the qualitative data.

Once the on-site fieldwork was completed, I continued to collect data on social media, like Facebook or Tabelog.

Data analysis

To make sense of the data I was collecting, I proceeded in two concurrent steps. Firstly, I devised an analytical tool that allowed me to examine place as a product, an artifact, and as the result of a constellation of placemaking processes. In this study, because of its focus at the micro-level, I emphasized the processes led by the proprietors and patrons of the restaurants, but I recognize that several other processes at different scales intervene in the making and experiences of the sites in this study. These processes will be discussed later on to bring them into the larger picture.

Through the analytical tool, I began open coding of the wealth of information that I collected from each site. As suggested by Charmaz (2006), I needed to separate, sort, and synthesize these data through qualitative coding by attaching labels that captured what it was about (p. 3). I used descriptive coding for my own fieldwork notes while I was encountering the restaurants, and I used structural coding for the data collected through the interview process. Each question was assigned a structural code, from which patterns and categories emerged (Saldaña, 2009).

Secondly, and informed by the literature I reviewed, I utilized an intercultural lens through which I could examine the data in intercultural terms. This allowed me to observe what

in place can be related to an intercultural experience and of what kind. In the section below, I present the analytical tool and then proceed to the intercultural lens I used to analyze the data.

Analytical tool to study place and placemaking

The analytical tool to study the making and experiencing of Brazilian restaurants is an adaptation of the *rappports de production* from the field of artistic experience studies (Monaco, 2009). Heuristically, it distinguishes between the individual(s) and their actions leading to the making of the place (the proprietors) and the individual(s) who inhabit and use the place (the patrons) to examine the experiencing of the place. Using this tool implies the understanding of place as a product that results from several processes. Therefore, place is examined in relation to how, why it is created and by whom, but also how, why and by whom it is received and experienced.

An analysis of the relationship between the proprietor (the maker) of the restaurant (the place) and the restaurant itself yielded an understanding of the intentional placemaking activities directed toward the production of the restaurant as a tangible site. The unidirectional arrow in Figure 4 identifies the proprietor as the initiator of the process. An analysis of the relationship between the restaurant and its patrons generated an understanding of how the place is received, experienced, and given meaning, contributing and benefiting from the overall placemaking activities that make the restaurant a social space as the bi-directional arrow in Figure 4 indicates. Staff and performers were also considered agents in the placemaking processes included in this study for their role in the making and experiencing of the places.

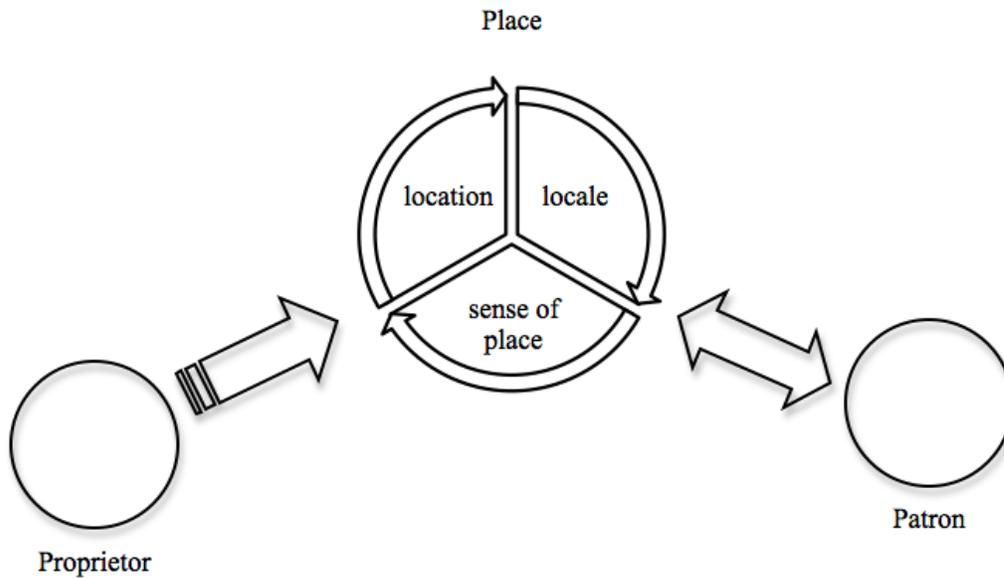


Figure 4. Analytical tool to approach and organize place narratives

Next, I used the analytical tool components as broad categories, and the different place dimensions to explore their relationships. In developing a theory, I then selected the core categories and dimensions that emerged and related other categories to them. This iterative process led me to sample theoretically only the restaurants in relation to interculturalism narrowing my focus on fewer places based on these criteria. The selection follows: Alvorada, Aparacida, Barbacoa, Cabana, Café do Centro, Carioca, Çhega+Mais, Copo Do Dia, Espeto Brasil, Praça 11, Que Bom, Saci Perere, Segredo, and Tucano (a total of 14 sites).

Table 4. List of Brazilian restaurants by -ku and area (Source for Brazilian residents: Tōkyō Statistical Yearbook, 2010; City of Yokohama, 2010)

	Name	Area	-Ku	Brazilian residents
1	Alvorada	Kichijoji	Musashino	n/a
2	Aparecida	Nishi-Ogikubo	Suginami-ku	84
3	Barbacoa	Omotesandō	Shibuya-ku	117
4	Cabana	Tsurumi	Yokohama	1,357
5	Cafe do Centro	Marunouchi	Chiyoda-ku	17
6	Carioca	Aoyama-kita	Minato-ku	383
7	Çhega+Mais	Kawasaki	Kawasaki	n/a
8	Copo do Dia	Nishi-Ogikubo	Suginami-ku	84
9	Espeto Brasil	Otsuka-minami	Toshima-ku	51
10	Praça 11	Aoyama-kita	Minato-ku	383
11	Que Bom	Asakusa	Taito-ku	37
12	Saci Perere	Yotsuya	Shinjuku-ku	173
13	Segredo	Tsurumi	Yokohama	1,357
14	Tucano	Shibuya	Shibuya-ku	117

The place-based intercultural lens

In analyzing the data collected through an intercultural lens, I aimed at identifying the “pressure points” that are present in the place and/or in the placemaking processes that enable the different types of intercultural experiences. The interpretation of data was informed by Agyeman and Erickson (2012) competence themes and discussion points (p. 362), I further developed more specific questions (see Appendix B) that guided me in the analysis of the places, the proprietors, and patrons, as well as their interaction in light of the notions of interculturalism. For example, what is in place that enables the encounter? Is it its layout, or its menu? What is in place that enables the exchange? Is it the staff or is it the location? What is in place that enables engagement? And the list goes on. Questions were articulated around the predetermined set of intercultural attitudes and competences to understand the places and their placemaking processes. As it will be presented in the chapters that follow, Brazilian ethnic restaurants differ widely in terms of the type of intercultural interactions they promote and the types of transformation they enable.

Limitations of the study

This study contained several limitations and constraints, which I tried to control whenever possible. However, those limitations sometimes became opportunities to develop different strategies or gain experiences that were more meaningful—as for example, when I thought to approach my observations minimizing my own presence in the place, and when on-site I could not pursue that approach.

Originally, I thought that entering anonymously into the place and trying to be the least noticeable person in the room would have afforded me the possibility to witness the unfolding of events of which I could record innumerable notes—at least at the beginning as I also planned to approach the patrons too. However, this proved to be impossible. The places were usually small and rarely allowed me to sit without being noticed. My presence induced curiosity, and the proprietor, the staff, or the patrons would often approach me to ask me if I were Brazilian and/or begin questioning who I was. This curiosity was heightened by the presence and use of my camcorder/camera.

Therefore, my presence inevitably affected what was happening in the place. In fact, as Pink (2008) writes, as researchers, we do become part of the placemaking processes. As a result, I embraced being an actual participant in the making of a place and used my own first-hand experience of the place as data while also keeping in mind how my own interpretations of what I was seeing and how my own positionality in the making of the place could affect the interpretation.

One of the main constraints that limited this study was the interviewee's time and availability. Working at a restaurant is a very time intensive job, and interviews had to be conducted within certain time limits. Because of this, I visited each restaurant multiple times so I

could hear some of the interviewees' stories even when not officially scheduled. My multiple visits also helped overcome the initial distance between my research subjects and myself.

The intermittently planned visits also allowed me to contain another major limitation, that is the fact that the life of a place fluctuates reflecting the day and time of the week. Lunchtime attracts a different clientele than the one of later hours in the day. The menu and events the place offers tend to change according the day of the week. As much as I tried to explore many times and dates, my own time (and financial) constraints limited my first-hand experiencing of the place. Fortunately, to offset the limitation I relied on other patrons' comments recorded as entries in social media platforms, such as Tabelog and others. However, despite the numerous visits carried out at different times in addition to the search for information about the places online, there is some unevenness/discrepancy in the amount of information I could gather about each place.

Whereas this type of study, using the same methodology, could be replicated in other locations, the reproducibility of this research endeavor may be limited by the extemporaneous nature of many of the interactions, which confirm the difficulty in recreating "all the original conditions and control all extraneous variables" (Corbin and Strauss, 1990, p. 15). Moreover, there were times when I had the impression that the proprietors in their narratives were 'selling' me the place they run (they are business after all and talking about the place is part of a marketing/advertising strategy). Or, when I explained I was a researcher and did not write for a magazine (though I may be asking similarly themed questions) interest in talking with me on the side of the proprietor sometimes waned.

I overcame the challenge of working concurrently through different languages (Japanese, English, and Portuguese) thanks to my own proficiency in them, which is intermediate

proficiency in Japanese and conversational Portuguese. However, whenever in doubt, I sought out the help and support of native speakers in Japanese as well as Portuguese.

The last limitation involves the non-consecutive intervals of the field research, which occur slightly over six months in a three-year span. Perhaps a longer time in the field would have allowed for an even richer data collection on the unfolding of the placemaking processes at work in the making of these Brazilian restaurants. I addressed this limitation over time as I continuously gathered data about the places and my informants and friends using social media platforms, such as Facebook.

CHAPTER 5. BRAZILIAN RESTAURANTS AS PLACES FOR INTERCULTURAL ENCOUNTER

In this chapter, I present Brazilian restaurants as places for intercultural encounter, which is defined by and limited to the consumption of Brazilian cuisine. These ethnic restaurants provide an opportunity for a side-by-side co-existence. I begin by introducing the proprietors, and then I transition to the tangible presentation of the places, looking at the different aspects that make it the way it is, from its physical location to the visual décor and overall ambience. Next, I present the patrons who inhabit these restaurants and discuss the ways they relate to the place to reach an understanding of how the place is received and experienced. Lastly, I discuss how all these different elements contribute in the making and experiencing of the restaurants as places for intercultural encounters.

The restaurants that belong to this category are Carioca, Tucano, Barbacoa in the central wards, and Çhega+Mais, Segredo, and Cabana in the outer areas of Tōkyō, as indicated in the Figure 5 below.

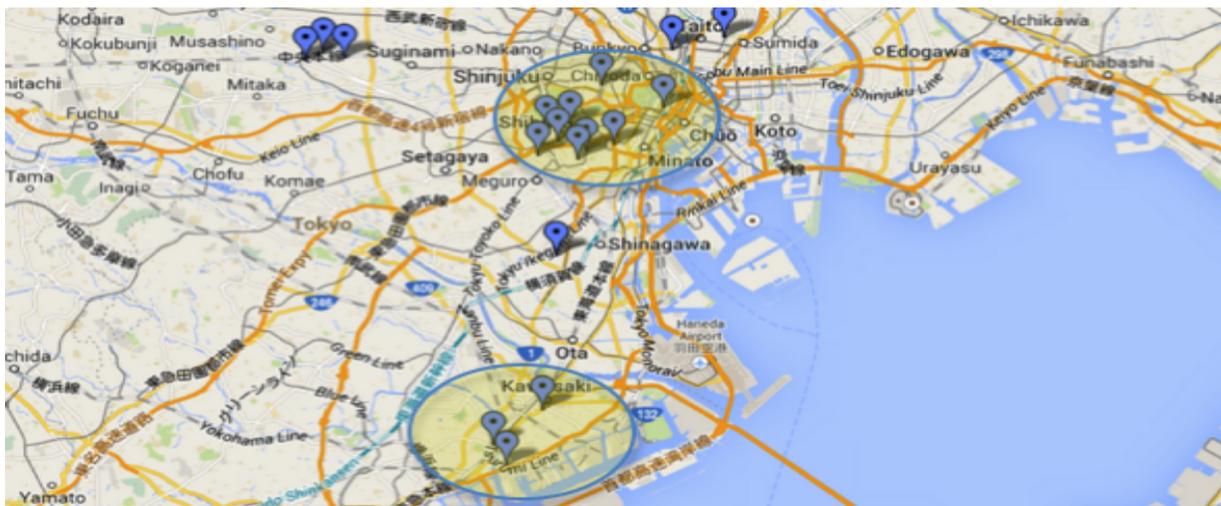


Figure 5. Location of Brazilian restaurants as places for intercultural encounter

The proprietors

The proprietors of these restaurants are Brazilians, mainly Japanese-Brazilians. The Brazilian proprietors, as ethnic entrepreneurs, capitalize on Brazilian culture and their knowledge of the local environment to fill a void in the mainstream socio-cultural landscape (Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990, p. 111). The place they produce results from their knowledge of Brazilian food and culture, and also their knowledge of business management. They usually have gained experience working in the restaurant industry in Japan for many years before moving into management or ownership. The restaurants reflect the desire of these proprietors to offer a culinary novelty, while making a positive difference in their own profit margins while in Japan (Narayan, 1995).

The proprietors of the restaurants in the central wards usually fill the roles of manager, do not work in the kitchen, and may have even worked on as a staff member in foregone Brazilian restaurants in Tōkyō, restaurants that no longer exist. Rafael (Japanese-Brazilian) of Tucano, for example, used to work at Bacana in Ginza, and according to him (as well as other people I interviewed), it was a very popular Brazilian spot in Tōkyō. Bacana closed in 1996, but when one of the original proprietors decided to open Tucano, he hired Rafael as its manager.

Similarly, Ichiro (Japanese-Brazilian) of Carioca has been working in the service sector for over fifteen years. He moved to Japan in his early teens and his first job in Japan was in a factory, but he quickly left the factory job behind and began working at Acaraje Tropicana in Roppongi, a restaurant that closed in 2007. Ichiro began working at Carioca in 2008. Both Ichiro and Rafael were directly involved in the supervision and placemaking process of introducing and establishing Brazilian cuisine in Tōkyō.

The proprietors of the restaurants in the outer wards, on the other hand, entered the business because of a talent and passion for cooking, and are not only the managers, but the head chef in the restaurants too. Marcelo (Japanese-Brazilian) of *Çhega+Mais*, for example, told me, “I always enjoyed cooking *churrasco* at home with friends. Since I was small, I liked to see my mom cooking.” He began working at a local Brazilian restaurant after quitting the factory job he originally found when moved to Japan in the early 1990s.

Likewise, Machida (Japanese-Brazilian), the proprietor of *Cabana*, used to make *salgadinhos*, *focacina* (type of snacks), *bolos* (cakes) and sweets for her kids when they were little. Those were so good that fellow Brazilian friends used to ask her to bake cakes for their own celebrations. This is how, from time to time, she would cook and/or bake for other people. Then, she was unemployed for some time and while seeking a job, Machida decided to invest in her cooking abilities full time and opened a restaurant.

The naming of a restaurant reveals an almost effortless process made easy by the proprietor’s cultural heritage and native language. *Tucano*, for example, was named after a “*passero* (bird) that is very typical and very loved in Brazil.” *Carioca* was given because Ramos, the producer, was born in Rio de Janeiro, and the people who are born in Rio are called *Carioca*. And, *Cabana* because when Machida visited the site of her soon-to-be restaurant for the first time, it looked like a *cabana* (hut).

The main intention of the ethnic restaurateur, regardless of his/her former involvement in the food industry, tends to be the creation of a place that serves good *and* authentic food. Generally, the notion of culinary authenticity “measures the degree to which something is more or less what it is ought to be. It is thus a norm of some sort” (Appadurai, 1986, p. 25). And, whereas quality is typically the insider’s concern and authenticity that of the culinary tourist, it

can as well become the concern of insiders when they (and the food) are far from home (Appadurai, 1986).

In these Brazilian restaurants, the proprietors are concerned with authenticity. At Tucano for example, I was told, food is prepared in the same way it would be prepared in Brazil. They use many ingredients of Brazilian origin, cooked by Brazilian chefs, with “the same temperature. It is as if you are in Brazil” (personal conversation, July 19, 2010).

In serving good and authentic food, the ethnic proprietor gains the most satisfaction. For Marcelo of *Çhega+Mais*, for example,

“What I like best is when I prepare food and the person who eats it, likes it, and finds it tasty. When I hear from a client, ‘*Marcelo, comida parabens,*’ this is what I like best, no price, the most important thing for me, it’s not the money, if you do this work with love, that’s what makes people find it good. It cannot be bought. What is important is not money, it is that you have clients who come because they like it, the flavor of your food, this is what’s important for me.”



Picture 1. *Çhega+Mais* manager

However, maintaining authentic tastes may have negative consequences for the restaurant as a business, especially in the outer areas of Tōkyō, where the restaurants rely on the Brazilians living in the area. Machida of Cabana shared how because of the progressive decline of the Japanese economy she has been thinking about reaching out more to Japanese clientele, adjusting the flavor of her food to cater more to the Japanese palate. This would entail changing her food. Regrettably, she admitted how adjusting her cooking to meet Japanese tastes would not make her food *Brazilian* any longer.

Adapting the menu was seen as a compromise, a loss in authenticity or a matter of selling out, and she did not want to do it. In addition to personal preferences, rumors about adjusting the food may have also very serious consequences, as experienced by Risa of Segredo, who noticed a decline in presence of a local Brazilian clientele once rumors about adapting her cooking to please Japanese tastes began to spread (personal conversation, July 21, 2010). Therefore, maintaining authentic tastes or adjusting the flavor to cater to Japanese clientele is a choice that influences the restaurant's position within the larger Japanese as well as co-ethnic community (Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990).

As a consequence, these places reveal that the growth of an ethnic business when based exclusively on the ethnic population is at risk because that number can be small, or can be “too impoverished to generate buying power sufficient to fuel growth” (Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990, pp. 115-116). In fact, as Machida of Cabana noted, the ongoing economic crisis has caused many Brazilians to leave Japan. In the nearby area, two factories used to hire Brazilian employees up to 90% of their workforce, but as the crisis set in, factories began closing down and many Brazilians went unemployed. Many unemployed Brazilians returned to Brazil, and the ones who stayed had less disposable income to spend, so they went less frequently to her place.

Moreover, in speaking with these proprietors, it became apparent how in their view, culinary authenticity was strongly related to the ethnicity of the restaurant's management. When I asked about Brazilian restaurants ran by Japanese, Machida commented that there is room for everybody and she noted that people in Japan do not really know about Brazilian food, so it is hard for them to compare and assess what is authentic and what is not. There are some Japanese who look for authenticity, the ones who know what to look for, but "for many it's ok, because they don't know" (personal conversation, July 18, 2010).

Marcelo of *Çhega+Mais*, on the contrary, had a rather animated response when asked the same question:

"They [the Japanese] have everything all prepared, they don't have personnel, no chef, no one. They count everything, they have the quantity for each condiment [...] they try to copy, they are not *artista* (artists); they are copycats. It is kind of strange, if all Japanese, it would be the same if you go to a Japanese restaurant and no Japanese, you don't feel well" (personal conversation, July 21, 2010).

Apparently, Marcelo believed that the Brazilian restaurant had to be run by Brazilians to manifest itself as a good and authentic place. However, soon after, he also acknowledged that to work with Brazilians has its own challenges, and he then seemed more open to have Japanese involved in the business. Moreover, Marcelo openly shared that he created the restaurant with Brazilians in mind: a Brazilian restaurant for Brazilians.

However, Marcelo soon realized his clientele is mostly Japanese too, which helps him overcome some of the limitations associated with providing services to his own Brazilian ethnic communities. Some of his Japanese patrons are knowledgeable about Brazilian music, attend the Asakusa carnival and are into Samba. "They come here with their instruments. They come here to eat and drink and play" (personal conversation, July 21, 2010), therefore the restaurant offers them a place to practice. Although music is very welcomed, patrons interested in consuming

Brazilian food are the primary concern in making of this restaurant into a viable business.

Ultimately, he shared,

“We would like to make it like a *casa* (home), for everybody, *a casa por tudo mundo*. There are a lot of people here who don’t have anybody at home to talk to, so when they come here, I ask them about their day at work. It makes people feel better. I am always friendly with my clients. I give them nicknames like *figurinha* (figurine), *shachō* (director); I ask them *tudo bem?* and this person feels good. I would like to see all friends, Japanese and Brazilians. There are people who are out of work, and if I know someone who has work to offer, I help out. Yes, *a casa de tudo mundo* (a home for the entire world) for high and low income people, and in the future, *una casa mais alegre* (a happy home) with Brazilian music” (personal conversation, July 21, 2010).

