**A funeral, adoptions and marriages: A comparison between uchinanchu and naichi families trajectories**

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**Short Abstract**

In this paper I will trace a comparison between the uchinanchu and naichi ethos remembering trajectories of migrant families. I am engaged since 2001 in a field research together to Japanese Brazilian and Okinawan associations, migratory movement, identity contrast, global networks and sociability.

**Long Abstract**

This paper is part of my Master Dissertation, result of a field research with an intense contact and systematic participant observation among the Japanese Brazilian population in Brasilia, São Paulo and Paraná. The work deals with the identity Nikkey in Brazil with a specific focus on contrastive identity construction operated between Uchinanchu and Naichi, Okinawans and Japaneses. Sharing the dynamics of emigration from Japan to Brazil, the two groups transposed to land elsewhere not only their own culture, language and identity as well as carried on its diaspora for the contrast ratio and distinction between Uchinanchu and Naichi. After a closer relationship with the two groups held in an ethnographic research addressing food, fellowship, parties, sociability, kinship, social articulations, belonging and identity is perceived that the current shape of our communities Uchinanchu and Nikkey differ dramatically. Cultural factors and identity, concepts and ideas that determine feelings of identification and belonging operated in the conformation of two diasporic communities whose trajectories although parallel, have fundamentally different characteristics. Stories about marriages in my family in the generation before that of my jitchan have always impressed strongly. There was a matrimonial arrangement made still in Japan, as well as a case of adoption to ensure the continuity of the family name also in Japan. The ethnographic writing about kinship of my family and other two Okinawans families will point differences between uchinanchu and Japanese ethos. The tree trajectories in issue will show how the difference of ethos can construct so diverse familial trajectories.

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Introduction

In May 2008, Mrs. Kame Uema died in Vargem Bonita. He was 90 years old and had no children. Had been a widow for forty years and was buried next to her husband. His funeral and burial was a crucial moment where I could hear and feel the cohesion of the Uchinanchu family. It was also a time when it became clear and transparent the case of adoption occurred in the Uema family, of which I had heard many stories. Here I will, as far as possible, assemble a puzzle starting from field observations and interviews I conducted to narrate the story of two family arrangements occurring in the Uema family. I also present the story of family arrangements that occurred in my own family. To just inserting the discussion in the migratory context and examine the distinct malleability occurred in each of the families here in focus. Additionally I present an account of the Uchinanchu perspective, less formal than that of Japanese, on marital relationships. So I intend to demonstrate through my ethnographic data, the contrastive identity affirmation and their performance at critical moments. But before presenting the specific ethnographic data on marriages and adoptions, I start this paper with a discussion about my own insertion on field of research. In initial part, the paper deals also with the question that guided the research, namely, the identity contrast between Okinawans and Japanese, which crossed oceans and generations.

**Preamble: Researching One's Own Kindred**

To be a part of a minority group has driven me, in a certain way, since childhood to a questioning search for a dynamic understanding and the historical trajectory of this migrant group. To share into the atmosphere of chatting among – and about – the *nikkey*[1] community has always produced in me feelings of disquiet typical of those who do not fully grasp the reasons behind its values and standpoints. Routine – open, not veiled – actions such as referring to people pointing to their generation and, mainly, to "purity of blood"; conceding an exaggerated importance to divorce; zeal for the

[1] *Nikkey* is how the Japanese call the community made up by *isei* (Japan-born emigrants) and their descendants established in several countries throughout the globe. Brazil has the largest *Nikkey*

continuity of family name; preserving the tradition and the feeling of inclusion into the "Japanese race"; etc, sounded to my puerile ears, as if it were in disagreement with modernity. Something out of time and space and also displaced, somehow, within Brazilian cultural complex.

I was born in Brasília (Brazil's capital) in 1978 and grew amidst the artistic and intellectual community that gathered in the then young capital from many different, and distant, states of Brazilian federation. My mother is an architect; my father, a musician. They came to Brasília in the beginning of the 1970s to study at the University of Brasília, which had been created a few years before. People that opened grounds for artistic and cultural production in many different ways: poets, painters, writers, musicians and actors, as well as journalists and liberal professionals, were among my parents' friends and relations. Since very young, I participated in the most variegated cultural activities and events – expositions, theatre seasons, cultural festivals, shows, book releases. Between 1992 and 2000 I was part several theatrical troupes, working in several plays by writers such as Nelson Rodrigues, Jean-Paul Sartre and Maria Clara Machado. It is not very common to find nipo-descendants in such artistic circles. In Brasília I did not participate in activities related to the *nikkey* community, mostly due to the fact that my mother did not feel at ease among them, as she had overheard negative commentaries, in *nihongo*[2], about her relationship with a *gaijin*[3]. The owners of a Japanese restaurant had comments that they pitied my mother's *jitchan*[4] when they saw her with a *gaijin*, and a hippie to make matters worse. As my mother was very integrated in the social circles connected to the artistic world, so was I.

My family did not have any relative living nearby, but even so many habits (including food habits) and a strong influence of Japanese education and culture were kept by my mother, adapted and transmitted to me and my brother and sister. We would frequently travel to Londrina (in the Brazilian state of Paraná, Southern Brazil), were the conviviality with the *nikkey* community was intense. We would go to events in the *Nikkey* Acel Club, with our *batchan*[5], and visited relatives, always bringing some *omiyague*[6]. Visits to the cemetery would be marked by the burning of incense and

[2] Japanese language

[3] Pejorative term derived from *gaikokujin* – foreigner – whose *kanji* brings together the elements of 'outside', 'country' and 'person'. It is used by the *Nikkey* community in Brazil to indicate other non-japanese.

[4] Evocative informal term for *Ojisan*, grandfather.

[5] Evocative term for *obaasan*, grandmother.

[6] A simple gift; a souvenir, something obligatory when visiting relatives.

candles, as well as the offering of fruits and *moti*7 to the dead ones in the family tomb. These were practically obligatory.

Those visits are some of my strongest memories of childhood, as much as the offerings and daily prayers at the *butsudan*, the domestic shire of the family. In the same way, it was indelibly impressed in my memory the family interdictions to inter-ethnic marriages, as well as the constant chatter about family arrangements due to migration, both from the pioneer times and the contemporary *dekassegui*8.

It was a long and delicate process for my *jitchan* to accept my mother's marriage. Her family learned about the relationship years after it had begun, with their first child already born. My *jitchan* had to unmake the agreement he had made with a sailor of the Japanese commercial fleet, which he had made without my mother's knowledge. He had high hopes regarding this union – a hope of return to Japan of at least one of his daughters. Due to the sorrow created in him by not having how to honour his commitment with the sailor, my mother and my *jitchan* remained without talking to each other for years. My mother tells that this was overcome one day when my younger sister, then a three year toddler, unexpectedly run towards him and gave him a hug in one of our visits to Londrina, melting away his resistance. Gradually the conviviality became more harmonious, and I recall clearly the humoured chatter in *nihongo*; the family karaoke, the gatherings of relatives to take pictures, the family meetings to celebrate the new year in our frequent travels to Londrina.

In spite of the (relative) re-integration of my mother back to her family, my father's relation with my *jitchan* was never close. Also, the aura of estrangement that I experienced when I found about the forbidden relationship between my younger aunt and a black man who was her colleague at the faculty of psychology has clung to my memory ever since. My mother knew and, in a certain way, was fond of this relationship, helping sometimes to cover up for them when her sister visited her in Brasilia. Family pressure, intense familial gossiping about the affair made it very short indeed. My aunt left Brazil, and still lives abroad.

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[7] Traditional rice cake, meaning abundance.

[8] Japanese community in Brazil strongly engaged itself in a migratory movement of return to Japan, called *dekassegui*. This expression, literally 'to work out of home', is used among Japanese people themselves to designate those who travel to work temporarily in the industrialized region of the country (Tokyo, Osaka, etc.). There is a strongly pejorative meaning connotation associated to the term. The expression was used to name the *nikkey* who migrated back to Japan. Kawamura (1999) e Sasaki (1999) present a thoroughly account of the *dekassegui* movement and of identity processes involving them within Japan.

Stories about marriages in my family in the generation before that of my *jitchan* have always impressed strongly. There was a matrimonial arrangement made still in Japan, as well as a case of adoption to ensure the continuity of the family name also in Japan. The marriage of my *hibatchan*[9]*,* my *jitchan's* mother, with a man she had not even been introduced to, was a common homely conversational theme. This was something that was entirely incompatible with my youngster's conception of marriage and family.

My very specific insertion in the *nikkey* community is, I think, very instrumental for my efforts as researcher into that community. I am a half-blood, an *ainoko*[10]*,* result of a marriage socially disapproved and inacceptable at home. When I was a child I read a book called 'The Japanese Garden', that told a story focused in the life trajectory of a half-blood, son of a *nisei* and of a man with Italian ascent. It was then that I first learned about this pejorative term of half-bloods. The story is about a half-blood and his differentiated insertion in the *nikkey* community. This is the sort of liminal insertion that I experience myself, and which helps me as an anthropologist to have an external perspective, a distancing of the *nikkey* community, as well as some closeness to it. Having a background that enables me to understand those who, like myself, are considered a minority within an ethnic minority – but one that is imagined by Brazilian society at large to be homogeneous – I use my own life experience as source of ethnographic data that will lead to a comparison of contrastive and differentiated identity constructions within the *nikkey* community.