In the picture below, Marcelo is leaning towards the table of his patron. He seems to do just what he said he likes doing, that is, chatting with his patrons. His posture seems to suggest a comfortable and relatively close relationship with the patron he is serving and reduces the distance between him as owner and his patron as simply a client. In the section that follows, I introduce the type of restaurants that these proprietors produce, starting from an analysis of their location.



Picture 2. Chega+Mais

The places

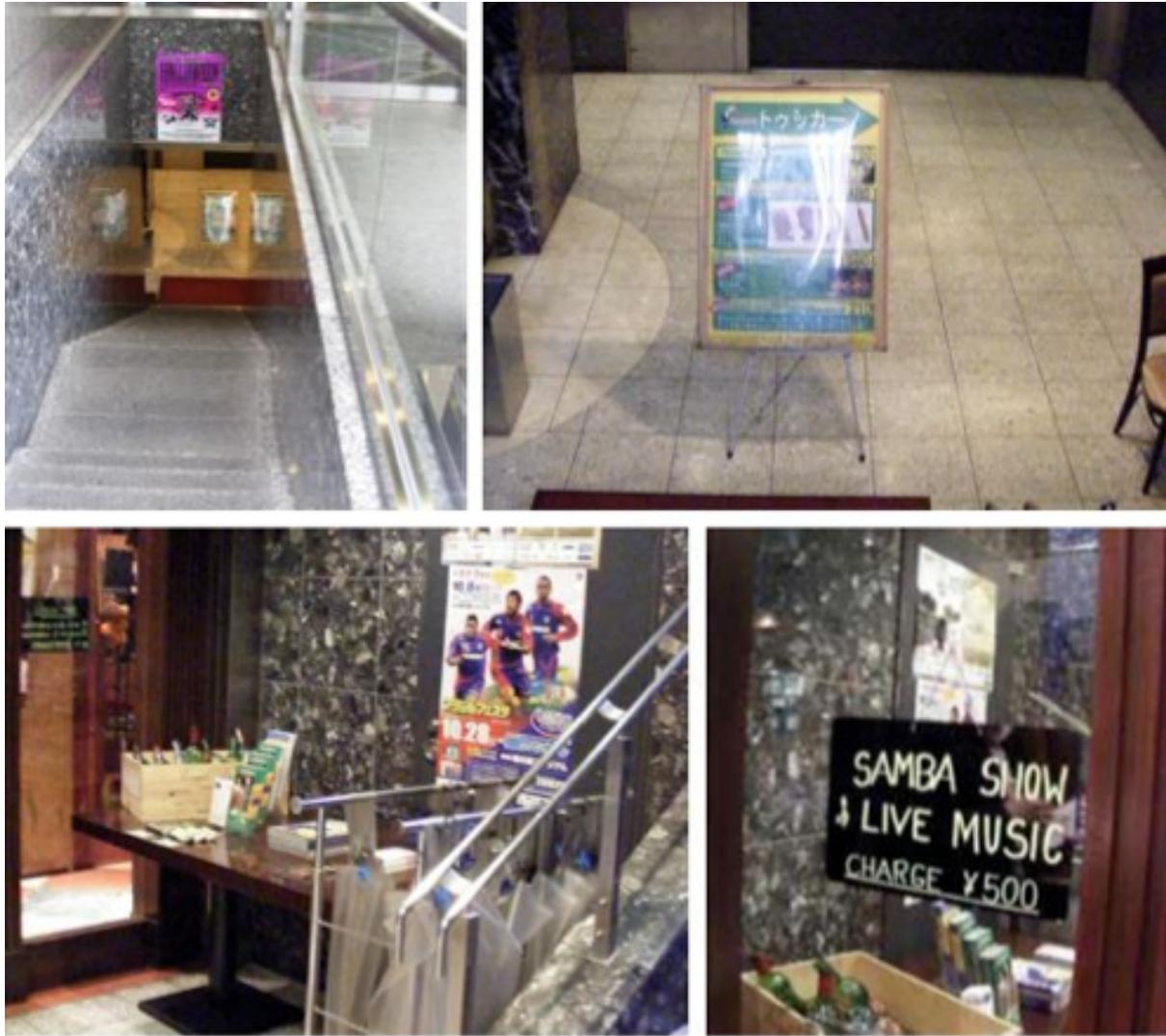
In this part of the chapter, I present the places according to two of their foundational aspects, that is: location and locale. When writing about the location, I considered the area, the place's visibility, and the overall surrounding. The locale was examined according the layout, the size, the hours of operation, the menu, the imaging, the availability of promotional material, and the staff as key elements framing the place as a setting. The sense of place, as the third foundational aspect of place, will be discussed concomitantly with research involving the patrons, in the section that follows this one.

As mentioned earlier, these restaurants were either located in the most central wards of Tōkyō, like Shibuya or Omotesando, such as Barbacoa, Carioca and Tucano, or the Yokohama and Kawasaki areas, such as Segredo, Cabana, and Çhega+Mais. When located in the inner and central wards, they were usually situated in a restaurant area and in buildings with many other restaurants, often likely to be found in below ground level floors. Tucano, for example, located in Shibuya, was in the basement floor of a building in front of Bunkamura, a landmark in the area. A yellow and green board on the sidewalk with a big tucano, pictures of churrasco and wide variety of food items, advertised its competitive menu prices and signaled its presence to attract the passerby customers.



Picture 3. Tucano view from the street

The restaurant was one among the many in the building not visible from the street, and so the necessary additional signage led you to its entrance in the basement where there was an area arranged to welcome the guest. There was a table with different kinds of informational material, some on the restaurant, like fliers and business cards, but also other things such as an ethnic magazine (*Folha*). Posters and fliers decorated the wall next to the door. A note advertising Samba live music shows was taped on the glass wall close to the door.



Picture 4. Tucano

Barbacoa, located in the Omotesando area, was located in the basement as well, in close proximities to other eateries. Two flags, one Brazilian and the other Japanese, and a big street sign marked the presence of the restaurant. Therefore, although centrally located and in popular areas of Tōkyō, they were not in the most visible locations, and needed to count on noticeable street signage to mark their presence in a crowded food landscape.



Picture 5. Barbaçoa entrance

In few instances, the location seemed strategically chosen in relation to key Brazilian institutional establishments, such as the embassy, to build on other Brazil related activities and clientele. For example, Carioca was located in Aoyama, close to the Brazilian Embassy and the Kokuritsu National Athletic Arena. Its unique entrance, a yellow door on bright green wall at the end of a flight of stairs leading to the second floor, was visible from the street where it was located.



Picture 6. View of Carioca from the street

When in the outer wards, the typical restaurants had storefront entrances, like in the case of Segredo and Çhega+Mais. This was the case for all except for Cabana, which was relatively close to the Tsurumi train station and located in an area where other eateries were nearby.



Picture 7. Çhega+Mais view from the street

These restaurants met the general expectations of what makes a restaurant, such as the layout of individual tables, menu, and service for example (Spang, 2000). The dining tables were usually lined up in an organized manner so as to accommodate the largest possible number of patrons. Tables were relatively small and joined to meet the needs of larger groups. The restaurants in this category can accommodate from 60 to over 100 people and include the largest Brazilian restaurants in Tōkyō. The overall atmosphere tended to be convivial, with people in small or big groups enjoying the food and the company. I noted how in restaurants of this size and location, people sitting alone like me were more likely to be left alone, they were professionally served their meal, no other questions asked. This was different from what I experienced in smaller sites.

Serving food is central to their existence and these places offer the widest selection of food, often including a food buffet, churrasco and á la carte entrees, leaning to a pricier

experience. Usually, there was also a buffet area. At Barbacoa, for example, it was at the center of the room and presented a wide variety of fresh vegetables, with food labels in Japanese and Portuguese, and nicely arranged pineapple decorations.

They were open for lunch and dinner hours and, because of that, they attracted different types of patrons according the time of the day. During lunch hours, the menu was competitively priced vis-à-vis the other restaurants in the area in order to attract patrons, who are most likely employees in the nearby offices and shops. During dinner, the cost generally doubled and the clientele attended the place for a longer time and more often with company. The majority of the places had bi-lingual menus, at least partially, meaning the name of the item might have been written in Portuguese using *roma-ji* and the explanation was in Japanese and often in English, too. In this way, the Japanese could learn the name of the food in its original language and still understand what the ingredients are because they are translated into Japanese.

In these sites, new modes of consuming food are learned. General information was available about the food being served and consumed, from multiple sources, including tablemats with explanations of the different types of meat and a few sentences of conversational Portuguese enhancing the Brazilian nature of the place.



Picture 8. Tucano menu

In their interior décor, all the restaurants typically shared a common repertoire of images, such as the flag and soccer shirts. However, in the restaurants located in the central wards, a certain, stylish motif often characterized the place. At Carioca, for example, the signature item was a soccer ball. This is because Ramos, its producer, is a famous Brazilian soccer player who was originally hired to train the Japanese team and who then decided to stay and is now a Japanese citizen. His relation to soccer explains why the main motif in the interior design of the place was a soccer ball, with a number of them lined up and suspended from the ceiling of the

main room. Moreover, Carioca is the name of the place because Ramos was born in Rio de Janeiro and the people who are born in Rio are called Carioca.

The reception area was full of pictures of Ramos, trophies, autographs of celebrities, signed soccer balls, and other paraphernalia related to his soccer days. On the right side, there was a counter separated by the main area by a glass wall, with many autographs signed in a white marker. This type of ‘marking’ was rather common and may “leave a strong impression” (Mikanjiru, 2010) on the first time patron.



Picture 9. Carioca interior

The marking of the place through the signatures of the people and celebrities who have visited the restaurant was present at Barbacoa too. As you entered, there was a line up of wall-mounted white plates autographed by celebrities. Many signatures belonged to soccer stars, but there were also autographs of famous Brazilian residents, TV celebrities, J-pop idols and sumo wrestlers (Barbacoa, 2010). The key motif of Barbacoa was the bull, whose elegantly framed and stylish lithographs decorated its walls.



Picture 10. Barbacoa entrance



Picture 11. Barbacoa motif

Tucano décor focused on the food it served as well. Two of the main walls were entirely decorated with murals depicting scenes of a cowboy life. In one of the murals, there were four gauchos on their horses; in the others, some gauchos were preparing their churrasco on an open fire.



Picture 12. Tucano interior

The staff at these restaurants tended to include Brazilians (Japanese-Brazilian and not). They usually hired Brazilians who had former experience in working at a restaurant and could speak Japanese and some English, too. In fact, the location attracts an international clientele, although the majority is generally Japanese. Ichiro, for example, “would hire only one Japanese, and all the rest Brazilian, or at least more Brazilians,” or, he added, “Japanese who really like Brazil, and who could speak some Portuguese.” He wished for a more Brazilian atmosphere and community (personal conversation, June 15, 2010). Moreover, the Brazilian staff that works in these restaurants makes an effort to use Portuguese words here and there. Ichiro, for example, uses easy Portuguese words here and there when he waits at the tables, and whenever one of his patrons say “*obrigado*” (thanks in Portuguese) or use any of the words he himself used, it makes him “*akarui, alegre*” (happy in Japanese and Portuguese) (personal conversation, June 15, 2010).

Different from the restaurants located in the central/inner areas, the one in the Kawasaki/Yokohama areas had a relatively simpler décor. They were usually run as a family business, and in their choice of location, they opened with the idea of serving Brazilian food to Brazilians, as they were located where there is a larger presence of Brazilians living and working

in the factories nearby. As you entered Çhega+Mais, there is a small area with informational material and short shelves where items for purchase were on display – from tomato cans and beans, to jeans and shirts.



Picture 13. Çhega+Mais entrance

The restaurant's walls were sparsely decorated with some tucano, the flag, a soccer T-shirt. The dining area accommodated about forty people. There was a buffet island at the back. All the tables were covered with the same green tablecloths. It had an overall clean and simple ambience.



Picture 14. Çhega+Mais interior

Cabana had an even more barren décor. Cabana was advertised as *uma casinha simples, aconchegante e hospitaleira* - a simple, welcoming, and hospitable small house. There are very few decorations on the wall, including one Brazilian flag hung on one of the wall, a TV mounted on the wall and some instruments lined up in a corner.



Picture 15. Cabana interior

Cabana was managed as a family business. Machida was in charge of the menu and the cooking. Her husband and children helped her wait the tables and work the cash register. Cabana offered live music at least once a month, and during those events, patrons who felt comfortable enough to join in a jam session with the guest performer would use the instruments. Cabana had regular lunch and dinner hours. Cabana's clientele during the lunchtime is mostly composed of people who work in the area and try the food for a one-time-only type of experience. In fact, she shares how it is quite rare that the same people return. The clientele during the dinnertime may differ, and Brazilians living in the area used to visit too. However, since the economic crisis hit Japan, she has noted how people were less likely to visit her restaurant.

In striking contrast with the empty walls and overall simplicity of Cabana, Segredo's walls are full, almost cluttered. Segredo is located on a *shōtengai* (commercial venue) of Tsurumi. The Brazilian flags signal the presence of this *Restaurante Brasileiro*. Similar to the

other Brazilian restaurants in this area, Segredo is run as a family business and is open for lunch and dinner.



Picture 16. Segredo interior

All of these restaurants, regardless of their location, function as sources of information about Brazil and Brazilian related events in Japan. At Barbacoa, for example, books, newspaper, and other informational material about Brazil were on display in the waiting area.



Picture 17. Barbacoa waiting area

Wherever I went, I could always locate a bulletin board, or small table, where schedules of events and other informational material were on display. Music and dance programs seemed the most popular and were in the most accessible point for the visitors. Some places sold or carried ethnic newspapers (like *Tudo Bom* or *IPC*), ethnic magazines, and service advertisements, like information on how to send money to Brazil or buy phone cards to call Brazil. Some of the restaurants located in the outer wards also operate as points of sale for all sorts of Brazilian items, ranging from food ingredients to clothing.



Picture 18. Some of the promotional material found at the restaurants

To enhance the experience of eating Brazilian cuisine, the majority of these sites have musicians playing live music or dancers offering a short show. At Tucano, for example, during dinner, there is a live Bossa Nova guitarist and two Brazilian Samba dancers who perform twice at 7 and 8 o'clock daily for about ten minutes to add some entertainment to the experience.

Patrons welcome the experience. “Besides dancing on the stage, they danced through the diners, invited them to dance along on the stage, and it added much more to the restaurant” comments one of the food bloggers (Naocoo, 2009). However, not everybody enjoys the show because it gets loud. “There are people who were saying that they can't hear themselves, but you might as well get into it since it's only going to be for about ten minutes” writes another patron (Emih, 2009).

The patrons

The patrons of the restaurants in the inner wards of Tōkyō, mainly Japanese clientele, seem to have a rather detached, casual, food experience. They enjoy eating out as a leisure activity. The patrons that visit these restaurants are likely to be strolling through the neighborhood, looking for a bite to eat. It is a casual experience, for no other reason than trying (and possibly rating) the food, and the experience easily falls into the realm of global commodification of habits and tastes. Alternatively, their visit is in pursuit of highly rated Brazilian cuisine found online at certain food blogs. Food blogging is a very popular and useful activities for those who like to dine out often. The blogging entails remarking on the décor, the atmosphere, the presentation of the food, the efficiency of the service, the attractiveness of the serving staff, the opening and closing of the visit, and so forth and so on (Warde and Martens, 2000). The overall experience may acquire tones of social distinction, and be a form of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984).

In the blog entries, Brazilian food is appreciated because of its dissimilarity from Japanese food. One patron noted, “There was nothing you can find that was remotely close to Japanese food, so it was quite satisfying” (Poyo, 2008). While others found elements of familiarity in it: “Brazilian food is not that strange for Japanese people to eat” (Pontarō, 2010).

Japanese identity is a contributing factor in their frame of reference, demonstrating how one's own "expectations determine what the foreign culture is like. [...] We cannot help but see others through our one's own categories and interests, which determine what we perceive" (Bredella, 2003, p. 45). Brazilian food is not tasted under its own conditions, but instead compared to familiar tastes. In intercultural terms, the experience reflects a minimization state, where "elements of one's own cultural worldview are experienced as universal [and] cultural difference is neutralized by subsuming the differences into familiar categories" (Bennett, 2004, p. 66). These patrons make Brazilian food familiar by translating and reviewing it in Japanese terms. These food bloggers – culinary omnivores - enjoy the chance to eat foreign ethnic cuisine for its novelty and variety (Warde, 2000, p. 307). They tend to dine out regularly, and systematically record the occurrence. Several of the reviewers whose experience fell into this category were likely to have a consistent presence on the food blog.

Similarly to the gourmet food writers identified by Johnston and Baumann (2007), these reviewers "frequently invoke authenticity to legitimate certain foods as worthy cultural options," and it appears to be a near-essential part of the omnivorous culinary discourse (p. 179). Several aspects were often included in the reviews as proof of authenticity, such as quality food, but also the appearance of the waiters or particular service styles. One blogger, for example, wrote, "The food is amazing and the one other thing that sits well with me is the fact that most of the waiters are Brazilian. That gives a feeling of authenticity" (Hatenagoya, 2009). And, another blogger, commented, "Meat is served in a large skewer and served at a table by staff in cowboy hat. That's authentic" (Emih, 2009). Authenticity is also sanctioned through word-of-mouth, shared in casual conversations about one's experience, readily recorded in a blog entry, like in

“according to a friend who is very familiar with Brazilian food, it was very authentic” (Onikukko, 2009).

The Brazilian staff is instrumental in exemplifying a foreign atmosphere. As a patron commented, the fact that they “can’t understand Japanese or pretend to not understand Japanese makes it like [they] are on a trip. It’s exciting” (Naocoo, 2009). He also commented on the staff’s joyful attitude. “The restaurant wait staff was all nice and cheerful singing while walking back and forth in the restaurant” (Naocoo, 2009). Another blogger commented, “being served by foreign staff at your table added to the ambiance” (Happymaki, 2009). This essence of authenticity is reinforced for the Japanese when the restaurant attracts a Brazilians clientele too. And, the presence of Brazilian clients makes some Japanese patrons feel as if they were away from home (Japolatina, 2010) further indicating the reality of a foreign atmosphere.

Exoticism is also used as proxy for authenticity. The experience of eating at these Brazilian restaurants is described as foreign/exotic, unusual, and *ikokujōsho* (different), as in “the restaurant ambiance was full of its foreign feel” (Kashiwa2, 2007). The foreign atmosphere also generates commentary such as, “The foreign look of its sign with Brazilian bird” (Kashiwa2, 2007).

Ichiro and the staff at Carioca are quite successfully in building an image of Brazil, as stated in several of the entries about the restaurant in the food blogs. In entering these places, “even though you are in Japan, you feel like you are in foreign country” (Mikanjiru, 2010). “Besides the delicious food, the ambience of the restaurant and the staff are Brazilian or Brazilian related and make you feel as if you are in Brazil” (Mikanjiru, 2010). Food has the power to transport people to a place afar. As a blogger wrote, “My friend who dined with me said that eating *feijo* those beans made him feel like he was flying over the carnival of Rio, he

was ecstatic about it, but out of the window was still Tsurumi” (Tsururu, 2008). Foreign cuisine helps to make possible this type of experience. These places “offer patrons vicarious joys, vacations to faraway places without airports or baggage. They are selling the experience of being in another country” (Zelinsky, 1999, p. 246).

Alternatively, these places offer the possibility to assuage a yearning for a familiar and memorable taste. One day, while I was seated at Tucano and waiting for my food, a middle-aged man with Japanese features was seated close to my table. As soon as he sat, he ordered a churrasco meal. In an effort to strike up a conversation, I rhetorically asked if he liked Brazilian food and he replied in a positive manner explaining he was *Natsukashī* (nostalgic) for Brazilian food. He went on recounting how he used to work for a company that imported artwork from South America to Japan in the 1990s and one day he decided to travel to the places where that artwork was coming from. He travelled extensively throughout South America and loved Brazil. He could also speak some Portuguese. He told me he was there to taste again flavors that could bring him back to what he missed. Then, he even told me he wanted to focus on the food, and so I stopped with my questions.

Rafael of Tucano spends most of his time at the register, which gives him a chance to hear the patrons’ comments. “The food was good; other places no good like this, and if the patrons have been in Brazil, they are always *encantado* (satisfied) with this restaurant, they return. Some of them know the *feijoada*, and when they see feijoada here, they are happy.” Those who have not, which is the majority, as soon as they enter the place, “*Nihon ja nai* (this is not Japan), for them it’s like they enter Brazil.” They may know about soccer and Samba, but they have rarely had Brazilian food, so Rafael says, “it feels good they come here to appreciate the food” (personal conversation, July 19, 2010).

Additionally, some blog entries shared comments that reflect preconceived expectations. Comments, like the ones that follow, seem to suggest that the patrons were surprised by what they found the restaurant to look like. “When I entered, I found the restaurant rather spacious, and clean/beautiful” (Ogura, 2009). “It is an extremely clean Rio de Janeiro” (Harami-Man, 2010). “It has a very bright and clean image” (Adamos, 2014). “It’s rather cozy and has a very clean/tidy impression” (Leftcoastchic, 2010). “If you are looking for a Brazilian ambience, this restaurant seems rather too clean” (Carolina, 2009).