My stimulus to understand why such rigid and, to me, frozen in time, behaviour comes, then, from the experience of many different situations related to family structure and the life of familial groups among the *nikkey*, as well as their conceptions of 'others'. The *nikkey* community kept itself relatively closed to Brazilian society at large, a position that reflects its general positioning in relation to the recent past, when its members considered themselves part of the 'Japanese race' that found itself geographically outside Japan. The *nikkey* community has been the focus of my academic interest since 2001. So, when reflecting about the anthropological practice of a member of an ethnic minority researching her own community, the inclusion in the

[9] Great-grandmother.

[10] Literally 'son/daughter of love'. Used in a pejorative sense, due to the fact that family structure needs, according with the Japanese conception of marriage, of more solid bases other than love, such as commitment and work. The term also indicates that the intra-ethnic marriage rule was broken.

ethnographic scene of my life trajectory and form of insertion into the *nikkey* community are of great importance

At the time of my childhood (1980s), Brazilian *nikkey* did not usually question their 'niponicity', or their ethnic-racial identification. The community reproduced its original language (with printed media, which still exists), food habits (with adaptations), and even rituals, as for instance the cult to the figure of the emperor and the presence of the domestic sanctuaries in virtually every house. In Brazil, linguistic elements as well as traditions, which came from the *Meiji* era in Japan, were kept. It was then that the large immigration of Japanese took place, so language, habits and traditions seen as extinct in contemporary Japan are still alive in Brazil. After World War II Japan came through an accelerated process of modernisation, industrialisation, and westernisation that transformed radically Japanese language and ethos. A marked Western influence was behind a quasi-ideological transformation from the military occupation of Japan by the allied countries. Values and attitudes such as competition and consumerism of technological paraphernalia were added to traditional values such as hierarchy, honour and work. With crescent industrial productivity, as well as due to the high professional qualification of Japanese people – who do not usually consider engaging into manual labour something desirable – there came the need to 'recruit' non-specialised work force. Japan begun to reception foreign immigrants to cater for those jobs rejected by the Japanese themselves.

By the end of the 1980s the first Brazilians who went to Japan as *dekassegui* got a substantial financial return for their work. In the beginning of 1990s Japan instituted an immigration law, which caused in the *nikkey* community a short-lived feeling of re-union to the homeland, shortly replaced by segregation and identity contrast. When a *dekassegui* looked for Japanese relatives, the encounters were invariably described as cold, with no great interest from the part of the Japanese relatives. At that time, a Japanese citizen had to take responsibility for an immigrant. Without so, one could not engage oneself in paid activities. But even between close relatives such 'permit' was difficult to obtain.

The eligibility of members of the *nikkey* community for immigration, established by Japanese immigration law, was much more of a restriction instrument, imposing heavy fines to establishments that employed illegal foreign workers, than an opening towards them. For Brazilian *nikkey* immigrants, the *dekassegui* movement was not only the possibility of reasonably well- paid work, as well as an apparently irreversible

identity rupture. It became patent to them that they and the Japanese did not share a common Japanese identity, and that they were neither considered Japanese nor were a part of Japanese social life. Up until then, there was a widespread feeling amongst the *nikkey* community in Brazil of being a part of the 'Japanese race', an image that was reinforced by the image created by Brazilian society at large in relation to 'its' Japanese.

The narratives about workplaces in Japan reveal that *dekassegui* social circles include only other Brazilian *dekassegui.* The few lazy hours are spent among Brazilians. The general feeling in relation to the *dekassegui* is to consider them unworthy of being there. From *dekassegui's* experience, the Japanese invariably declares that, as their ancestors left Japan when it was in a difficult situation, now their descendants come back to take a share of the riches that came with the recovering of the country – a recovering for which they did not spend an effort, being thus unworthy of it. Japanese will consider shameful that a foreign relative return to Japan to work in such conditions. This means that they did not do well in their homeland, and are up to anything to make a living. They did not prosper in their home country.

The promulgation of immigration Law was fuelled by the supposition that the *nikkey* would not disturb Japan's so-called homogeneity, ethnic as well as cultural. But cultural closeness, ethnic identification did not occur in everyday life among Japanese and *nikkey*. The expected cultural and social assimilation of *nikkey* workers did not happen. The enormous contingent of workers with Japanese descent is Japanese territory is considered an isolated minority, segregated within Japanese society. A *nikkey* community of Brazilian *dekassegui* in Japan was created throughout the 1990s, with a network of commercial establishments catering for it, and many times managed by them. In this scenario, the formation of community of Brazilians in Japan suggests a truly dynamic transnational connection of communities in opposite side of the globe. On the other side, when we look at the Okinawan group among the *nikkey* community we found another way of sociability, relationship and identitarian belonging. In my field research I heard many reports from Uchinanchu who've been in Okinawa through scholarships, or even been to Japan to work - but who insisted on being in the archipelago, or those who have family members who have moved to Okinawa, showing a heavy flow of people moving into the global Uchinanchu network. The strong emotion to be in the homeland of their ancestors, the cradle of culture, moreover, being warmly welcomed is to make sure shared that identity. The symbolism of the earth, the importance of stepping on the floor of Okinawa, the

village where his grandparents came was revealed and appreciated in depositions of love.