Public reluctance to visit these places can be explained because of location, food preferences and lack of easy access. Some people were just suspicious. “[The location] made me wait a little while till I got around to try it, because it was rather too cheap, the restaurant being in a basement, and restaurant staff were mainly Brazilians” (Ogura, 2009). Comments like this speak to the ‘distance’ Brazil, its people and its food are perceived. Despite the publicity and supportive network, as it could be evinced in the following comment, “the fact that most of the waiters are Brazilian. That gives a feeling of authenticity and supports the foreign community in Japan as well, something the government here does not do” (Hatenagoya, 2009), Brazilian cuisine is relatively unknown and sought after. Brazilian restaurants do not necessarily thrive on the fame of Brazilian cuisine. As one of the restaurateurs said, “I wish that Brazilian food would become as popular as Italian, a little bit more of fame will certainly help the restaurant” (Yukari, personal conversation, July 22, 2010). In comparison, a simple search on Tabelog of Italian restaurants in Tōkyō yielded a result of 5,431 establishments to prove her point of how more fashionable eating Italian food is.

Thus, the experience of the culinary omnivore/tourist may be termed singled down to an intercultural contact and encounter as it pertains solely to consuming foreign food. It is a one-

time, ephemeral experience. For these consumers, the experience is self-contained, only to be repeated if enjoyed. Overall, this *silo* type of experience is contained by the table the patrons are sitting at and if any interaction happens it is primarily with the staff that serves the food. The clientele may return to the place but does not actively seek interaction with fellow patrons. The nature of contact is co-presence and confined to the interval of time spent at the restaurant.



Picture 19. Dining at Barbacoa

Summary

These restaurants are deemed as places for intercultural encounter because their inhabitation is defined and limited to the consumption of food. The visit is mostly occasional and articulated around the proprietors' imprint on the place, the food being the central feature. The

setting is a “typical” restaurant, because of their layout, menu, hours of operation, and overall focus on serving food. However, there is a significant difference in how the location affects how the place is experienced. In the centrally located restaurants, the experience is mostly detached, while in the restaurants in the Kawasaki/Yokohama areas, the experience is relatively more interactive. In the latter restaurants, the ethnic proprietor is actively engaged in exchanges with her/his patrons to a more or less superficial degree.

The main feature of attraction is definitively the food. The patronage is made by many culinary adventurers willing to cross societal boundaries. They tend to hold attitude of curiosity and openness towards the food, its ingredients and ways to consume them. But some of these patrons tend to “display a shallow interest in ‘exotic’ foods, exploit the food of the cultural *Others* to enhance their own prestige and sophistication, and ‘eat ethnic’ without any real interest in, or concern for, the cultural contexts of the ethnic foods eaten” (Heldke, 1993). And, as a portion of the online commentary reveals, preconceived ideas about Brazil easily emerge. The places in this chapter reiterate the familiar critique on the relation between food and diversity as a form of neo-colonial appropriation and consumption of ethnic difference, requiring little in the way of real engagement with the *Other* (Wise, 2011, p. 84).

The proprietors are mostly concerned with serving good and authentic food (a precious commodity) and capitalizing on the resources that they can mobilize in the host society. In this way, they undergo a re-territorializing process by emphasizing their own cultural characteristics (Appadurai, 1990 cited in Tajima, 2003, p. 358). These cultural characteristics are then served on a plate to be consumed and interaction is limited to the innovative and transformative potential of culinary art, even if just for the palate.

CHAPTER 6. BRAZILIAN RESTAURANTS AS PLACES FOR INTERCULTURAL EXCHANGE

In this chapter, I present Brazilian restaurants as places for intercultural exchange. These ethnic restaurants offer opportunities to learn and develop cultural competencies (knowledge and skills) in addition to the appreciation and consumption of food. These are sites where consuming food is secondary and mostly nested in other experiences aimed at learning and/or practicing a particular type of activity related to Brazilian culture, this being music, dance or sport. As in the earlier chapter, I begin by introducing the proprietors; next, I transition to the places and then the patrons. At the end of this chapter, I sum up how each of these factors contributes to the making and experiencing of the restaurant as a place for intercultural exchange.

The sites included in this typology are Praça 11, Saci Perere, Espeto Brazil, Que Bom, and Café do Centro, all located in the central wards.

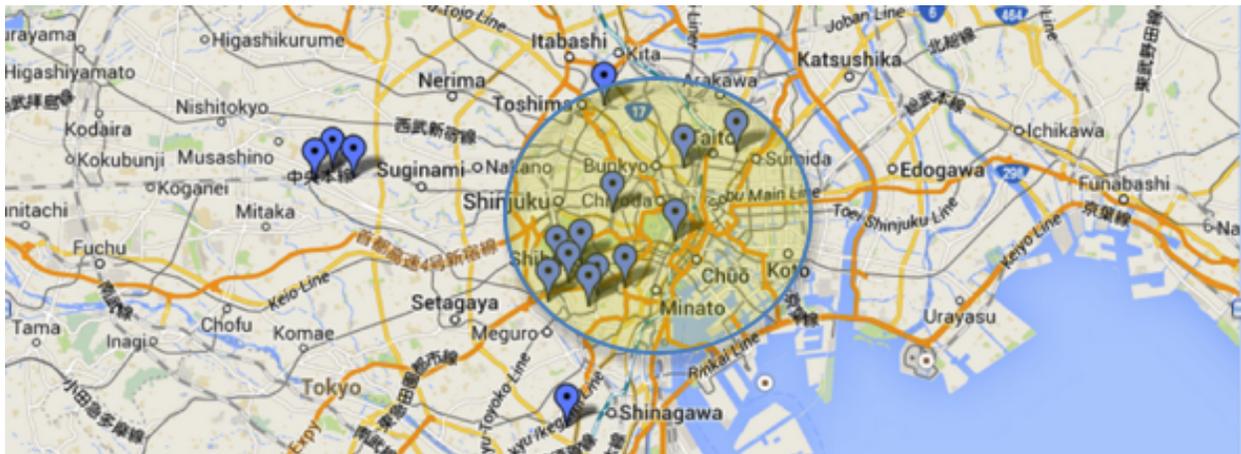


Figure 6. Location of Brazilian restaurants for intercultural exchange

The proprietors

Aside from Praça 11, which is managed by a Brazilian (Japanese-Brazilian), the proprietors that operate the establishments in this category are all Japanese. The reasons that brought the proprietors to open their restaurant vary across the board and include the opportunity to explore a niche market or invest in something worth-learning to do well.

Saci Perere, which has been in business for almost 40 years, was open by Ono (Japanese) upon his return from Brazil, where he used to run a nightclub. When Ono moved back to Tōkyō with his family he and his brother opened Saci Perere in Yotsuya to continue with what he did and learned while in Brazil. His first-hand knowledge of Brazilian nightclubs and music in conjunction with his Japanese upbringing uniquely positioned his business in Tōkyō as a standout place.

Praça 11 was opened in 1981 was because “no one knew about Brazil or Brazilian music” (Nakamura, personal conversation, July 24, 2010). Its proprietors moved to Japan from Brazil in the late 1970s. Nakamura (Japanese-Brazilian) first came to work in Japan for the World Expo in the 1970s, and then her future husband moved to Japan, too. They married and decided to stay in Japan.

In other cases, opening a restaurant has been an investment in product differentiation. One example is Que Bom. Its founding company, Athleta - originally a Brazilian sportswear brand then bought by a Japanese company – wanted to have a place where it could host its clients and attract a population that may be interested in its products. Similarly, Café do Centro was opened as an outlet of a coffee company to encourage more Japanese patrons to appreciate coffee.

The places

To maintain similarity throughout my research, I once again present the places according to two of their foundational aspects: location and locale. When writing about the location, I considered the area, the place's visibility, and the overall surrounding. The locale was examined according the layout, the size, the hours of operation, the menu, the imaging, the availability of promotional material, and the staff as key elements which frame the setting for a place. The sense of place, as the third foundational aspect of place, will then be discussed concomitantly with research involving the patrons, in the section that follows.

The restaurants presented in this chapter are all located within central Tōkyō. However, differently from the places of Chapter 6, these restaurants are in rather isolated areas or in areas where there may be other businesses but thinned out.

Espeto Brazil is a restaurant located in Minami Otsuka. The entrance to the place is well lit and in direct contrast with the overall darkness of the area. Stairs take you to the basement, where walls are adorned with bulletin boards full of pictures and big drums sit on shelves. The pictures show people in groups, people on stage and Samba dancers. There are also several posters and fliers of upcoming performances and concerts on display.



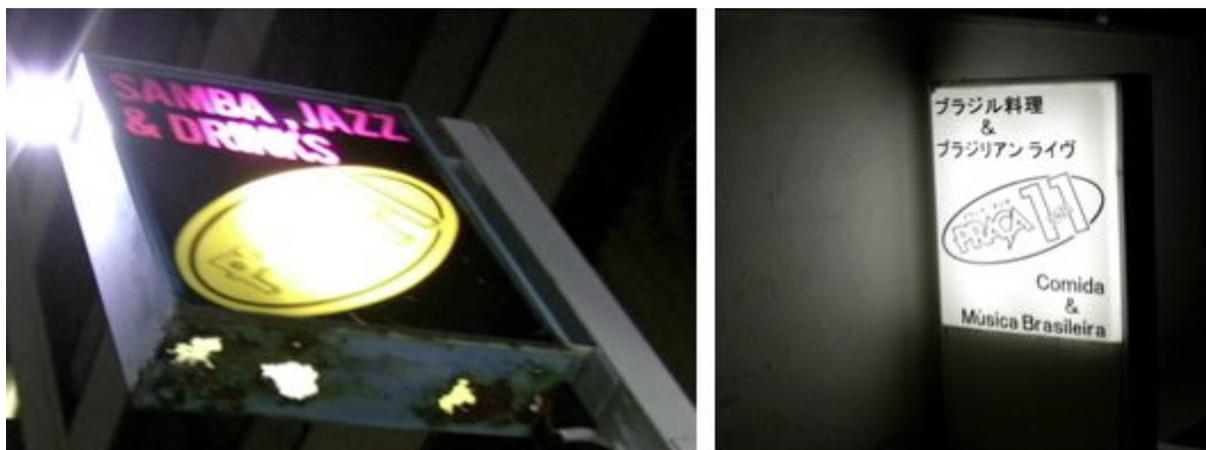
Picture 20. Espeto Brazil view from the street and entrance

Praça 11 is few minutes walk from Omotesando, one of the busiest streets in Tōkyō. However, it is located in a tertiary street, and whereas there is a lot of foot traffic in the main street nearby, it is off the beaten path and its surroundings generate a feeling of isolation.



Picture 21. Praça 11 view from the street

In this case, the street signage is particularly important and unique in marketing the presence of these places. The street signage, containing Praça 11 written inside a yellow oval, and with Samba, jazz and drinks spelled above it, is mounted on the building in a relatively high position and is relatively easy to spot. They light up during the night to make it visible from afar, so customers know where to turn.



Picture 22. Praça 11 signage at nighttime

Saci Perere is located in Yotsuya, on a main street with high foot traffic. A big tucano with a pipe is drawn on the main door, visible in its entirety when the place is closed. When the restaurant is open, a Saci Perere is visible and welcomes you through the door and a flight of stairs that takes you to the basement where the restaurant is located.



Picture 23. Saci Perere view from the street

Brazilian cuisine and its consumption are instrumental and fundamental in the qualification of these places as ethnic restaurants, but their role is not as central in their design and offered experience. This is evident in part by their layout, which generally presents two main

areas. One area has tables and seating that suggests that food is served and consumed, and another – a stage area like the one at Saci Perere in the picture below- is dedicated to other uses and activities, mostly dance or music performances. These sites utilize their space in a flexible manner and when a performance area is not expressively carved out, there seems always to be the possibility to extemporaneously create as is often the case at Que Bom.



Picture 24. Saci Perere performance area

In fact, at Que Bom, tables and chairs are easily and often moved around to accommodate dance moves. In these shifting arrangements, it is quite common to see the staff dancing through the various pieces of furniture, taking orders and serving food. Sometimes they stop here and

there to teach a step or two. These activities and the interactions between the patrons and the staff create a convivial environment where people feel welcomed and start talking to each other.

These sites' hours of operation are usually in the late afternoon and at night. Menus offer fewer items when compared to the restaurants in the central area, and are mostly à la carte. Depending on the type of performance, there may be an entrance fee, which is usually paid at the door or included in the food bill.

Some of the restaurants in this category, Que Bom and Café do Centro, have hired interior designers to create its stylish and Brazilian ambience, but others seem to have had a more DIY approach, like at Espeto, Praça 11, and Saci Perere. Espeto, for example, is a relatively small establishment, with a stage/performance area on the right and a seating area with tiny tables on the left. The open kitchen and bar are opposite to the entrance. The ceiling is low and adorned with a lot of fake foliage and little blue lights. On the walls of the performance area, the flag of Brazil is in a prominent position with “Espeto Brazil” written in katakana above it. The other walls are decorated with photographic posters, featuring Brazil's well-known natural beauties and landmarks: the Iguaçu falls, the Christ the Redeemer statue, among others.



Picture 25. Espeto Brazil interior

Praça 11 is decorated starting from outside leading in. The left side of the stairwell that goes to its entrance is decorated with a colorful mural, painted on a bright yellow wall, where Afro-Brazilian looking people are portrayed dancing and playing. And, inside the little entrance area, there is always an updated printout of the monthly calendar of events.



Picture 26. Praça 11 outdoor mural

The place is relatively small. It has a bar area, but most of the space is occupied by the performance area where sound and light mixers and amplifiers are stacked. Seating is situated in corners with small square tables. I need to admit that this place has an aged look about it, but the low lights used during the performances make it appear quite charming. Underscoring the centrality of music in the experiencing of this place are two of the main walls that are heavily decorated, but not with the usual type of images. One wall is plastered with pictures of

historically famous people in the Brazilian music scene taken by the late proprietor who was a professional photographer. When the Japanese economy was booming, Nakamura told me, Praça 11 could afford to bring several famous musicians directly from Brazil to play in Tōkyō, a luxury that had long gone. Their signatures on the other wall, which became main backdrop for the performances, also marked the recollections of visiting celebrities and guests.

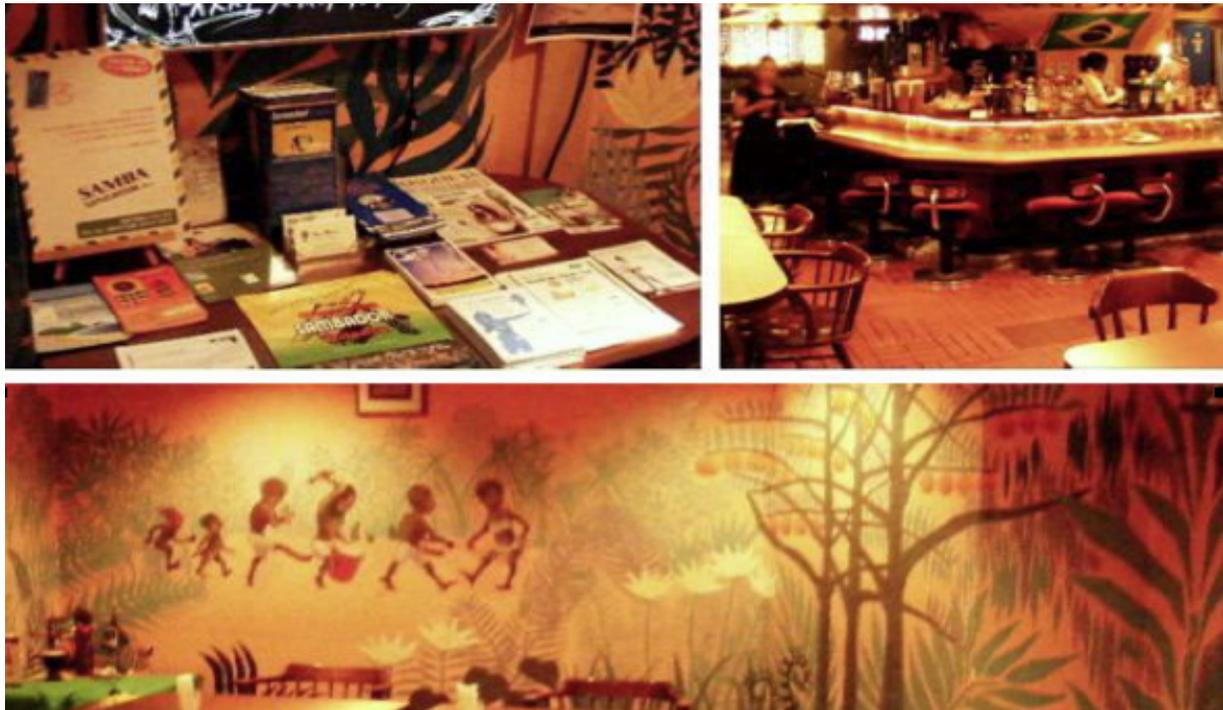


Picture 27. Praça 11 wall of fame



Picture 28. Praça 11 signature wall

The décor of Saci Perere is characterized by warm, soft lighting. It is a comfortable and welcoming place. On the left of the entry door, there is a small table, where informational material is laid out. The walls here are decorated with a forest theme including trees, tucano and other colorful birds resting on the trees' branches.



Picture 29. Saci Perere interior

The ambience of each place tends to acquire a more personalized touch over time. The walls have pictures of the staff and the patrons on display, and souvenirs brought back from trips to Brazil accumulate on the shelves.

The Japanese proprietors of these places may or may not have Brazilians on staff, but they rely heavily on Brazilian performers and artists to stay in business. Que Bom, for example, hires Japanese and Brazilians and its management is very collaborative. The staff and interested patrons are welcome to propose their ideas for events and/or activities and thus they have been instrumental in the making of Que Bom into the place it is today.

Gabriela (Japanese-Brazilian), for example, who was working at Que Bom as a waitress, was also part of the Rabadas Cultura Clube. With her fellow Rabadas partners, she hosted events at Que Bom aimed at presenting a more diverse and nuanced understanding of Brazilian culture. As written on the group Facebook page,

“Because Brazilian culture cannot be reduced to Samba and the Asakusa carnival, members of the group the Rabadas Cultura Clube wish to bring another Brazil in Tōkyō. As the name of the group suggests it, ‘Rabada’ is a wholesome Brazilian popular dish, The Rabadas' concept is to feed Brazilian culture to the inhabitants of Tōkyō” (Rabadas Cultura Clube, 2010).

Gabriela has also teamed up with another waitress, Ana (Japanese-Brazilian), who is also a famous local singer, to offer “Quick Portuguese” language classes. For a minimal fee, a practical ready-to-use Portuguese lesson is given and food is served. The staff then prompts the students/patrons to practice by ordering food or holding conversations in Portuguese.

I asked Gabriela and Ana about their students and motivation to learn Portuguese. For some, learning Portuguese was a way to learn more about Brazil than they had already discovered through its music, dance, or soccer. Others were learning in preparation of an upcoming trip to Brazil, and others - especially older people - as a means to remember the times they were in Brazil (personal conversation, January 29, 2013).

Gabriela attributes this welcoming and somehow Brazilian atmosphere to the fact that the Japanese staff gives itself Brazilian names, as originally requested by the management. For example, when Tetsu Tajima (Japanese) was hired, he was also asked by Athleta to introduce himself as Nicolas at the restaurant. Such a Brazilian sounding name can strengthen his professional identity as manager of a Brazilian restaurant in the face of his lack of actual connections to the place.

In the meantime, Nicolas and the other Japanese staff who were asked by management to adopt Brazilian names tend to “act a little Brazilian too. They work here, and work with Brazilians, so they maybe have been influenced by them” notes Gabriela. Working at Que Bom was a different kind of experience. “People are so relaxed, and have fun working there, they are friends. It’s something special about the place” she comments. Gabriela also shares that the Japanese staff tends to be engaged with a variety of Brazilian activities, and to substantiate her point, she directs my attention to some pictures on the wall. “The cook, Nancee, for example is a dancer for the Asakusa Barbaros Samba team.” A few of the pictures in green and yellow frames show her wearing a Barbaros uniform.

Juliana is the only Brazilian who works at Espeto Brazil, waiting the tables and teaching people how to cook Brazilian food, but no Brazilian works as staff at Saci Perere. However, both places offer Brazilian musicians and dancers a place to perform. These sites operate in an open and symbiotic relation with the Brazilian artistic community at large, whose performances are routinely offered. The performances are the main reason the place attracts patrons passionate about one or more aspects of Brazilian culture. In this way, they offer indirect and yet meaningful opportunities to the local Brazilian community of artists and performers to place-make in Tōkyō through their arts.

The places accommodate no more than thirty to forty people comfortably, and the patrons can sit at their tables for as long as they like to consume a meal or simply enjoy a beverage, without the pressure to consume. Each of these sites is known for a unique activity or series of events. Patrons go for leisure, food and to be entertained by a particular Brazilian cultural activity, such as music (Bossa Nova), or dance (Samba), and sometimes both if space allows.

People may also go there to watch soccer in the company of others. The sport has gained a noticeable increase in popularity in Japan.

In some instances, the special features of a place are largely related to their location. For example, Que Bom is located in Asakusa where the largest carnival outside Brazil is hosted. The management chose this location to build on the fact that the area already has a Brazilian connection, and its clientele tends to be passionate about Samba music and dance. In other words, in a mutual bond, their location affects their place, and their place enhances the fame of the surrounding area.

In these places, events are offered on a daily basis and therefore patrons may have more reasons to visit, depending on their interest. Praça 11, for example, has a daily schedule of music performances. Usually they are musicians based in Tōkyō, but in its earlier heyday, Brazilian musicians were also invited and brought directly from Brazil to Japan to perform. Yet, nowadays, it is rare that Brazilian musicians are brought Japan to perform. The economic downfall has hindered such spending. The number of customers has declined even more because of the economic crisis that hit Japan in 2008 (personal conversation, July 18, 2010).

Saci Perere also offers live music or dance every day. When the live entertainment starts, maracas made out of cans filled with dry rice are distributed to the patrons. Everybody shakes the improvised instruments and joins in the making of music. However, it is common to see patrons come in with big bags from which they pull their own instruments, tambourines or drums, and once the music and dance start, they join in to become part of the performance.

Que Bom seems to be the place that hosted the most diverse type of activities. In reviewing the daily events over a two-year period, I identified two main categories: regular and special. There are events that are produced with a certain regularity—once a week, once every

other week, and once a month—and they center either on music (such as *Batuque na cozinha*, Live with Via Brasil, and Live with Ana) or on dance, like *Que Festa*. There are also events that combine food with music, like *Bom de Samba & Feijoada*, and events with a food focus, like the *Pirarucu no hi* (the Pirarucu day) and the *Cupim no ryori* (Cupim cuisine) days.

Educational/cultural events and occasions like Portuguese classes and the *Rabada Cultura Clube* mentioned earlier, are part of the programming, as are events that target a particular audience, such as Family Day and Ladies' Day. Moreover, soccer matches are constantly played on the big television monitor, which covers the central wall in Que Bom. Soccer-related events are organized when the Brazilian or Japanese teams are involved, and for the World Cup in general. The World Cup is time of aggregation for the Brazilian community at large.

Finally, several types of special events are added to the regular calendar: birthday celebrations, music performances by visiting artists, Capoeira shows, and the celebration of Que Bom anniversaries. An event that also deserves a mention is the *Gambare Nippon* (Go Japan), which was hosted by Que Bom a few months after the 3/11 earthquakes. It was a charity event coordinated by a Brazilian organization to raise funds for the disaster area. Que Bom also participates in the annual Brazilian Day at Yoyogi Park by having a food stand in the park. These examples show that these restaurants offer more than just food, but create a network of social activities and offer opportunities to learn, appreciate and/or practice Brazilian culture.

Café do Centro in Marunouchi offers a weekly *Roda* (circle), which brings different people together to form a circle and play music. On a different day, once a week it also serves as Portuguese classroom. Working in collaboration with a non-profit organization called Big Globe, the café becomes a Brazilian social and learning space, where students are organized in small groups to learn Portuguese. Miki of Big Globe led the efforts to organize these language classes.

She works at the nearby Banco do Brasil, located in Marunouchi. Aware that several people at her workplace were interested in learning Portuguese, she approached Café do Centro and offered to organize classes on a weekly basis. These classes are advertised through Meet Up and open to the public. The attendee has to pay a small fee, which is then added to any provisions consumed.

The student/patrons are grouped according to their language level –from beginner, to intermediate, and advanced – and by the amount of Portuguese that they want to learn. There are those patrons interested in a general understanding of the language because they are traveling soon to Brazil; others were preparing to pass the exam to become tour guides. Some, like Shuji, were Brazilian but moved to Japan when they were very young and lost the ability to speak fluently; and others, like Ko, want to keep up and practice with what they learned while living in Brazil. Offering these lessons in a Brazilian restaurant close to where the majority of students’ work is a winning formula. Many people visit after work to study, eat and/or drink. In this way, Café do Centro becomes an informal place conducive for learning about Brazil, its language and its customs, all in a convivial and welcoming atmosphere.



Picture 30. Café do Centro Portuguese language class

The patrons

When asked about the reception of these Brazilian places by neighbors or patrons, the proprietors mentioned there is a sort of reluctance on behalf of the public to enter these places. For example, in my conversation with Yukari of Saci Perere, which is the most accessible place because of its location, she shared how she notes diffidence, or simply unwillingness, in entering the place from the people who live in the neighborhood -despite the longevity of the place. “They don’t understand what type of place it is, *ayashī* (mysterious, suspicious). They may think it’s a hostess club. The entrance is scary, they may want to come, but scary...what a pity” (personal conversation, July 22, 2010).

Nicolas of Que Bom recounted a similar hesitancy. When asked about the response from the neighborhood surrounding its opening, he mentioned how dismissive the comments were, “they gave us a very short life span,” which only later turned into acceptance and actual appreciation (personal conversation, November 21, 2009). However, in spite of such hesitation, these places do attract patrons who tend to go from one to the other, depending on the breadth of their Brazilian passion and interests. Whereas some patrons may attend just one of these sites, others go from one to the other, spending, for example, Tuesdays at Que Bom participating into the *Batuque na cozinha* and Thursdays at Café do Centro learning about Portuguese. Or, alternatively, a certain number of patrons may continuously follow a particular type of event, like Samba performances, wherever they are offered.

When I ask Nakamura what brings people to her place, she says, “they feel free, they feel free to tell me their stories.” She pauses and to substantiate her claim points my attention to the sitting area in front of us, where a couple with a young child is sitting, “see that family, they

always come here,” as to show how comfortable, but also family oriented the place is to her customers (personal conversation, July 24, 2010).



Picture 31. Patrons at Praça 11

Patrons who record their experience at Saci Perere in the blog mostly refer to the music performances, as in “they offer live music every day, so the music is more of a main thing instead of a meal” (Bonarmenian, 2008). In part, it is reinforced by the fact that Lisa, the other daughter, is a famous Bossa Nova singer who has performed regularly in the place. But, it is also because the food is rated average. It is also described as a place where “you dance and sing and go crazy,” and for “those who love the Bossa Nova, Salsa and Latin way of living, this is quite a heaven for you” (Cecilo, 2008). Overall, as it is written in this comment, “If you love Samba, this is the place to go. For those who don’t love Samba, it’s a house full of noise” (Eric43, 2006).

In places like these, I met what I call the Brazilian habitué. The Brazilian habitué (generally Japanese-Brazilian, but not necessarily) frequents these Brazilian restaurants for reasons other than the expectation of eating good Brazilian food. Based on my conversations with this type of patron, going to these restaurants and/or attending their events are opportunities to network with fellow nationals, find comfort in the food, develop support groups, get information, feed *Saudade* (nostalgia), find shelter and nurture weak ties (Granovetter, 1973).

The restaurants enable Brazilians to feel ‘at home’ and place-make in the host country, and develop homing trajectories (Feuchtwang, 2004). For the Brazilian patrons, not all of the places are the same. They may be very particular about where they prefer to go. They might visit all restaurants, wherever Brazilian events are hosted, but they have their preferred sites, like Raul does.

Raul is from Sao Paulo, works at the Banco do Brasil, and has been living in Tōkyō for over 20 years. He attends all sorts of shows, from music to dance. Sometimes he dances too, but he mostly sits and sips whisky while watching the performances. We kept meeting each other at Brazilian shows. Raul, like a few others I repeatedly met during my research, goes only to venues related to Brazil. According to Raul, thanks to these venues, he lives in Brazil while being in Tōkyō.

As co-ethnic patrons, they judge and grant authenticity (or not) to the food served and activities offered. And, consequently, they may favor (or not) some places because of how these sites prepare food according to the original recipes and so maintain “authentic” food and ambience.

The experience of the Brazilian habitué at these restaurants is not uniform. For some, the way Brazil is presented is flattering and a source of a contentment, as in “Every time that I see a

Brazilian flag or any kind of poster that reminds me of Brazil I get quite happy” (Anonymous, December 9, 2010), or “[I feel] praised by Japanese when they represent Brazil in their imagery. Although Brazil is seen as a violent country by Japanese media, people who love Brazil usually represent the country through its happy side, such as soccer, carnival, and so on” (Anonymous, December 7, 2010). Some of the Brazilians I interviewed dwell in the positive image that these places use to portray Brazil. Others, on the contrary, are irritated by the stereotypical and sexualized imagery used to decorate places, “When they use images of women dressed for the carnival, it means they are almost naked, and I feel quite bad.” (Anonymous, December 8, 2010). They shared frustration about the limited portrayal of Brazilian culture, which has reinforced stereotypes and puzzlement about what it is considered Brazilian.

The type of Japanese patrons who go to these sites are seeking opportunities to cultivate and deepen an interest in a particular Brazilian cultural form via a holistic approach to learning about Brazil. These sites offer the opportunity to meet Brazilians - who feel appreciated, almost like celebrities - as well as like-minded Japanese from whom they can also learn and/or share knowledge.

For Ko, a dedicated Japanese male, dancing Samba is his passion. Some time ago, a colleague of his invited him to attend a Samba class. For him it was love at first sight. After he began dancing regularly, he decided to move to Brazil. When I met him, he was back to Tōkyō for a few months after living in Brazil for one year. As evidence of his enamoredness with Brazil, Ko said his year in abroad passed “as fast as a blink of an eye.” Part of his time was spent teaching Japanese at a Japanese-Brazilians school in Sao Paulo, and another part went to dancing. We talked about the style he likes the best; he showed me several clips of his favorite dancer, Salghiero, stored on his cell phone. I asked him if his expectations of Brazil were met when he

traveled there. This question brought about a series of comparison between his ideas of Brazil before and after he lived there.

Ko is one of the primary dancers at the *Liberdade Escola do Samba*. He does not miss an opportunity to dance Samba and goes regularly to Saci Perere. In addition, he is attending Portuguese language classes at Sophia University twice a week, and attends the classes offered at Café do Centro in Hibiya once a week. He pursues these activities to keep up with his Portuguese language abilities in preparation for his return to Brazil.

Similarly, Matsuo (Japanese) attends performances because of the attachment he feels for Brazil. I began chatting with him at a performance at Espeto. He was singing all the songs and even had the words of the songs printed out. He kindly offered to share with me the piece of paper where the lyrics were written, which initiated our conversation. “I love Brazil,” he confided. He has travelled extensively throughout the country, and admitted that the first time he visited Brazil was during the carnival. “*Brazil? Shock desu!* (Brazil? It’s shocking!),” he said several times. And yet, he felt so attracted to it that he had to go back many times. He goes regularly to Espeto as a way to sustain his passion for Brazil and its music and dance.

Noriko (Japanese) whom I met at a Samba performance at Espeto expressed a similar feeling of having been overwhelmed by inspiration. Noriko said that she has been dancing Samba for over fifteen years. When I asked what moved her to start dancing, she answered,

“One day, while I was visiting New York City, I was reading this magazine editorial. It was about Samba and the love this person had for Samba. It struck me and I felt so strongly in my heart that I had to start dancing Samba — it was like a call” (Noriko, personal conversation, November 19, 2009).

Noriko dances regularly at Espeto Brazil and other venues. She is one of the many patrons that fully embrace this network of places that nurtures interests in Brazil. The night I met

Noriko at Espeto, I also noted how the majority of the visitors were women and they seemed to know each other. During my conversation with Noriko, I was told many of them were from the same Samba school in Yokohama and the women were there to support the dancers, friends of theirs.

When a Brazilian visits these places they face certain expectations, such as their being able to dance Samba or possess the ability to display a sense of humor in spontaneous dance moves. In this case, Soares (1998) notion of performing Brazilianess by staging it applies quite aptly, as it relates to how we perform behavioral stereotypes to meet expectations in a certain setting. These Brazilians express their Brazilian heritage as if they were performers on a stage (Soares, 1998, p. 290). Equally, in inhabiting a non-Japanese (mainstream) place makes it also possible for the Japanese clientele *to stage the self by performing the other*. In fact, in these places, Japanese patrons seem to free themselves from Japanese norms and act, especially toward non-Japanese looking customers, in some unexpected ways, or in ways that are believed to be Brazilian.

In a Brazilian restaurant, some Japanese people behave as they think a Brazilian would behave and try to perform the other. This allows a Japanese person to act in certain ways, like talking with strangers and being friendly, that are rarely entertained in Japanese culture, but are supposedly traits attributed to being Brazilian. In a Brazilian environment, they are temporarily able to behave differently, and furthermore, able to behave as they imagine and/or expect a Brazilian person would behave. At Que Bom for example, while I was sitting at a table with a friend, Japanese customers sitting next to me began dancing and shaking their bodies in front of me, as if they were inviting me to dance. I was instantly perplexed and so was the Brazilian friend who happened to be accompanying. This friend commented that perhaps it happened

because we were in a Brazilian restaurant and maybe because I am not Japanese looking (and would have not therefore been bothered by such behavior).

Summary

These sites tend to be located in central wards. Brazilian cuisine and its consumption are instrumental and fundamental in their qualification as ethnic restaurant, but their role is not as central in the making and experiencing of these places as in the others discussed in the former chapter.

The proprietors of these restaurants may have opened the restaurant as a way to capitalize on a niche market or diversify the type of business that they may already run, and yet what they do with the place is not exclusively business and/or profit making related. These places exemplify commercial space whose “forms of hospitality and hospitableness between hosts and guests, and between guests and guests, are not confined solely to the economic” (Latham, 2003; Bell, 2007). The types of interactions that occur, in fact, speak to an exchange that goes beyond its monetary value and point to an intrinsic value.

The management has an open and participatory method of running the place, especially in the way it includes Brazilian performers/artists and the patrons in its making. This approach to management facilitates the making of a place that gathers different types of people, enables cross-cultural dialogue and allows for learning over time as the place establishes itself in a community of individuals interested in Brazil.

This group is comprised of the places that first brought Brazilian music and/or dance to Tōkyō and have the longest life span so far. They paved the way in bringing Brazilian cultural elements into Tōkyō’s urban landscape. These are places where pockets of intercultural competence are developed and mediated by the events offered. The places consistently bring in

Japanese interested in Brazilian dance and music. The Japanese are then given the opportunity to cultivate their passions/interests through their experiences. And the Brazilians (Japanese or not) who live in Tōkyō go to these places as performers or patrons to support the artists, enjoy a familiar meal, or simply to find themselves in a welcoming environment –regardless of how limited its depiction of Brazil is.

In fact, in all of these places, there was a relatively homogenous type of performance scheduled (usually Samba) as well as decorative imagery used to visualize/represent Brazil. What seems to be a source of frustration is the limited portrayal of Brazilian culture, which prompts the Brazilians who do have access to these places to use them as springboard to widen and deepen the scope of knowledge that people in Japan generally have about Brazil. It became apparent how Brazil is symbolized and imagined in these places through the recurrent use of the cultural and iconic repertoire generated by the Brazilian state. Since the 1930s, when the State of Bahia and its main city Salvador were sanctioned as the birthplace and continuing source of authentic Brazilian national culture, the religion of Candomblé, the martial art Capoeira and the dance and music of Samba have become a set of state-nationalized cultural objects (Hedegard, 2011, p. 6).

Through this wide variety of activities, the sites attract a diverse clientele, as there is something for everybody. The restaurants then become a place for gathering, often acting as a cultural community center and point of reference for Brazilians and Japanese interested in Brazilian culture alike.

For the Brazilians living in central Tōkyō, these sites offer the opportunity to network with fellow nationals, develop support groups, get information, deal with the *Saudade* (nostalgia), or simply be a place where they can hang out, find shelter and nurture weak ties (Granovetter,

1973). In these places, Brazilian artists and performers living in Tōkyō find a fertile ground that allows them to partake in - if not to openly lead- the programming and the overall placemaking processes occurring in these sites. Also, as places to stage and perform Brazilianess, they have offered to some Brazilians a possibility to reinvent themselves and feed into the Japanese imaginary of Brazil, which has raised intra-ethnic controversies on cultural representation along the real Brazilian divide mentioned in Chapter 3.

The actions of Noriko and Matsuo shed light on the relationship between the place and its recipients in two main ways. Firstly, they signal how the place exists as an expressive outlet - a springboard for placemaking activities leading to the creation of a social space. Espeto (or places like it) allows the Norikos, Matsuos and others like them, the opportunity to nurture and share their interests and passions, including Brazilian music and/or Samba dance, by providing a space where people like Norikos can dance, watch and nurture friendship with her friends from the Yokohama Samba school, and people like Matsuos can sing along. Their actions contribute in the making of these places. In this way, these places thrive because of a shared passion for Brazilian culture and a common need for an expressive outlet. The patrons are far from being a passive audience because even their presence contributes actively in the ongoing placemaking process. Those who pursue artistic interests and passions, such as Brazilian music and/or Samba dance, Noriko, Matsuo and others like them, carve a niche for themselves in their everyday lives. Espeto would not be the same place if these particular patrons were not present. Patrons such as Noriko and Matsuo are leaders of a place-based shared meaningful experience –hence, the place becomes a social space.

Secondly, the reason that brings Noriko and people like her to the place suggests how this type of place is not a stand-alone entity, but part of a larger network of Brazilian related activities

sustained by the people that move in and out of these places. Moreover, the movement across these places is also determined by the places' insertion in a larger landscape of Brazil related activities, such as the Asakusa Carnival, or Brazilian Day in Yoyogi Park. These sites exemplify Oldenburg's (2001) notion of third places because they lie between work and home. The restaurants do function as mixers, but not for the visitors and predecessors of a local, neighborhood-based community. In fact, their community is a non-proximal type of community. It is a community of affinities constituted around Brazil, Brazilian, and Brazilianess. They stand as focal points for Brazilians and Japanese interested in Brazilian culture. And, in the way they emerge, these "'in-between' spaces provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood—singular or communal—that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation, in the act of defining the idea of society itself" (Bhabha, 1994, pp. 1-2).

These sites are not limited to the economic exchange. The use value of what is exchanged supersedes the exchange value. They are ethnic restaurants opened to serve ethnic food, but their management is inclusive and makes the staff as well as the clientele part of its programming. The management may have an open and collaborative perspective in running the place; especially in the way it includes Brazilian performers/artists and the patrons in its functions. This approach to management facilitates the making of a place that gathers different types of people and provides them with entertainment, cross-cultural dialogue and learning opportunities. The management style is vital in establishing a place that openly supports a loose community of individuals interested in Brazil.

There is a strong entertainment aspect to each of these places. Communities of practice around music, dance, and or other interests, tend to be formed here. These sites serve as vehicle to cultivate broader knowledge about Brazilian culture, but it is unclear to what extent they are

successful when they may be “rooted in misinterpretations and inadequate conceptualizations of what one does know about those cultures” (Narayan, 1995). However, these performances are usually framed in mainstream terms, such as Bossa Nova, Samba, and futebol – they rarely transgress stereotypes and assumptions about Brazilians. Nevertheless, the inhabitation of these places and the sharing of interests related to Brazil allow patrons to relate to each other and emerge as a loose community of engaged participants. This loose community then meets in these (as well as other) sites or locations that host Brazilian culture related activities and events. These restaurants bring people from different backgrounds together in ways that provide them with the opportunity to break out of fixed patterns of interaction and learn new ways of being and relating (Amin, 2002).

CHAPTER 7. BRAZILIAN RESTAURANTS AS PLACES FOR INTERCULTURAL ENGAGEMENT

“New social relationships call for a new space, and vice versa” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 59)

In this chapter, I present Brazilian restaurants as places for intercultural engagement. The Brazilian restaurants that belong to this category facilitate experiences of intercultural learning, understanding and engagement between Japanese and Brazilians as they operate as cultural centers in disguise and offer the possibility to co-create the environment of a place. I begin by introducing the proprietors; next, I transition to the places and then the patrons. At the end of this chapter, I discuss how each of these factors contributes to the making and experiencing of the restaurant as a place for intercultural exchanges.

The places that best illustrate this type of ethnic restaurants are: Copo Do Dia and Aparecida in Nishi-Ogikubo, and Alvorada in Kichijoji.

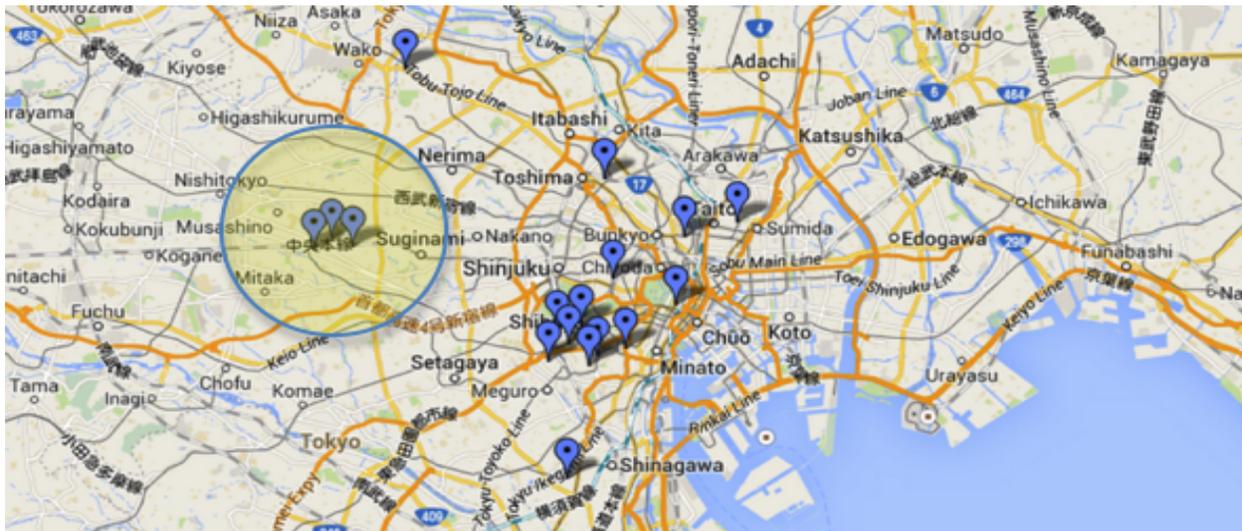


Figure 7. Location of Brazilian restaurants as places for intercultural engagement

The proprietors

These restaurants' proprietors tend to be Japanese and the opening of their respective restaurants often results from a personal journey of engagement with Brazilian culture. The journey may have begun through a passion for music, the opportunity to travel to Brazil and/or the reconnecting of familial ties. Then, as the passion or new interests were cultivated over time, the opening of a restaurant marks the deliberate investment into a personal involvement with Brazilian culture. Therefore, the imprint of the proprietor is inevitably significant in regards to the name and physical properties of place.

Shiori and Sosuke (Japanese) run Copo do Dia. Shiori's mother and uncle migrated to Brazil after World War II. Whereas her mother's residence in Brazil lasted only few years, it ended up having a long-lasting effect on Shiori as she was growing up. Shiori's mother would not share much about her experience in Brazil, but, from time to time, it trickled down here and there, like in the way she prepared Shiori's *obento* (lunch box) for school. Her mother used to add black beans, which is not typically Japanese. Shiori grew more curious by the day and wanted to discover more, as she felt this place called Brazil did affect who she was, even though her mother continued to remain unforthcoming. This is when Shiori opened the big picture album she placed in front of us during the interview at Copo do Dia. The album was full of black and white photos, aged, like the ones I noticed on the wall next to the entrance. There were pictures of her mother taken in Brazil and Shiori directed my attention to one in particular. It was the picture of a house. In fact, it was the house where her mother lived while in Brazil. This house was particularly meaningful and was the reason that she and her husband set out to go to Brazil and find out if it was still standing.

Shiori and Sosuke travelled all the way to the village where Shiori's mother lived. They brought the picture of the house and showed it around in the hope someone would recognize the place and directed them there. To their incredulity, that was exactly what happened, and they were able to locate the house. This experience deepened interest in Brazil and its culture, and prompted them to open Copo do Dia, rather than work as *salary-men* in a Japanese company. Shiori and Sosuke runs Copo as a team and think of it as something to enjoy on a daily basis. In fact, the name stands for a cup a day, or of the day, and the reason why it is called Copo do Dia.



Picture 32. Copo do Dia proprietors

Johnny (Japanese) first encountered Brazil through its music. Since a very young age, Johnny used to listen to music of different genres, with a special interest in jazz, both old and modern styles. Then one day, as he was watching a music program on television, he had the opportunity to listen to Brazilian music and since then, he has never stopped listening. As his passion and knowledge about Brazilian music grew, he began writing a blog about Brazilian music and traveled to Brazil as often as he could, depending on his work and time availability. Then, after some time of unemployment, part of which was also spent in Brazil, Johnny decided

to invest in his passion and opened *Aparecida*. A peaceful and serene place, as the name he hoped would suggest, *Aparecida* was opened with the intention of being a venue where people could go and listen to Brazilian music and learn more about Brazil. Unflinching, Johnny is readily knowledgeable of concerts or performances of Brazilian artists coming through Tōkyō and currently has several music-related publications under his name, including a monthly publication called *Cordera*.



Picture 33. *Aparecida* proprietor

Matsumoto (Japanese), once a freelance photographer who travelled extensively through Brazil, decided to leave his photographic work behind and give himself a new career. He wanted to invest in something different that he was passionate about. He also wished to recreate a little bit of Brazil in Tōkyō, and so he decided to open a luncheonette (a small and informal restaurant) and bar called *Alvorada*.

Naming has the power of call something into being, to make something invisible visible and impart a certain character to things (Tuan, 1991). Naming also reveals aspiration and a sense of intentionality. This became apparent in my conversation with Matsumoto when I asked about the reason why *Alvorada* was selected as a name for this place. Matsumoto named his establishment *Alvorada* to reflect his own new beginning and make it visible and tangible. In fact,

Alvorada means dawn, the beginning of a new day, in Portuguese. He was calling into being his aspiration to start an uncharted adventure and new phase in life. The choice of Alvorada, as a name, brought about hope, promises and possibilities to Matsumoto. On September 7, 2004, Alvorada opened its doors. The date had a symbolic meaning too. It has “double meaning: Brazil’s independence, and my own independence,” Matsumoto shares (personal conversation, August 6, 2010).



Picture 34. Alvorada proprietor

Talking with Matsumoto and the other proprietors in this chapter helped me make an important distinction in the processes leading to the opening of a Brazilian restaurant and its patrons. For the Brazilian proprietors, serving good and authentic Brazilian food may be the main motivation in opening a restaurant, and for the patrons who go to those restaurants, consuming it may be the main reason to visit. For the proprietors of these smaller restaurants, who are rarely Brazilians, the main motivations slightly differ as well as the reasons that bring patrons to these places. Food is still a significant source of revenue for the business, but these Japanese proprietors have other types of aspirations in running a Brazilian place and their patrons may also seek more than just food.

Johnny, for example, is openly committed to widening Japanese people's knowledge of Brazil, "beyond the Ipanema stereotype," in his own words. He wants to widen the horizon of what people in Japan generally know about Brazil. Recently, thanks to events such as Brazilian Day in Yoyogi Park, the Asakusa Carnival in Tōkyō and the increased hype about soccer in Japan, which is a sport in which the Brazilian teams and players excel, there may be more familiarity with Brazil and its dynamic culture. And yet, as Johnny laments, there is still a quite limited knowledge of Brazil and its people, "there is more than Samba [in Brazil], it is as if all people in the world think that Japanese are samurai" (personal conversation, July 26, 2010).

Johnny wants to break stereotypes and help disseminate a less commercialized view of Brazil and its culture. He created a place for people to gather as if in Brazil. He also wanted to create a place for people to gather in tranquility. This is how Aparacida was visualized and set up – designing it into an unpretentious place – just like a *barzinho* (bar) on the beaches of Brazil. In 2006, Johnny propitiously decided to locate Aparacida in Nishi-Ogikubo because it is served by the Chūō train line, historically associated with going through places of culture, movies, and music. In speaking with him, it became apparent that nothing was left to chance. Each detail in the making of Aparacida was intentional and directed toward the making of the venue as a place to know more about the reality of Brazil. Similarly, Copo do Dia, has been created with the intention of being a place where people could just go and have some quality time and feel comfortable in sharing their everyday experiences. As Shiori and Sosuke shared during our conversation, they were concerned with running a sustainable business, but it was not just about business, they wanted to create a place where people interested in Brazilian culture could visit, dwell, feel welcomed and experience *afetividade* (affection).

These Japanese proprietors build their credibility in creating and running a Brazilian place working in close collaboration with Brazilians living in Tōkyō. In the eyes of Brazilians, they would be those Japanese who are more Brazilians than the Brazilians, and whose interest in Brazil and its culture is beyond a hobby and more of a lifestyle, which is appreciated by Brazilians themselves. This speaks to the distinction that one of my informants, Matheus, made between two types of Japanese who are into Brazilian things: the Yuichi and the Paulo's types (personal conversation, June 5, 2012).

Yuichi loves Bossa Nova. Yuichi is learning Portuguese from Matheus to understand Bossa Nova songs. For Matheus, Yuichi is not really engaged with Brazilian culture. For Matheus, he is just enjoying it, it's entertainment for him. All Yuichi wants to talk is about music, although Bossa Nova, Matheus reiterates, is not common in Brazil, it's like *enka* in Japan. Yuichi exclusively connects Brazil to Bossa Nova, though Bossa Nova songs refer to something that does not exist anymore in Brazil. They are songs about a past long gone. Then, there is Paulo. Paulo acts like a Brazilian. Matheus recalls that when he met him, he introduced himself as "Paulo," not by his Japanese name. Paulo has some family member who migrated Brazil. He has a connection to the place, and when he talks about Brazil, "you can see his enthusiasm." Paulo's desire to learn about Brazil led him to work in a Brazilian restaurant; Carioca, where many Brazilians go. He works in the kitchen and learns recipes from the cook, who is also Brazilian. "Paulo *wants* to be Brazilian," Matheus emphatically adds.

Thus, according Matheus, there are these two types, and many Japanese people he knows fall into these two typologies. "Some of them buy our culture. They like soccer, they like Samba, but they are just buying and enjoying, it's a matter of pleasure. But for others, it is more than that. It's not just buying, it's being part of that. You can see in his eyes (Paulo), when he is talking

about Brazil, he lights up, he acts different, he is happy just by talking to a Brazilian” (personal conversation, June 5, 2012). The proprietors of the places in this category, much like the patrons who inhabit these places (as will be presented later) belong to the Paulo type in their determination to create a Brazilian place in Tōkyō.

The places

In this part of the chapter, I present the places according two of its foundational aspects, that is: location and locale. When writing about the location, I considered the area, the place’s visibility, and the overall surrounding. The locale was examined according the layout, the size, the hours of operation, the menu, the imaging, the availability of promotional material, and the staff as key elements framing the place as a setting. The sense of place, as the third foundational aspect of place, will be discussed concomitantly the patrons, in the section that follows the one on the places.

These places tend to be located in secondary or even tertiary streets. From the street, their presence is marked and made visible by the usual Brazilian flag and a lit street signage in green and yellow. There may be other commercial activities in the near surrounding areas, but rarely in a similar or complementary sector. They tend to be open only during evening hours, and because the nearby businesses are closed, they emerge as landmarks –like Brazilian islands- in otherwise isolated surroundings.

Copo do Dia is located in Nishi-Ogikubo and has a quaint storefront entrance with a big window from which natural light comes through during the day. Aparecida is also located in Nishi-Ogikubo, but on the opposite side of Copo, and in a tertiary street on the second floor of a building. Its entrance is indicated by a street signage put on the sidewalk when the shop is open,

but its presence is made more *visible* at night by the light shining out from the window and especially by the music emanating from the inside when there are live performances.



Picture 35. Aparecida

Alvorada is located along train tracks at the east of Kichijoji station, in the basement of “a little bit sad looking building” (Izumi33, 2007). There is relatively intense foot traffic in front of it because it is also close to a more famous establishment. Open only during the evening hours, people find it thanks to the vibrant street signage and lighting that mark its presence in the dark. A relatively wide flight of stairs and the signage next to the door signal its entrance.



Picture 36. Alvorada street view

Size wise, these venues are the smallest. They can accommodate about fifteen/twenty people. Typically, they are comprised within a square room with a bar counter and few tables; they are places that can be embraced in their entirety in a glance.

When opening the door that leads inside Alvorada, a very colorful square room welcomes you. The first time I visited, no one else was there, but the place did not feel empty. Customers may have not been there, but their presence was somehow felt in the way the place reflected its having been used. It was not a sterile environment. A lot of yellow and plenty of Brazilian novelty items full of personal touch characterized its stimulating décor. Each corner (and even the ceiling) was covered with Brazilian-themed artifacts. There was a shelf with Brazilian products, such as coffee and beans on sale. A card box with T-shirts on sale was placed on a large speaker. A colorful mural and capoeira items were also on the wall, alongside instruments dispersed throughout the space. Little round chairs were piled up and perhaps used to accommodate guests during more crowded times. It felt little bit messy, but it also felt as a multipurpose place that offered something to everybody. I could not absorb it all at once and the more time I spent looking around, the more details and small objects I would notice.



Picture 37. Alvorada decorations

The walls displayed a regional map of Brazil, the Brazilian flag and posters of events, some of which were current and some of which had passed. The walls seemed to operate as an open archive. I could imagine how each single item could elicit a conversation between Matsumoto and his guests or among the guests themselves. The round tables seem to be able to

accommodate about five persons comfortably, and adding the few seats at the bar, the restaurant's seating capacity stood at about 20. I could see that the tables and chairs could be moved around to make space, or moved closer together to accommodate larger groups.



Picture 38. Alvorada interior

Alvorada and Aparecida differ in terms of access. In the case of Aparecida, instead of going down, a steep flight of stairs takes the patron up to its entrance. Otherwise, they share many characteristics, beginning from the walls of the stairwell, that are crowded with posters, cards, and fliers of all sizes calling attention to events, old and new. The accumulation of these promotional materials forms a sort of palimpsest of successive Brazilian related events and happenings, tracing the history of Brazilian events in Tōkyō.



Picture 39. Aparecida stairwell and decorations

Similarly, at Alvorada, right in front the entrance there was a bar counter where magazines and CDs were on display as well as many other little trinkets. The lighting and overall use of yellow and green created a warm and colorful atmosphere. In the left hand side corner sit an audio system and shelves lined up one after the other. In one of the shelves, there was a Brazilian music vinyl record collection, followed by library filled with an extensive CD collection, hinting at the significant role that music played in this venue. On top of the shelves, on display and for purchase there were all sorts of trinkets, dolls, pins, stones, masks, instruments, key chains, framed autographs, and beer advertisements – a non exhaustive list. There were two small tables for about eight seats, but additional folding chairs were pulled out when more guests need to be accommodated.

In this place, the gadgets, ornaments, clothing, accessories and items colored in yellow and green are all material expression of Brazilian culture, reinforcing the association with Brazil, for Brazilians and non-Brazilians alike. These objects serve as a means for recognition of Brazilian affiliation and provide a sense of belonging. Hence, these places, as they function of point of sales for items that are hard to find in generic retail stores, also provide material means for the building and recognition of communal affinities. They gather likeminded people who are

associated with the same interest and cultural affinity towards Brazil, what Remy and Kopel (2002) would identify as communitarian valorization, because they act as meeting place around linking objects (p.40).



Picture 40. Aparecida interior

Copo do Dia had a more sober, less intense design. A sliding door opened into a small bar area, with warm lighting and an overall rustic, yet comfortable ambience. This was perhaps thanks to the wood floor and wood tables. The walls were relatively empty when compared to the other two places. They were not decorated, but a big jute coffee bag, “Café do Brasil,” was placed on one far green wall. A bookshelf was full of promotional material on display and a barrel was used to exhibit music CD on sale. The other items on sale were lined up on the bar deck, mostly involving coffee, beans and primary ingredients for Brazilian cuisine. A few square tables were arranged on the right and I have witnessed how they were moved around to create space in the middle to use the wall as a screen for the projector.



Picture 41. Copo do Dia street view and entrance

The sustainability of these places as businesses seems to be made possible by diversified streams of income, coming from the sales of food and refreshments, but also from the items sold on the premises and the small fees that are charged when performances, events or other functions, such as language courses, are hosted. And, given the relatively smaller scale of business, these places are usually run and waited only by the proprietor, who may hire additional staff only for busier days, including weekends. The proprietor selects the helping staff on the base of their

knowledge and/or familiarity with Brazil and Brazilian culture - speaking Portuguese is considered an advantage.

The patrons

The sites that belong to this category are far from what is expected for a typical restaurant to look like; they more closely resemble living rooms because of their intimate and personalized ambience. There is an abundance of information and details. Given the relative lack of popularity of things Brazilian, they fill the demand for patrons seeking out more information and details about Brazil, information that is not readily available anywhere else. They do sometimes attract patrons who may be walking nearby, but given their location and relative absence from the main food blogs, the usual patrons tend to be people who find them for what they offer besides food and go there with a purpose. In these instances, these sites operate as informal learning centers for patrons who want to know more about Brazil and they also act as places where a past and existing connection to Brazil can be cultivated.

The physical dimensions of these places ease interaction across tables and the small area becomes conducive for conversation. The simple act of sitting next to each other can easily inspire people who may initially be strangers to talk to each other. Or, if the owner happens to have known you because it is a return visit, s/he may take the initiative in making introductions between visitors, especially if they are sitting next to each other. What results is a simple, informal conversation about an interest the proprietor knows the clients may share. This happened to me, at least few times, especially when some type of event was going on. Once at Aparecida, a lesson of Carioca Portuguese was already started and I was promptly invited to join. The restaurant can then become a familiar place for all patrons where relationships are built and

the roles of proprietor and patrons are blurred. This is the case when a transition is made from a status of unknown guest to participant in the function of a place.

When asked what was unique about his Brazilian restaurant, Matsumoto answered ‘communication.’ He explicitly used the word in English (we were communicating in Japanese) to indicate how in his place enabled a special and rather unusual atmosphere for the patrons of all background. His patrons were friendly and talkative, even with the strangers sitting near them (S. Matsumoto, personal conversation, August 6, 2010). I wondered if it was simply the notion of claiming to be a Brazilian place that elicited a different type of behavior. This being said, I also noticed how the rather informal look, size, and vibe of the venues seemed to contain the conditions for the patrons to seek out connection with each other. The restaurants gave the impression of someone’s living or dining room.

Food service and consumption is a secondary aspect in the making and experiencing of this category of place. There is a menu –sometimes only one page and fully written in Portuguese- that offers a limited number of food entrees, but it seems more of an afterthought. In fact, some of these sites may not have served entrees at the very beginning, maybe only snacks and drinks. Over time, they may have added and diversified their operations to include more food, perhaps as another way to attract more patrons and/or vary the sources of income to sustain their business. And, since serving food is not central in their making, although they are listed as restaurants, these sites are seldom mentioned in food blogs. Even so, they are regularly well attended for their unique offerings, which are advertised through their own social media platforms and also by word of mouth among people who are interested in learning more about Brazil.

The diversity and breadth of activities and uses seem to play a more significant role in the experiencing of these places as intercultural environments. These are sites where Brazilian music is played, travels to Brazil are organized, where Carioca Portuguese (and not *just* Portuguese) is taught, and where presentations about Brazil are organized in collaboration with local student organizations. Moreover, if music is played, for example, it will not only be the Brazilian music that often gets played in every Brazilian restaurant, but it will include genres that are rarely played nor listened to in the other venues. In other words, the other places introduce Brazilian culture; while in these places ‘advanced’ Brazilian knowledge and learning are fostered.



Picture 42. Forró at Aparecida

Every activities is arranged to be as Brazilian as possible, meaning not only that Brazilians are involved –as performers, or as teachers, but also that every attempt is made to assure the event is accurate. As a blogger commented, “this is a bar that tried to stay true to real Brazilian style bar. Everything on the menu is listed in Portuguese. Not such a thing as draft beer on the menu, they offer *Skoll* or *Furama* which are Brazilian canned beers. [...] The patrons are majority musicians and capoeirista and former Japanese officials who stayed in Brazil and Brazilians. [...] You can experience a real Brazil here” (Cangaceiro, 2009).

The Japanese patrons who inhabit these sites tend to either have a past personal connection with Brazil, like Naomiki, or are in the process of making one, like Katsuo, to whom I now turn. I met Naomiki (Japanese), sitting at the counter of Alvorada. Matsumoto made the introductions and soon after, without any prompts on my side, a conversation about his time in Brazil ensued. Naomiki has travelled extensively throughout Latin America, but mostly in Brazil. He lived there for two years at the end of the 1980s, working as a gaucho in the *fazenda* (farm) of Hiroo Onoda. He considered staying in Brazil, but felt he had to contribute to Japan's economic growth and, thus he decided to come back.

Once back in Japan, Naomiki kept his connection to Brazil alive through his relationship with the Brazilians who were living and working at the same Japanese company he worked at. As we were talking, he eagerly opened his office bag, pulled out a small photo album and showed me a picture of a soccer team. It was the picture of his 1992 *futebol* team. He explained how that team was composed of all Japanese-Brazilians who he personally helped to hire through his company. Brazilians, he added, were usually hired for low-skilled, low paid positions, the so-called 3 Ks jobs in Japanese (*kitanai*, *kitsui*, *kiken* dirty, demeaning, and dangerous), although "they all have degrees in their country." So, he did all he could do to have Brazilians (Japanese-Brazilian) hired. Five of them now work in the Brazilian branches of his company. He remembered the hardships the Japanese in Brazil faced and explained he did his best to ease the living conditions of those Brazilians who were now living in Japan. Naomiki is a loyal patron. He goes to Alvorada at least once a week after his English lesson in a nearby language school. Matsumoto's place helps him feel connected to Brazil. He seemed eager to share his memories of Brazil with me. Naomiki keeps himself informed on Brazil related events and was happy to donate to Matsumoto and me his tickets to the screenings of a film titled *Lonely Swallows* (2011)

directed by Nakamura, that he had purchased but could no longer attend. He was very interested in seeing this about Brazilian youth living in Japan and the challenges they face.

I met Katsuo (Japanese) for the first time at Aparecida when I went to attend a Carioca Portuguese class. Four other people were sitting around the tables of Aparecida participating in the conversational language class, but Katsuo was the most talkative. We rode the train back together and I had the opportunity to ask him some questions about his interest in learning Portuguese. Katsuo explained he was planning to move to Brazil in about a year. In preparation, he is studying Portuguese, reading Brazilian literature and playing *chocalho* (shakers) at the *Liberdade Escola de Samba*. At each of these events and activities, his network of like-minded people with a similar interest in Brazil expands and provides him with opportunities to learn more about Brazil while still in Tōkyō.

When I asked him what triggered his interest, Katsuo shared how he is an avid follower of soccer and he really likes the Brazilian teams. So, it was initially through sports that he became interested in Brazil. However, he is not simply following a team anymore, he is actually making the choice to relocate himself in Sao Paulo. To better understand his motivation, I asked “Why Brazil? Why would you like to live in Brazil?” Katsuo did not take too long to answer and without hesitation said: “its diversity.” After a short pause, he added that Brazil may not be the safest or the most secure place to live, and that he knows how chaotic and even dangerous perhaps it may be, yet, he rather be there. He still prefers the idea of living in Brazil than in an organized but strict Japan. Brazil attracts him because “it is a lively place. People may not have all the comforts that Japan offers. But it is a place where people seem happy” (personal conversation, June 7, 2012). This was a contrast that I often heard when I asked to my interviewees what about Brazil was attractive for them.

Katsuo found a Brazilian social space in the *Liberdade Escola de Samba* where “many like him” gather (personal conversation, June 8, 2012). The Escola does not meet in a permanent site but uses public municipal halls that are spread throughout Tōkyō during the cold seasons and moves their practices to parks during spring and summer. When the Escola meets, the practice lasts for about eight hours.

I joined Katsuo one Saturday and I had the opportunity to see how the day of practice unfolds. There are the musicians, the dancers and who practice their parts separately in the morning and then rehearse together in the afternoon. I was under the impression that many of the participants have been practicing for a long time. I could also recognize a few people who I had seen dancing at Saci Perere or playing at Que Bom, confirming the idea that different patrons and places connect throughout a network of Brazil related cultural activities located in Tōkyō. The restaurants more than other establishments become a permanent point of reference in the fleeting cultural landscape.



Picture 43. Liberdade Escola de Samba practice

There were experienced dancers and musicians, as well as less experienced ones. The practice days were also used to introduce new accolades to the Escola. Usually brought in by someone who already belongs to the Escola, the new participants are introduced to the entire group at the end of the day when the entire group comes together and comments on the day's performance. During this time, the new participants are asked to give a short introduction and share what motivated them to join. In this practice and sharing of knowledge or experience, it is evident that people wish to keep alive and grow the local community of Japanese interested in Brazilian culture, at least in some aspects of it. Katsuo, as well as other people I met at practice, frequents Aparecida, Escola and similar establishments because they offer him not only the means to nurture his interest and learn about Brazil and its culture, but also the opportunity to belong to a community made up of affinitive individuals.

During a visit at Copo do Dia I had the opportunity to attend a seminar organized by the *Associação Nipo-Brasileira de Intercambio ANBI* (Association of Exchange Japan-Brazil). As soon as I arrived, Shiori recognized me and introduced me to another patron who has been traveling to Brazil and teaches Portuguese. Initially I thought everybody knew the place because they seemed very comfortable, but then I realized they were all new not only to the place, but also to each other.

There were two main presentations: one from a researcher who gave an overview of the geography and history of the country, and the other from someone who travelled to the Amazon and was sharing about her travel. I counted almost 25 people in this very tiny place. Several of the people making up the audience had been in Brazil and they were all more than willing to share about their own travels in Brazil. This included Shiori, who shared parts of her story on different occasions throughout the event. Her connection with Brazil through her mom and uncle as well as her personal travel experience seem to give her credibility to host this Brazilian activity for the use of the other patrons.



Picture 44. Copo do Dia

The presenters also invited questions from the people in the audience. Several questions were asked about the trips, the challenges faced, and the content of the pictures themselves. As

conversations after the presentation ensued, a few of the people in the audience shared their own experiences of Brazil. It became an opportunity to advertise other events and activities and concluded with the sharing of name cards.

Summary

These places offer a diverse range of activities helping to widen and deepen the knowledge that Japanese people may consider to know about Brazilian culture. Patrons of these sites seem to follow Heldke's (1993) appeal about eating ethnic in an "anti-colonialist mode" through a variety of practices used to acquire knowledge about the cultural contexts of ethnic food. In some instances, this raised cultural awareness and knowledge lead not only to reflection and understanding, but also to engagement and action intended to ameliorate the conditions of Brazilians living in Japan.

The significance of the interactions and engagements that occur in these places in relation to interculturalism is manifold. The role that the proprietor plays in sharing her/his own cultural competences and thus making an imprint on the place is a key factor in setting the scene. As intercultural agents, the proprietors of these types of place are aware of Brazil related current events that happen in Tōkyō and they often collaborate within a network to organize such functions. The events they plan are aimed at presenting a wide and diverse understanding of Brazil. Their motive is clear. As Johnny has stated, "there is more than Samba to Brazil."

The proprietors set the terms of hospitality, which implies that the host has the control to determine the welcoming conditions of any environment. However, once the threshold is crossed, the patron does not stay as a guest, in other words a passive recipient of hospitality, but becomes vital in the co-creation of these sites *as* community spaces. In this way, hospitality emphasizes recognition from both sides, that "keeping the door open does not simply refer to opening the

doors to a stranger, [but also] refers to the act of engaging with the stranger” (Dikeç, 2002, p. 236). The processes of placemaking as led by the patrons, who are assumed mutually open and hospitable, then complement the placemaking processes initiated by the proprietors.

In fact, these venues operate as community spaces in the offering of workshops, Portuguese classes, talks or other events on almost a daily basis. Some of the interactions that occur during such engagements help to consolidate familiar ties, while others may broaden new ones. Overall, they each foster the building of a community of affinities and practitioners including Brazilians and Japanese through the facets of Brazilian culture. Therefore, in spite of their relatively small size, these venues have an extensive outreach operating as hubs of a network of Brazil-themed activities.

These places attract Japanese as well as Brazilian clientele. The Japanese clientele may go because they are interested in learning about or engaging with the culture and possibly to keep a tie with Brazil alive. Some of them may have lived in Brazil, while others may be planning to live to Brazil, and these places are local sources of knowledge they can try to acquire before going. The venues are discovered either through their online presence on social media platforms (although they are not as covered on Tabelog), or more effectively through word of mouth. Only occasionally, people enter without a cue other than the signage on the street.

Brazilians patrons may find these places to exhibit a genuine appreciation of Brazil due to the rather unusual breadth of knowledge about Brazil that the proprietors have and the welcoming approach the Japanese patrons may have toward them. One of my Brazilian informants commented on the scarce media coverage that the Brazilians and their societal contributions receive. In fact, for example, whereas *Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai* (NHK), the Japanese public television services, hosts Italian, Spanish and other language courses, no Portuguese is

taught (Matheus, personal conversation, June 5, 2012). They are places where people can receive personal insight about the Brazilian community living in Japan and find opportunities to become actively involved in this community.

CHAPTER 8. INTERCULTURAL PLACEMAKING

In this study, I intended to enrich our understanding of ethnic restaurants as places in relation to interculturalism. The main questions that drove this research were:

- In what ways do Brazilian restaurants serve as places of intercultural interaction and understanding between Japanese and Brazilian people in Tōkyō?
- How and under what conditions, can urban places, like ethnic restaurants, enable interculturalism?

Through these and a related set of questions, I used an intercultural lens to examine how each restaurant in this study was made, produced, and experienced – known as the concurrent processes of placemaking. This process-oriented approach allowed me to distinguish different types of intercultural experience and the overall conditions that contribute to these occurrences in Brazilian restaurants in Tōkyō. It can be concluded that the different forms of interculturalism result from significant variation within the main factors that contribute to the experience of the restaurant as a place. These variations could be observed in the characteristics, intentions, motivations and management styles of the proprietors, in where the place was located and how it presented itself in terms of layout, design, usage and activity, and in the characteristics and motivations of the patrons. The orchestration of these various factors affected the type of intercultural interaction and experience occurring within its premises.

Thus, three main types of Brazilian restaurants emerged in relation to interculturalism. These are:

- Ethnic restaurants as places for intercultural encounter through food, mostly of a commodified nature and of a side-by-side co-existence. These are sites where

intercultural is defined by and limited to the consumption of Brazilian cuisine. The encounter with Brazil is mediated by and developed around food and the ways it can be prepared and/or consumed.

- Ethnic restaurants as places for intercultural exchange that lead to the development of intercultural competence besides food consumption. These are sites where consuming food is secondary and mostly nested in other experiences aimed at learning and/or practicing a particular type of activity related to Brazilian culture (this being music, dance, or sport). Interactions are unique in offering the possibility to learn about new cultural activities and/or practice.
- Ethnic restaurants as places for intercultural engagement where learning, communicating and understanding about Brazil, its culture, and the Brazilians living in Tōkyō is fostered and expected. These are sites where people gather to share knowledge and learn from each other through a multiplicity and diversified range of activities aimed at widening and deepening the commonly known elements of the Brazilian cultural landscape. In these sites, a pluralist transformation of place occurs.

In the Brazilian restaurants that tend to enable intercultural encounters through food, new modes of consuming food are presented by the proprietors and learned by the patrons. The configuration of these places falls into what we can consider a typical restaurant. The proprietor, generally Japanese-Brazilian, capitalizes on his/her ethnicity and tends to be motivated by the intention of offering good and authentic Brazilian food. The intercultural encounter is experienced as a *silo* type of experience, segregated and contained by the table the patrons are sitting at. If any interaction happens it is primarily with the staff. If the employees are Brazilian, there is a conceived aura of foreignness and authenticity to the experience for the Japanese

patron. The clientele may return to the place but does not actively seek relationships with fellow patrons or proprietors. The patrons are interested only in eating the food and enjoying the convivial atmosphere. The nature of contact is co-presence and limited to the time spent at the restaurant. The food satisfies the curiosity of a culinary omnivore/tourist, even though sometimes the Brazilian flavor is adjusted to cater to the taste preferences of a widely Japanese clientele.

In the Brazilian restaurants that function more as performance spaces, food is important yet secondary in the ways the place is generally experienced. The performance spaces enable forms of exchange based on the acquisition of new knowledge, the learning of new skills or the practice of old ones. Dancing Samba, playing Bossa Nova or learning Portuguese are some of the offerings that attract Japanese patrons to the places. The activities are mostly framed around the Japanese mainstream understanding of Brazil and therefore somehow selective and even stereotypical. However, even in their limited scope of cultural appreciation, Brazilians (Japanese or not) are offered places for employment and the opportunity to create a career for themselves though not void of covert intra-community tensions.

In the Brazilian restaurants that resemble a personal living room rather than a typical restaurant, the experience is more likely to take on a form of intercultural engagement. This type of restaurant redefines and expands the role, the function and the meaning of a restaurant in relation to interculturalism. These sites, through an ensemble of key elements such as their configuration and uses, offer opportunities for intercultural engagement between Japanese and Brazilians living in Tōkyō. The proprietors, who tend to be Japanese, are themselves culturally competent and create places based on those competencies with hopes of sharing them with a larger public. The places are informal and intimate, and in spite of their size, which is the smallest when compared to the others, their outreach is the largest and comprises a community of

Japanese interested in a more holistic approach toward Brazilian culture. In these places, as Conradson (2003) writes, “social encounters are relatively informal and can quickly become familiar or home-like through repeated visits, but they are neither completely incidental like meetings on the street, neither organized and purposeful as ‘micro-publics’ such as sports clubs and drama groups” (as cited in Valentine, 2008, p. 331)

It goes without mentioning that these distinctions are not as clear-cut as I may have presented them here. Characteristics sometimes overlap in the in-between types. Place, as a process and as a product, is a complex phenomenon. Yet, the distinctions made throughout this study are useful for heuristic purposes and contribute to relevant thought and conversations about how urban places like ethnic restaurants serve as incubators and vehicles for interculturalism. These distinctions provide insight into a theory of intercultural placemaking. Each type of intercultural experience is relational, meaning that it is a result of the relative processes of placemaking that affect the tangible dynamics of the place as well as the way the place is experienced or perceived. In other words, interculturalism needs place to occur, but place by itself is not a sufficient.

In the figure that follows, I present a summary of the findings pertaining to the different type of intercultural experiences that the ethnic restaurants as part of this study may enable.

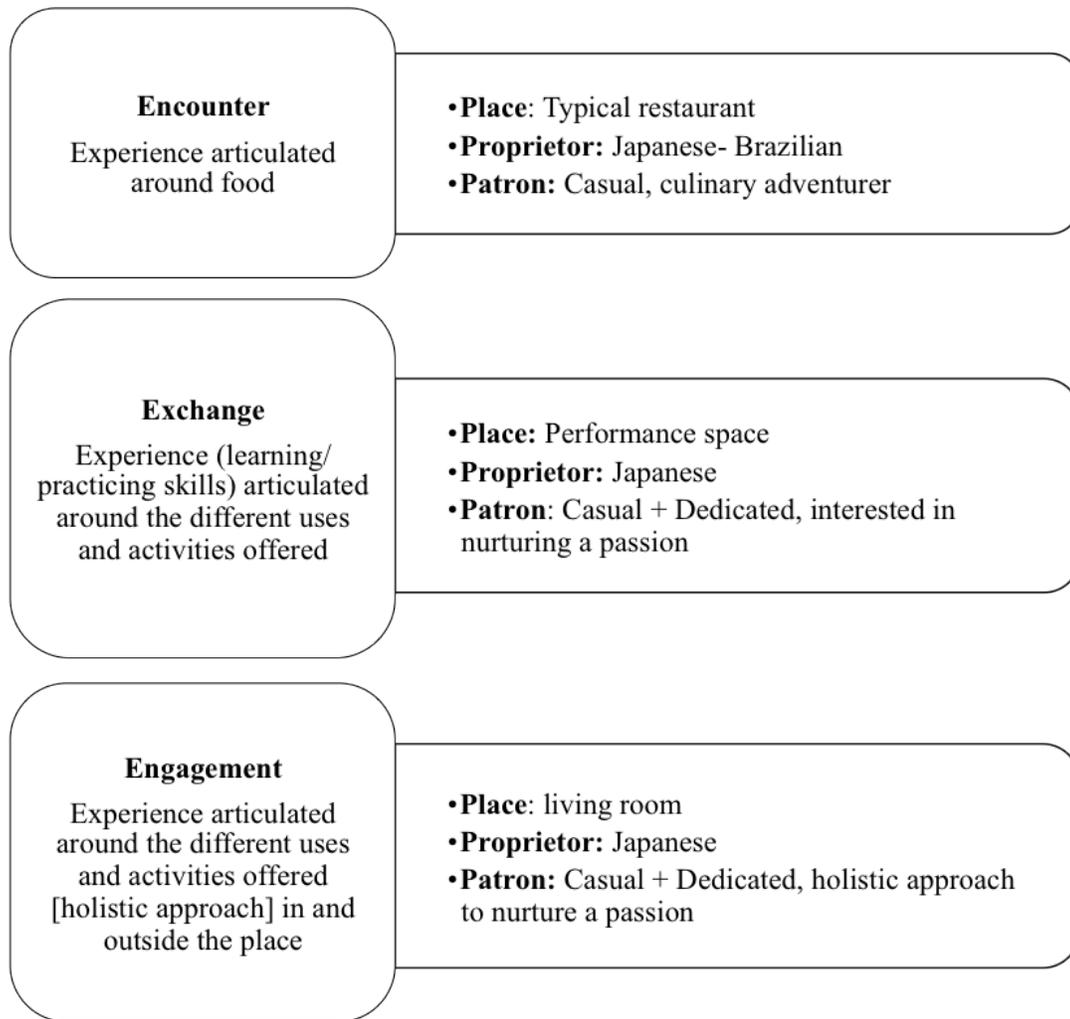


Figure 8. Relation between type of intercultural experience and the main characteristics of the places, proprietors, patrons

Intercultural placemaking as a relational theory

Based on the findings and acknowledgement of the site-specific circumstances and social relations that allow these places to function as they do, I extracted key factors, conditions and processes and present a theory of intercultural placemaking that could inform the planning process to encourage interculturalism in every place. The model in the Figure 9 below visualizes how the theory is relational in nature and results from the orchestration of three main factors: the curator, the place and the inhabitant. Each actor contributes to the making and experiencing of

place as an environment conducive to intercultural interactions that go gradually from an initial encounter to deeper engagement. These factors are foundational to a theory of intercultural placemaking.

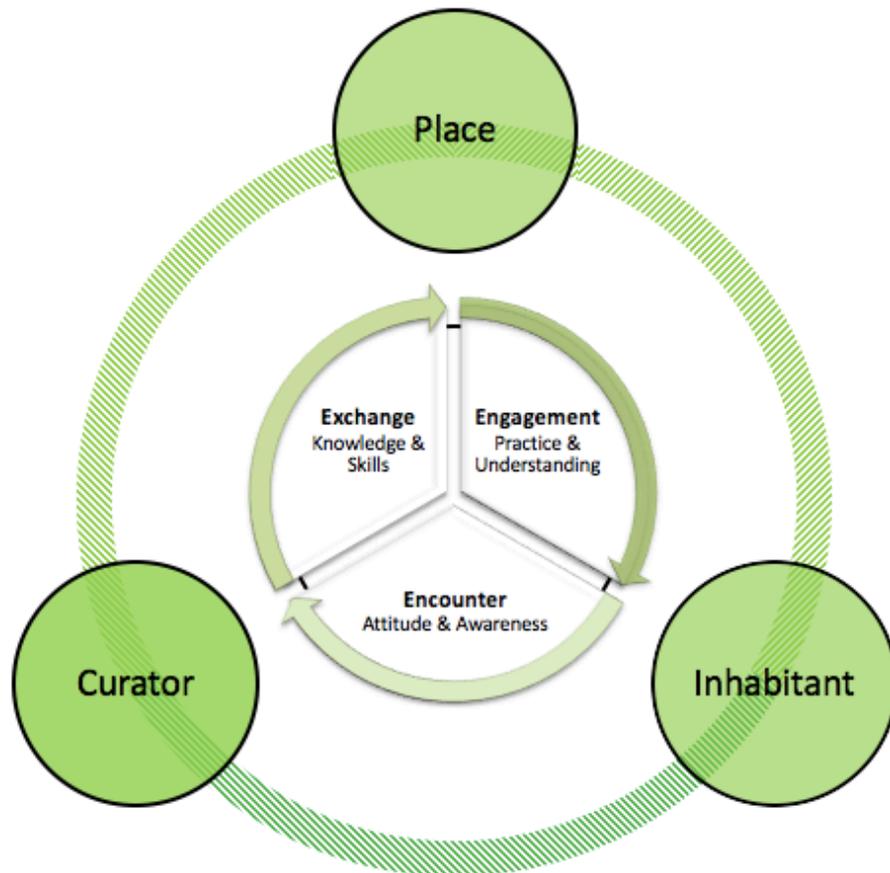


Figure 9. Factors in intercultural placemaking relational theory

The closer examination of the individual characteristics and intentions of the proprietors provided insight into their involvement in the making of a Brazilian restaurant and the variety of places they helped create. In this theory, the proprietor becomes the curator of the place to fulfill the role of ownership and management. The curator may not be the sole proprietor but can involve whoever is in charge of organizing and looking after the place. The curator perspective attends to the making and nurturing of cultural awareness, knowledge and skills, in other words,

cultural competence. The curator is intentional in making an intercultural imprint on the place to begin a virtuous cycle of intercultural community building. Hence, intentionality in creating a place where people can learn about each other's culture is key to type of place that emerges. As curator of the place, s/he must be also attentive to how the inhabitants respond to place and adjust accordingly.

The place's size, layout and offerings set the tone for what the place encourages and stands for. The size plays an important role in creating (or not) proximity, revealing it is easier for smaller places to allow for communication between strangers. When the layout of a place is flexible, the ways it can be used and experienced expand the opportunities for intercultural exchanges and the learning of intercultural competencies. Based on the findings, the places that were most conducive to a limited intercultural encounter were the ones that left no space to uses other than food consumption, and the ones most conducive to intercultural exchange and engagement allowed for uses other than food making and its consumption. When the spatial layout clearly determines the uses of the place, the uses are more limited. Diverse uses and functions allow for multiple points of entry and enable different types of intercultural experiences, recognizing that inhabitant will enter the place with different intercultural orientations to build upon.

An inhabitant's responsiveness to an intercultural experience entails not only curiosity and openness as inherently intercultural attitudes, but also the ability to be sympathetic and perceptive to what the place offers. The inhabitants are motivated by different reasons to visit a place and knowledgeable to varying degrees, which affect how s/he will respond to the place and contribute to the further development of knowledge and skills. In a mutual relationship with the curator, the inhabitants themselves become curators of the place. When a place is produced by

the multiplicity and iteration of interactions and not simply consumed by the patrons, it offers the possibility for individuals to make an impact/impression on the place and affect its definitive character. Engaged proprietors implement this infrastructure of place that activates processes of placemaking as a transformational experience. Such an experience upholds the right to the city discourse and so honors the inter-prefix of interculturalism. By embracing and acting upon new, learned cultural practices through food, music, dance, and other forms of interaction, the inhabitants become curators and key intercultural agents in the making of these places. They are not left to fulfill roles of passive recipients of a place that others have created without their involvement. In a virtuous cycle, the relation among these factors will reinforce the cultivation and growth of intercultural competencies and sensitivities. Such a cycle will also contribute to the making of places as intercultural incubators that foster positive attitudes and awareness, provide opportunities for the acquisition of new knowledge and skills and promote not only understanding, but lead to the practice of such understanding.

Concluding thoughts

Sandercock (2003b) in a comment on planning in the ethno-culturally diverse city asks how society could establish civility and then conviviality across cultural difference. The author recognizes the emerging language of *interculturalism* as an important theoretical shift in multicultural discourse and policy for its emphasis on cross-cultural activities, dialogues and organizations. In the area of planning for encounter, conviviality and convivial places, the implications of interculturalism are considered crucial in enabling transformative interactions (Fincher and Iverson, 2008) and vital for civil society to thrive (Douglass, 2002).

Place is not inherently endowed with intercultural properties nor inherently convivial, and yet, with the right props and rules (Pettie, 1998), it can be convivial and operate as an informal

and liminal sites of intercultural learning, friendship, belonging and even personal reinvention as this study of Brazilian restaurants in Tōkyō has shown. Whereas there are restaurants whose interactions are mediated and limited to food consumptions, others – part of a larger network of Brazil-related cultural activities - are at the threshold for intercultural encounters between Japanese and Brazilians. The latter restaurants openly provide opportunities for individuals to navigate different cultures and their respective systems of meanings and enable transformative interactions. Their staff may ask for pictures from their patrons to put on their walls or provide a place for *omiyage* (gifts) that patrons bring from their travels to Brazil. The management continuously opts for outside participation in organizing its programming. The place then belongs to both the proprietors and patrons who actively contribute to its making through inhabitation and participation in the various activities that unfold in the space. These places and the interactions that occur within them are small yet significant steps that move us closer metaphorically and physically to the cultural other that is encountered within (Sandercock, 2003). In these restaurants, everyday experiences of interculturalism can be localized as they are lived and embraced by society.

Do these places contribute to the changing of perception of mainstream Japanese society into a more politically and informed understanding of Japanese-Brazilians and Brazilians in general? The ability of these places to affect the political discourse may be limited and the power of these small places may not automatically translate to influence mainstream society. As a modern metropolis in perpetual motion, Tōkyō has become a habitat where land ownership is increasingly concentrated, where neighborhoods have lost their social fabric, and an overall “collapse of the meaning of public space” can be registered (Douglass, 1993, pp. 111-113).

Moreover, as noted in an earlier chapter, immigration policies and the mainstream political discourse limit the status of foreigners to temporary foreign workers.

This became particularly evident at the onset of the Japanese economic recession in 2008, when Japanese-Brazilians, considered exclusively as foreign workers, were offered cash payments of nearly \$4,000 to go back to Brazil on condition that recipients would leave Japan permanently. This “emergency program” was later renegotiated, but it made Japanese-Brazilians aware of the ways the Japanese government deemed them disposable workers. Tatsuhiro Ishikawa, a ministry official in charge of foreign labor, was reported saying, “The ethnic Japanese from abroad have been particularly hit hard. They’re often the first ones to be fired just because they’re foreigners” (Coleman, 2008). Consequently, by 2011, Sasaki (2013) reports that the population of Japanese-Brazilians in Japan had fallen by about a third and repatriations to Brazil came to exceed arrivals in Japan (cited in Kingsberg, 2015).

However, the contribution of these places cannot be neglected or entirely dismissed, and their existence needs to be valued, appreciated and cherished. I agree with Roberts (2003) when she writes that Japanese society is more open to the possibility of multiculturalism and multi-ethnicity than it is usually portrayed in media (p. 295). In these places, I observed instances of Japanese people’s openness to a diversity of peoples and re-orientation of people to deep cultural exchanges, especially when located at the margins of the metropolis suggesting a transformational potential at these spatial interstices. The exchanges that occur in those sites, as places of hope, could count as evidence that Tōkyō’s internationalization is no longer limited to the making of the city into a world financial center and command post for transnational systems of production and trade (Douglass, 1993).

In these restaurants, aspects of a culture other than that of the Japanese mainstream are offered and hence consumed, but more so, another culture is represented and imagined, adapted and negotiated. These are places where the consumption of food may lead to the ingestion of new information and a personal enactment that may ignite journeys of personal as well as social transformation. These are spaces “characterized not so much by ‘great leaps forward’ in ‘appreciating difference’, but more about incremental changes in disposition and the opening up of boundaries” (Wise, 2005, p. 102). Cultural diversity is negotiated in place, and rather than searching for a once-and-for-all Cosmopolis fix, the socio-political and economic institutions and urban spaces they require to flourish are in constant flux and site-specific. In conclusion, they are extraordinary and subversive places that by the very fact of their existence become islands of intercultural exchange and are precious and important to Japan, a country where competence in living with the cultural other has a long way to go before being fully developed.

APPENDIX A. Guiding questions in examining interculturalism in place

Attitudes
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What is it in the place that makes me think/that I could use as evidence that the proprietors/patrons hold attitudes of curiosity, respect, and openness? 2. What is in the place that I could use as evidence that it promotes respect, and openness?
Awareness
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What is it in the place that makes me think/that I could use as evidence that the proprietors/patrons are aware of preconceived notions about Brazilians? 2. What is it in the place that makes me think/that I could use as evidence that the proprietors/patrons are aware of the major issues of Brazilians residing in Tōkyō? 3. What is in the place that makes me think/that I could use as evidence that the proprietors/patrons are aware of how Brazilians in Tōkyō are recognized, included, and represented?
Knowledge
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What is it in the place that makes me think/that I could use as evidence that the proprietors/patrons have or are developing culture-specific knowledge? 2. What is in the place that foster knowledge of Brazil, Brazil, Brazilian culture, and Brazilians living in Tōkyō?
Skills
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What is it in the place that makes me think/that I could use as evidence that the proprietors/patrons are learning to read and/or speak Portuguese? 2. What is it in the place that makes me think/that I could use as evidence that the proprietors/patrons are learning to play/dance Brazilian music and dance? 3. What is it in the place that makes me think/that I could use as evidence that the proprietors/patrons are building and maintaining connection with Brazilians? 4. What is it in the place that makes me think/that I could use as evidence that the proprietors/patrons are creating and establishing relationship with other Brazil-related community partners?
Practice
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What is it in the place that makes me think/that I could use as evidence that the proprietors/patrons are targeting Brazilians in their outreach? 2. What is it in the place that makes me think/that I could use as evidence that the proprietors/patrons are adopting strategies to increase participation of Brazilians and people interested in Brazil? 3. What is it in the place that makes me think/that I could use as evidence that the proprietors/patrons are encouraging cross-cultural dialogue? 4. What is it in the place that makes me think/that I could use as evidence that the proprietors/patrons are offering culturally adapted programs and workshops? 5. What is it in the place that makes me think/that I could use as evidence that the proprietors/patrons are doing something to ameliorate the living conditions of Brazilians?
Understanding
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What is it in the place that makes me think/that I could use as evidence that the proprietors/patrons are widening and/or deepening their understanding of Brazil, Brazilian culture, and Brazilians living in Tōkyō?

APPENDIX B. Interview guide

This research is interested in general in understanding how the urban space becomes spatially multicultural and in particular in documenting the type of places and services available for Brazilians in Tōkyō.

Thank you very much for your time and assistance.

Group 1. On the restaurant in general

Basic info

1. Could you please tell me about the story of your restaurant?
2. Why was it open?
3. When?
4. Why this location?
5. Who choose the name and why
6. Who decorated/designed it?
7. What does it make it particularly Brazilian for you?
8. How did the neighborhood welcome it?
9. What kind of services does it provide?

On the staff

10. How many people work here?
11. Can you tell me about the people who work here and how they are chosen?
12. Is any Brazilian working here? Part of the staff, chef? Will be ok if I want to interview any of them later on?

On the cooking

13. How the cooking is organized?
14. Who prepares the meals?
15. Who decides the menu?
16. Where does one learn the recipe from?
17. Where/how does the restaurant get its supplies?

On the clientele

18. Do you have an estimate of how many people come here per week?
19. Can you tell me the people who come here?
20. Do you have a typical client?
21. Are your customers mainly Japanese?
22. What does it make it particularly Brazilian for your customers?

Other

23. Since it opened, have you noticed any major change?
24. Is there anything you will change?

Groups 2. On the restaurant as place and work

These questions will help me understand the everyday activities of your restaurant in general and your work in particular

25. I have never been in this place, so I don't know what it is like. Could you kindly take me through this place and tell me what it is like, what I would see if I went in it and walked all around? Could you tell me what it is like?
26. Could you please describe the main things that happen while you are here?
27. What are all the things you do while here?
28. Could you tell me of a typical working day/time here?
29. Can you tell me all the things that happen when you come here, from the first moment you walk in to when you finally are done with your work?
30. Could you describe what did you do the last time you came here until you left?
31. You have probably some interesting experiences in this place; can you recall any of them?

Group 3. On everyday life

These questions will help me in finding out about the Brazilian places you attend and/or activities related to Brazilian culture you may carry, how you see things, I want to understand things from your point of view.

On everyday life/ group life

32. Are you used to get together with other Brazilians?
33. How do you know them?
34. Where did you meet them?
35. What do you generally do with them?
36. Can you list me places that you consider Brazilian and/or for Brazilians here in Tokyo?
Any other you can think of?
37. Is there any particular Brazilian place you usually hang out?
38. Is there anything distinct about this place?
39. Could you describe the inside of the place for me?
40. Can you please tell me about how you perceive this place?
41. What is the use of colors?
42. How do you feel about the layout?
43. Is there any particular smell you associate to this place?
44. Is there any particular sound you associate to this place?
45. What kinds of images do stand out for you?
46. If you close your eyes, what would you remember about that place?
47. Is there anything distinct about this place?
48. Could you tell me of a typical time at this place?
49. Is there any particular Brazilian place/activity you will like to see here in Japan?
50. Why do you think it is not here yet, or what do you see as obstacles in its creation?

Group 4. On abstract concepts

As I am working through some abstract concepts, these questions will help me understand what they can really mean to you.

51. If I say, Placemaking, what does it mean to you?
52. If I say, Cosmopolis, what does it mean to you?
53. If I say, Rights to the city, what does it mean to you?
54. If I say, Brazil, can you tell me what images come to you?

REFERENCES

- Adamos. (2010, April 14). Ramos Luis shi purodusu no Burajiru ryōri ten Resutoran Carioca. [Web log post]. A Brazilian restaurant produced by Luis Ramos. In *Tabelog*. Retrieved from <http://tabelog.com/rvwr/adamos/rvwtdl/1577717/>
- Agnew, J. A. (1987). *Place and politics: The geographical mediation of state and society*. Boston, MA: Allen & Unwin.
- Agyeman, J., & Erickson, J. S. (2012). Culture, recognition, and the negotiation of difference. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 32(3), 358-366.
- Aiden, H. S. (2011). Creating the 'multicultural coexistence' society: Central and local government policies towards foreign residents in Japan. *Social Science Japan Journal*, 14(2), 213–231.
- Aldrich, H., & Waldinger, R. (1990). Ethnicity and entrepreneurship. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 5(16), 111-135.
- Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge, MA: Addison-Wesley Publisher.
- Alred, G., Byram, M., & Fleming, M. (2003). Introduction. In G. Alred, M. Byram & M. Fleming (Eds.), *Languages for intercultural communication and education: Intercultural experience and education* (pp. 1-13). Buffalo, NY: Multilingual Matters.
- Alred, G., Byram, M., & Fleming, M. (2006). Education for intercultural citizenship. In G. Alred, M. Byram & M. Fleming (Eds.), *Education for intercultural citizenship: Concepts and comparisons* (pp. 233-234). Buffalo, New York: Multilingual Matters.
- Amin, A. (2002). Ethnicity and the multicultural city: Living with diversity. *Environment and Planning A*, 34, 959-980.
- Appadurai, A. (1986). On culinary authenticity. *Anthropology Today*, 2(4), 25.
- Appadurai, A. (1990). Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy. *Public Culture*, 2(2), 1-24.
- Augustí-Panareda, J. (2006). Cross-cultural brokering in the legal, institutional and normative domains: Intercultural mediators managing immigration in Catalonia. *Social Legal Studies*, 15(3), 409–433.

- Bader, V. (2005). Ethnic and religious state neutrality. In H. G. Sicakkan & Y. Lithman (Eds.), *Changing the basis of citizenship in the modern state*. Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press.
- Barbacoa. 2007. In *Metropolis*. Retrieved from <http://archive.metropolis.co.jp/tokyo/447/restaurants.asp>
- Beauregard, R. A. (1993). *Voices of decline*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Bell, D. (2007). The hospitable city: Social relations in commercial space. *Progress in Human Geography*, 31(1), 7-22.
- Bennett, M. J. (1986). A developmental approach to training for intercultural sensitivity. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 10(2), 179–196.
- Bennett, M. J. (2004). Becoming interculturally competent. In J. Wurzel (Ed.), *Toward multiculturalism: A reader in multicultural education* (pp. 62-77). Newton, MA: Intercultural Resource Corporation.
- Beriss, D., & Sutton, D. E. (2007). *The restaurants book: Ethnographies of where we eat*. New York, NY: Berg.
- Bhabha, H. (1994). *The location of culture*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Bloomfield, J., & Bianchini, F. (2002). *Planning for the cosmopolitan city: A research report for Birmingham City Council*. Leicester, UK: Comedia, International Cultural Planning and Policy Unit.
- Bonarmenian. (2008, August 3). Dochira ka to iu to Laibu House. [Web log post]. More like a Live House. In *Tabelog*. Retrieved from <http://r.tabelog.com/tokyo/A1309/.../dtlrvwlst/>
- Booth, T. (2003). Review of the book *Interculturalism, education and inclusion* by British *Journal of Educational Studies*, 51(4), 432-433.
- Bouchard, G. (2011). What is interculturalism? *McGill Law Journal*, 56(2), 435-468.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984 [1979]). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgment of taste*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bredella, L. (2003). For a flexible model of intercultural understanding. In G. Alred, M. Byram & M. Fleming (Eds.), *Intercultural experience and education* (pp. 31-49). Buffalo, NY: Multilingual Matters.
- Bredella, L. (2003). Afterwords: What does it mean to be intercultural. In G. Alred, M. Byram &

- M. Fleming (Eds.), *Intercultural experience and education* (pp. 225-239). Buffalo, NY: Multilingual Matters.
- Buttimer, A. (1971). Society and the milieu in the French geographic tradition. *Association of American Geographers Monograph Series* No. 6. Chicago, IL: Rand Mc Nally Company.
- Byram, M. (2003). On being bicultural and intercultural. In G. Alred, M. Byram & M. Fleming (Eds.), *Intercultural experience and education* (pp. 50-66). Buffalo, NY: Multilingual Matters.
- Calhoun, C. (2002). The class consciousness of frequent travelers: Toward a critique of actually existing cosmopolitanism. In S. Vertovec & R. Cohen (Eds.), *Conceiving cosmopolitanism* (pp. 86-109): Oxford University Press.
- Cangaceiro. (2009, August 29). Caipirinia wa tonai de ichiban oishii to omoimasu. [Web log post]. The best caipirinha in Tōkyō. In *Tabelog*. Retrieved from <http://tabelog.com/en/tokyo/A1319/A131907/13095977/dtlrvwlst/1149660/>
- Cantle, T. (2012). *Interculturalism: The new era of cohesion and diversity*. Basingstoke, Hampshire England: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Carolina. (2009, December 11). Tōkyō de ichiban oishii Pao de Queio. [Web log post]. The best Pan de Queio in Tōkyō. In *Tabelog*. Retrieved from <http://tabelog.com/rvwr/000220863/rvwtdl/1347799/>
- Carter, E., Donald, J., & Squires, J. (1993). *Space and place: Theories of identity and location*. London, England: Lawrence & Wishart.
- Castles, S., & Miller, M. J. (1993). *The age of migration: International population movements in the modern world*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Ceccarini, R. (2010). *Artisanal pizza in Japan: A case of culinary globalization* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Sophia University, Tōkyō, Japan.
- Cecilo. (2008, May 5). [Saibō setsubō do kaikyū rebiew] jizen no taichō kanri to junbi undō mo banzen ni chikachika zei tomo saibō o <3. [Web log post]. [Strong desire to re-review in the future] but condition your body before visiting and in the near future I would like to return. In *Tabelog*. Retrieved from <http://tabelog.com/rvwr/cecilo/rvwtdl/522239/>
- Charmaz, K. (2000). Grounded theory: Objectivist and constructivist methods. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 509-535). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. New York, NY: Sage.
- Cherrier, P. (2011). Between Brazil and Japan: Identities out of place. *GEMC Journal*, 8, 142-151.
- Chung, E. A. (2010). Workers or residents? Diverging patterns of immigrant incorporation in Korea and Japan. *Public Affairs*, 83(4), 675-696.
- City of Yokohama (2010). Foreign residents. Retrieved from <http://www.city.yokohama.lg.jp/ex/stat/jinko/index-e.html#03>.
- Coleman, J. (2007, January 24). Foreigners, if conspicuous, hard to fit in. *The Japan Times*. Retrieved from <http://kti.ms.mff.cuni.cz/~kucerap/denicky/japonsko2006/clanky/foreigners/search.japantimes.co.jp/print/nn20070124f1.html>
- Coleman, J. (2008, October 30). Foreigner workers are first to feel impact of economy's slowdown. *The Japan Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2008/10/30/national/foreign-workers-are-first-to-feel-impact-of-economys-slowdown/#.VjqLw3hm3FI>
- Conley, V. A. (2002). Chaosmopolis. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 19(1-2), 127-138.
- Conradson, D. (2003). Spaces of care in the city. *Social and Cultural Geography*, 4, 507-528.
- Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (1990). Grounded theory research: Procedures, canons and evaluative criteria. *Qualitative Sociology*, 13(3-21).
- Cresswell, T. (2004). *Place: A short introduction*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Cwiertka, K. (2003). Eating the world: Restaurant culture in early twentieth century Japan. *European Journal of East Asian Studies*, 2(1), 89-116.
- Cwiertka, K. (2005). Culinary culture and the making of a national cuisine. In J. Robertson (Ed.), *A companion to the anthropology of Japan* (pp. 415-428). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- De Carvalho, D. (2003). Nikkei communities in Japan. In R. Goodman & C. Peach (Eds.), *Global Japan: The experience of Japan's new immigrant and overseas communities* (pp. 195-208). New York, NY: Routledge Curzon.

- Deardorff, D. (2006). The identification and assessment of intercultural competence as a student outcome of internationalization at institutions of higher education in the United States. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, Fall(10), 241-266.
- Debito, A. (2013, July 3). Police “foreign crime wave’ falsehoods fuel racism. *The Japan Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/community/2013/07/08/issues/police-foreign-crime-wave-falsehoods-fuel-racism/#.VjqPAHhm3FI>
- Dikeç, M. (2002). Pera peras poros, longings for spaces of hospitality. *Theory, Culture & Society* 19(1–2), 227–247.
- Doi, T. (1992). An inside look at Japanese food service. *Cornell Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly*, 33(6), 73-84.
- Douglass, M. (1993). The 'new' Tokyo story: Restructuring space and the struggle for place in a world city. In K. Fujita & R. C. Hill (Eds.), *Japanese cities in the world economy* (pp. 83-119). Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Douglass, M., Ho, K. C., & Ooi, G. L. (2002). Civic spaces, globalization and Pacific Asia cities. *International Development Planning Review*, 24(4), 345-361.
- Douglass, M., & Roberts, G. S. (2003). *Japan and global migration: Foreign workers and the advent of a multicultural society*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press.
- Emih. (2009, March 22). Niku matsuri wa nazeka tenshion ga agaru. [Web log post]. We somehow got excited with meat festival. In Tabelog. Retrieved from <http://tabelog.com/rvwr/000137504/rvwtdtl/899344/>
- Entrikin, J. N. (1991). *The betweenness of place*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Eric43 (2006, February 13) Sashi Perere. [Web log post]. Saci Perere. In *Tabelog*. Retrieved from <http://r.tabelog.com/tokyo/A1309/.../dtlrwlst/>
- Farrer, J. (2010). Eating the west and beating the rest: Culinary occidentalism and urban soft power in Asia’s global food cities. In J. Farrer (Ed.), *Globalization, food and social identities in the Asia Pacific Region*. Tōkyō, Japan: Sophia University Institute of Comparative Culture.
- Ferrero, S. (2002). Comida sin par. Consumption of Mexican food in Los Angeles: "Foodscapes" in a transnational consumer society. In W. Belasco & P. Seranton (Eds.), *Food nations: Selling taste in consumer societies* (pp. 194-219). New York, NY: Routledge.

- Feuchtwang, S. (2004). *Making place: State projects, globalisation and local responses in China*. London, England: UCL Press.
- Fincher, R., & Iveson, K. (2008). *Planning and diversity in the city: Redistribution, recognition and encounter*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Finkelstein, J. (1989). *Dining out: A sociology of modern manners*. New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Flowers, P. R. (2012). From kokusaika to tabunka kyōsei. *Critical Asian Studies*, 44(4), 515-542.
- Fontana, A., & Frey, J. (2000). The interview: From structured questions to negotiated text. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 645-672). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Francks, P. (2009). *The Japanese consumer*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Friedmann, J. (2007). Reflections on place and place-making in the cities of China. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 31(2), 257-279.
- Garrett, B. L. (2011). Videographic geographies: Using digital video for geographic research. *Progress in Human Geography*, 35, 521-541.
- Girardelli, D. (2004). Commodified identities: The myth of Italian food in the United States. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 28(4), 307-324.
- Goto, J. (2007). Latin Americans of Japanese origin (Nikkeijin) working in Japan: A survey. *World Bank Policy Research Working Papers*, n.4203. Washington, DC.
- Granovetter, M. S. (1973). The strength of weak ties. *American Journal of Sociology*, 78(5), 1360-1380.
- Gupta, A., & Ferguson, J. (1997). Beyond "culture": Space, identity, and the politics of difference. In A. Gupta, J. Ferguson, L. H. Malkki & J. Durham Peters (Eds.), *Culture, power, place: Explorations in critical anthropology* (pp. 33-51). Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Hall, S. (1993). Culture, community, nation. *Cultural Studies* 7, 349-363.
- Hall, S. (2000). Conclusion: The multi-cultural question. In B. Hesse (Ed.), *Un/settled multiculturalisms : Diasporas, entanglements, "transruptions"* (pp. 209-241). New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.
- Hamai, K., & Ellis, T. (2006). Crime and criminal justice in modern Japan: From re-integrative

- shaming to popular punitivism. *International Journal of the Sociology of Law*, 34(3), 157–178.
- Han, S. M. (2004). From the communitarian ideal to the public sphere: The making of foreigners' assemblies in Kawasaki City and Kanagawa Prefecture. *Social Science Japan Journal*, 7(1), 41-60.
- Happymaki. (2009, February 22). Kyujitsu no ranchi wa ikanai hōga. [Web log post]. Maybe better not to go on week-end lunches. In *Tabelog*. Retrieved from:
- Harami-Man. (2010, April 19). Zuibun kireina Rio de Janeiro. Ryori to caipirinha to tanoshii fun iki wa chanto Burajiru. [Web log post]. An extremely clean Rio de Janeiro, authentic Brazilian cooking caipirina and ambience. In *Tabelog*. Retrieved from <http://tabelog.com/rvwr/haramiman/rvwdtl/1610244/>
- Harvey, D. (1985). The geopolitics of capitalism. In D. Gregory & J. Urry (Eds.), *Social relations and spatial structures* (pp. 128-163). New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.
- Harvey, D. (1989). *The Condition of Postmodernity*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Harvey, d. (2008). The right to the city. *New Left Review*, 53(September-October), 23-40.
- Hasegawa, T. (2007). *Brazilian values and the Japanese*. Retrieved from <http://club.ri2660.gr.jp/stage/GSE/gse96/2660eb/Hasegaw.htm>
- Hatenagoya. (2009, September 10, 2009). Barbacoa Grill [Web log post]. In *SunnyPages*. Retrieved from http://www.sunnypages.jp/travel_guide/tokyo_restaurants/brazilian/Barbacoa+Grill/558/reviews
- Hedegard, D. (2013). Finding 'strong' and 'soft' racial meanings in cultural taste patterns in Brazil. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 36(5) 774-794
- Heldke, L. (1993). Let's eat Chinese: Cultural food colonialism. *Gastronomica* Vol. 1, No. 2 (Spring 2001), pp. 76-79
- Higuchi, N., & Tanno, K. (2003). What's driving Brazil-Japan migration? The making and remaking of the Brazilian niche in Japan. *International Journal of Japanese Studies*, 12(1), 33-47.
- Holmes, P., & O'Neill, G. (2012). Developing and evaluating intercultural competence: Ethnographies of intercultural encounters. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 36(5), 707– 718.

- Holston, J., & Appadurai, A. (1996). Cities and citizenship. *Public Culture*, 8, 187-204.
- Hongo, J. (2008, June 19). 'Nikkei' craft own unique ethnicity, samba to manga. *Japan Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2008/06/19/national/nikkei-craft-own-unique-ethnicity-samba-to-manga/#.Vjqclnhm1II>
- Ishi, A. A. (2003). Searching for home, wealth, pride and class: Japanese-Brazilian in the land of yen. In J. Lesser (Ed.), *Searching for home abroad: Japanese Brazilians and transnationalism* (pp.74-102). Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Ishi, A. A. (2008). Between privilege and prejudice: Japanese-Brazilian migrants in "the land of yen and the ancestors". In D. B. Willis & S. Murphy-Shigematsu (Eds.), *Transcultural Japan: At the Borderlands of Race, Gender and Identity* (pp. 113-134). Durham, NC: Routledge.
- Ishige, N. (2001). *The history and culture of Japanese food*. New York, NY: Kegam Paul.
- Isin, E. F. (2000). Introduction: Democracy, citizenship and the city. In E. F. Isin (Ed.), *Democracy, citizenship and the global city* (pp. 1-22). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Izumi33. (2007, February 11). Auborada. [Web log post]. In *Tabelog*. Retrieved from <http://r.tabelog.com/Tokyo/A1320/.../dtrlrvwlst>
- Japolitina. (2010, June 30). Samba ga aru toki ni zehi. [Web log post]. Try when they have samba! In *Tabelog*. Retrieved from <http://tabelog.com/rvwr/japolatina/rvwddl/1804787/>
- Johnston, J., & Baumann, S. (2007). Democracy versus distinction: A Study of omnivorousness in gourmet food writing. *American Journal of Sociology*, 113(1), 165-204.
- Kashiwa2. (2007, May 17). Koko no chika ni wa nani ka ga aru. [Web log post]. Here in this basement there is something. In *Tabelog*. Retrieved from <http://tabelog.com/rvwr/kashiwa2/rvwddl/234450/>
- Kingsberg, M. (2015). Repatriation but not "Return": A Japanese Brazilian dekasegi goes back to Brazil. *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, 13(13) 2, April 6. Retrieved from <http://http://japanfocus.org/-Miriam-Kingsberg/4304/article.html>
- Komai, H. (2001). *Foreign migrants in contemporary Japan / Translated by Jens Wilkinson* (English ed.). Melbourne, Australia: Trans Pacific Press.
- Krogstad, A. (2004). From chop suey to sushi, champagne and VIP lounge. *Social Analysis*, 48(1), 196-217.

- Kuper, H. (2003). The language of sites in the politics of space. In S. M. Low & D. Lawrence-Zúñiga (Eds.), *The anthropology of space and place: Locating culture* (pp. 247-263). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Kymlicka, W. (2003). Multicultural states and intercultural citizens. *Theory and Research in Education* 1(2), 147-169.
- Latham, A. (2003). Urbanity, lifestyle and making sense of the new urban cultural economy: Notes from Auckland, New Zealand. *Urban Studies* 40(9), 1699–1724.
- LeFebvre, H. (1991 [1974]). *The production of space*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- LeFebvre, H. (1996 [1968]). The right to the city. In E. Kofman & E. Lebas (Eds.), *Writing on cities* (pp. 63-181). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- Leftcoastchic. (2010, February 24). Kigaru ni Barubacoa. [Web log post]. Barbacoa in a casual way. In *Tabelog*. Retrieved from <http://tabelog.com/rvwr/leftcoastchic/rvwdtl/1458625/>
- Lesser, J. (2003). *Searching for home abroad: Japanese-Brazilians and transnationalism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Lie, J. (2001). *Multiethnic Japan*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Linger, D. T. (2001). *No one home: Brazilian selves remade in Japan*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Madanipour, A. (1999). Why are the design and development of public spaces significant for cities? *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 26(6), 879 – 891.
- Massey, D. (1994). A global sense of place. In D. Massey (Ed.), *Space, place and gender* (pp. 146-156). Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- McIntyre, C. (1999). *Theoretical considerations in the spatial control of meaning through the mapping and marketing of patrimony in Catalonia* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD.
- Meer, N., & Modood, T. (2012). How does interculturalism contrast with multiculturalism? *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 33(2), 175-196.
- Mikanjiru. (2010, May 24). Aoyama ni inagarani shite Burajiru o kannō dekiru mise. [Web log post]. A restaurant you can enjoy Brazil thoroughly while in Aoyama. In *Tabelog*. Retrieved from <http://tabelog.com/rvwr/000324663/rvwdtl/1709648/>
- Ministry of Justice. Foreigners living in Japan. Multiple years. Retrieved from http://www.moj.go.jp/nyuukokukanri/kouhou/press_060530-1_060530-1.html;

- http://www.moj.go.jp/nyuukokukanri/kouhou/press_010613-1_010613-1-3.html;
http://www.moj.go.jp/housei/toukei/toukei_ichiran_touroku.html
- Monaco, J. (2009). *How to read a film*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Morawska, E. (2003). Immigrant transnationalism and assimilation: A variety of combinations and the analytic strategies it suggests. In C. Joppke & E. Morawska (Eds.), *Toward assimilation and citizenship: Immigrants in liberal nation states* (pp. 133-176). New York, NY: Palgrave and Macmillan.
- Mori, H. (1997). *Immigration policy and foreign workers in Japan*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.
- Morooka, J. (2006). *The rhetoric of the foreign worker problem in contemporary Japan* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from ProQuest Digital Dissertations. (3224014).
- Morris-Suzuki, T. (2010). *Borderline Japan: Foreigners and frontier controls in the postwar era*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press
- Nakamura, M. (Director). (2011). *Lonely swallows: Living as the children of immigrant workers*. Japan.
- Naocoo. (2009, March 19). Churrasco de Burajiru o niku taiken! [Web log comment]. Experience fully Brazilian meat through churrasco! In *Tabelog*. Retrieved from <http://tabelog.com/rvwr/naocoo/rvwdtl/894223/>
- Narayan, U. (1995). Eating cultures: Incorporation, identity and Indian food. *Social Identities*, 1(1), 63-86.
- Ogura. (2009, January 27). Tucano [Web log post]. Retrieved from <http://>
- Oldenburg, R. (2001). *Celebrating the third place*. New York, NY: Marlowe & Co.
- Onikukko. (2009, July 09). Shibuya Tokyu honten soba ni aru, Burajiru restoran. [Web log post]. A Brazilian restaurant near the Tokyu department store in Shibuya. In *Tabelog*. Retrieved from [http:// Tabelog.com/Tokyo/A1303/A130301/13019684](http://Tabelog.com/Tokyo/A1303/A130301/13019684)
- Pettie, L. (1998). Convivial cities. In M. Douglass & J. Friedmann (Eds.), *Cities for citizens: Planning and the rise of civil society in a global age* (pp. 247-253). New York, NY: J. Wiley.
- Pickering, M. (2008). Experience and the social world. In M. Pickering (Ed.), *Research methods in cultural studies* (pp. 17-31). Edinburgh University Press.
- Pink, S. (2007). Walking with video. *Visual Studies*, 22(3), 240-252.

- Pink, S. (2008). An urban tour: The sensory sociality of ethnographic placemaking. *Ethnography*, 9(2), 175-196.
- Poyo. (2008, October 27). Asakusa no Burajiru. [Web log post]. *The Brazil of Asakusa*. In *Tabelog*. Retrieved from <http://tabelog.com/tokyo/A1311/A131102/13031549/dtlrvwlst/715869>
- Pontarō. (2010, April 26). Burajiru ski ni osusume. [Web log post]. *Recommendation to Brazil's enthusiast*. In *Tabelog*. Retrieved from <http://tabelog.com/rvwr/000295930/rvwdtl/1634464>
- Purcell, M. (2003). Citizenship and the right to the global city: Reimagining the capitalist world order. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 273(September), 564-590.
- Purcell, S. K., & Immerman, R. M. (1992). *Japan and Latin America in the new global order*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Rattansi, A. (2011). *Multiculturalism: A very short introduction*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Relph, E. (1976). *Place and placelessness*. London, England: Pion.
- Remy, E., & Kopel, S. (2002). Social linking and human resources management in the service sector. *The Services Industries Journal*, 22(1), 35-56.
- Roberts, G. S. (2000). NGO support for migrant labor in Japan. . In M. Douglass & G. S. Roberts (Eds.), *Japan and global migration: Foreign workers and the advent of a multicultural society* (pp. 275-300). Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press.
- Rogers, A. (2000 [1998]). Introduction: Geography and citizenship *The spaces of multiculturalism and citizenship* (pp. 201-213). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Rose, N. (2000). Governing cities, governing citizens. In E. F. Isin (Ed.), *Democracy, citizenship and the global city* (pp. 95-109). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Saldaña, J. (2009). *Coding manual for qualitative researchers*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Sandercock, L. (1998). *Making the invisible visible: A multicultural planning history*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Sandercock, L. (2003a). *Cosmopolis II: Mongrel cities of the 21st century*. New York, NY: Continuum.
- Sandercock, L. (2003b). Planning in the ethno-culturally diverse city: A comment. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 4(3), 319–323.

- Sasaki, K. (2013). To return or not to return: The changing meanings of mobility among Japanese Brazilians, 1908-2010. In B. Xiang, B. S. A. Yeoh & M. Toyota (Eds.), *Return: Nationalizing transnational mobility in Asia* (pp. 30-47). Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Schiller, N. G., Darieva, T., & Gruner- Domic, S. (2011). Defining cosmopolitan sociability in a transnational age: An introduction. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 34(3), 399-418.
- Sellek, Y. (2001). *Migrant labour in Japan*. New York, NY: Palgrave.
- Shipper, A. (2008). *Fighting for foreigners: Immigration and its impact on Japanese democracy*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Sin, C. H. (2002). The quest for a balanced ethnic mix: Singapore's ethnic quota policy examined. *Urban Studies*, 39(8), 1347-1374.
- Smart, J. (2003). Ethnic entrepreneurship, transmigration, and social integration: An ethnographic study of Chinese restaurant owners in rural Western Canada. *Urban Anthropology & Studies of Cultural Systems & World Economic Development*, 32(3-4), 311-343.
- Soares, L. E. (1998). Staging the self by performing the other: Global fantasies and the migration of the projective imagination. *Journal for Cultural Research*, 2(2), 288-304.
- Soja, E. (1996). *Thirdspace: journeys to Los Angeles and other real-and-imagined places*: Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers
- Spang, R. L. (1999). All the world's a restaurant: On the global gastronomics of tourism and travel *Food in global history* (pp. 79-91).
- Spradley, J. P. (1979). *Ethnographic interview*. New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Wilston.
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Sze, F., & Powell, D. (2004). *Interculturalism: Exploring Critical Issues*: Oxford, England: Interdisciplinary Press.
- Tabuchi, H. (2009, April 22). Japan pays foreign workers to go home. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2009/04/23/business/global/23immigrant.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0
- Tajima, J. (2003). A study of Asian immigrants in Tōkyō. In R. Iredale, C. Hawksley & S.

- Castles (Eds.), *Migration in the Asia Pacific* (pp. 355-366). Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.
- Takenoshita, H. (2006, August). Earnings and Japanese Brazilian migrants in Japan: A comparison with native-born Japanese workers. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of American Sociological Association, Montreal, Canada. Retrieved from http://www.allacademic.com//meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/3/0/8/2/1/pages308211/p308211-2.php
- Tarumoto, H. (2003). Multiculturalism in Japan: Citizenship policy for immigrants. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies*, 5(1), 88-103.
- Taylor, C. (2012). Interculturalism or multiculturalism? *Philosophy & Social Criticism*, 38(4-5), 413-423.
- Taylor, P. (1995). World cities and territorial states: The rise and fall of their mutuality. In P. L. Knox & P. J. Taylor (Eds.), *World cities in a world system* (pp. 46-82). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Tegtmeyer Pak, K. (2003). Foreigners are local citizens too. In M. Douglass, and Glenda Susan Roberts (Ed.), *Japan and global migration: Foreign workers and the advent of a multicultural society* (pp. 244-274). Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press.
- Thrift, N. (2005). But malice aforethought: Cities and the natural history of hatred. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 30, 133-150.
- Throop, J. (2003). Articulating experience. *Anthropological Theory and Research in Education*, 3(2), 219-241.
- Tōkyō Statistical Yearbook. (2010). Retrieved from <http://www.toukei.metro.tokyo.jp/gaikoku/ga-index.htm>
- Tsuchida, M. (1998). A History of Japanese emigration from the 1860s to the 1940s. In M. Weiner & T. Hanami (Eds.), *Temporary workers or future citizens? Japanese and U.S. migration policies* (pp. 77-119). New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Tsuda, T. (2003). *Strangers in the ethnic homeland: Japanese Brazilian return migration in transnational perspective*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Tsuda, T. (2008). Local citizenship and foreign workers in Japan. *The Asia-Pacific Journal*. May 26. Retrieved from <http://japanfocus.org/-Takeyuki-Tsuda/2762/article.html>
- Tsuda, T. (2009). Japanese-Brazilian ethnic return migration and the making of Japan's newest

- immigrant minority. In M. Weiner (Ed.), *Japan's minorities: the illusion of homogeneity* (pp. 206-227). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Tsururu. (2008, March 18). Nanbei ni kyu sekkin dekimasuyo~. [Web log post]. You can get very close to South America. In *Tabelog*. Retrieved from <http://tabelog.com/rvwr/00049887/rvwdtl/469149/>
- Tuan, Y.F. (1974). *Topophilia: A study of environmental perception, attitudes, and values*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Tuan, Y. F. (1977). *Space and place: The perspective of experience*. Minneapolis: MN, University of Minnesota Press.
- Tuan, Y. F. (1991). Language and the making of place: A narrative-descriptive approach. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 81(4), 684-696.
- Turgeon, L., & Pastinelli, M. (2002). "Eat the world": Postcolonial encounters in Quebec city's ethnic restaurants. *The Journal of American Folklore*, 115(456), 247-268.
- Umemoto, K., & Igarashi, H. (2009). Deliberative planning in a multicultural milieu. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 29(1), 39-53.
- Urena, A. (2012). *Brazil in the land of the rising sun: The state of Afro-Brazilian and Brazilian popular culture in Japan (Unpublished master thesis)*. Waseda University, Tōkyō, Japan.
- Valentine, G. (2008). Living with difference: Reflections on geographies of encounter. *Progress in Human Geography*, 32(3), 323-337.
- Van den Berghe, P. (1984). Ethnic cuisine: Culture in nature. *Ethnic & Racial Studies*, 7(3), 387-397.
- Vertovec, S., & Cohen, R. (2002). *Conceiving cosmopolitanism: Theory, context and practice*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Warde, A. (2000). Eating globally: Cultural flows and the spread of ethnic restaurants. In D. Kalb, et al. (Ed.), *The ends of globalization: Bringing society back in* (pp. 299–316). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Warde, A., & Martens, L. (2000). *Eating out: Social differentiation, consumption and pleasure*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Weiner, M. (1997). *Japan's minorities: The illusion of homogeneity*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Wise, A. (2005). Hope and belonging in a multicultural suburb. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 26(1), 171-186.

- Wise, A. (2011). Moving food: Gustatory commensality and disjuncture in everyday multiculturalism. *New Frontier*, 74(5), 82-107.
- Wood, P., & Landry, C. (2007). *The intercultural city: Planning for diversity advantage*. Sterling, VA: Earthscan Routledge.
- Wunderlich, F. M. (2008). Walking and rhythmicity: Sensing urban space. *Journal of Urban Design*, 13(1), 125-139.
- Yamamoto, R. (2004). Alien attack? The construction of foreigner criminality in contemporary Japan. *Japanstudien* 16-57, 27.
- Yamamoto, R. (2010). Migrants as a crime problem: The construction of foreign criminality discourse in contemporary Japan. *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice*, 34(2), 301-330.
- Yamanaka, K. (1994). Commentary. In W. A. Cornelius, P. L. Martin & J. F. Hollifield (Eds.), *Controlling immigration: A global perspective* (pp. 413-414): Stanford University Press.
- Yamanaka, K. (2003). 'I will go home, but when?' Labor migration and circular diaspora formation by Japanese Brazilians in Japan. In M. Douglass & G. S. Roberts (Eds.), *Japan and global migration: Foreign workers and the advent of a multicultural society* (pp. 123-152). Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press.
- Yamawaki, K. (2012, January). Japan's approach to the formation of an intercultural society. Paper presented at the International Symposium on Intercultural Cities in Asia and Europe, Tōkyō, Japan. Retrieved from http://www.jpjf.go.jp/j/project/intel/archive/information/1201/dl/Intercultural_City_encounters_Europe-Asia.pdf
- Zapata-Barrero, R. (2013) The three strands of intercultural policies: A comprehensive view. *GRITIM-UPF Working Paper Series* (Summer ed.).
- Zelinsky, W. (1985). The roving palate: North America's ethnic restaurant cuisines. *Geoforum*, 16(1), 51-72.
- Zukin, S. (1995). *The cultures of cities*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.