The movement of persons selected by the local government (provincial government) between *kenjinkai* associations of Uchinanchu communities overseas to study in Okinawa contributes to strengthening what they call Uchinanchu spirit. It is strong and often stressed that the Uchinanchu spirit is fairly comprehensive, not limited to the descendants of Okinawan immigrants, but to all who feel and have the Uchinanchu kokoro11. Having this Uchinanchu spirit means following a cultural ethos and identity that characterizes itself as extremely open and communicative, who preaches tolerance and culture of peace involves warmth in personal relationships, which brings a sense of mixture as a value, taking advantage of the welcome where they established their communities by effecting deep cultural exchanges and interactions.

The Uchinanchu with whom I spent time in ethnography in Vargem Bonita – DF are direct descendants of emigrants who left Okinawa since 1899. Uchinanchu Diaspora has established its early community in Hawaii in 1900. When attached to the Japanese State in 1879 the then Ryukyu archipelago - former name used to refer to the kingdom when speaking with outsiders - or Uchina - name of the kingdom among Uchinanchu - watched his court be withdrawn into exile in China. Then the population was dominated cultural, linguistic and administrative for Japan's responsibility. Kingdom Uchina had an independent and prosperous life, with historical records of its existence since the sixth century, in Chinese documents. Uchina was known as "the land of courtesy" and occupies a privileged geographical position, "the door of the Pacific Ocean." Currently more than a third of the population lives outside the archipelago. The Uchinanchu is dispersed in countries like United States, Peru, Brazil, Argentina, Colombia and Cuba. The Uchinanchu community is structured similarly to what Sahlins envisioned for the communities of Samoa, Tuvaluan, Cook Islands and Tonga. Structure is currently scattered across the globe in what the author called multisite community that just expanded their horizons and cultural possibilities. The representation of the belonging to Uchinanchu community showed in the field, be like as a pillar to form the cultural identity and intense sociability of the Uchinanchu community. The so-called spirit Uchinanchu symbolizes, they say, a unity to which its members identify

[11] Kokoro can be translated as the heart, also used as an expression of deep feelings.

themselves and their membership is recognized. The difference between booth ethos, Uchinanchu and Japanese, not only shaped two communities with different characteristic of sociability, as established specific courses for family trajectories shown here.

**A Funeral, Adoptions and Marriages**

It is quite common to hear in the colony Nikkei that in Japan only on occasions of marriage and funeral gathers the whole family. This is usually spoken for comment small number of people at parties of Japanese. This is not something that is observed among Uchinanchu, where family parties congregate even the community in which that family lives. At the funeral of Mrs. Kame Uema attended people from other states of Brazil, mostly relatives of São Paulo. I arrived early in the morning to the cemetery Campo da Esperança. In the chapel was only the core nearest relative of Mrs. Kame Uema, always call for all of *obaa*[12]. When I arrived I was met with Luisa Masae Uema beside the coffin explaining to two children, who touched Kame's face, the cause of her being pale, cold and stiff. She said to the children that the Kame's heart no longer beat, no more pumped his blood that no longer flowed through their veins. At the back of the chapel, in a cup, Zizi Uema putting on a table a few packets of chips, cookies, sodas, juices and water. Luisa approached me saying that many people would come from afar, would be a long day and it is usual practice to offer something to eat. Among the Nikkei always offers food in situations of funeral practice brought from Japan. True picnics are held in cemeteries, on the occasion of the homage to the ancestors (in July or August). Many times throughout my life I was approached with the question "Is it true that in Japan when someone dies they make a party?" This imagery can, in my view, be justified by distinct elements present in funeral situations among Nikkei. I refer to the omiyage (souvenir gift) offered by the family of the deceased, the edibility to the large number of persons who are gathered for funeral and especially to restrained cry, completely opposite to the despair seen in Western funerals. The strongest impression that one has to follow a funeral Nikkei is that those persons face death showing certain tranquility or naturally. At the funeral of Mrs. Kame a young lady not Nikkei, which in

[12] Abbreviation for *obaasan* – grandmother , among Uchinanchu. Among the Japanese the loving vocative form to *obaasan* is *batchan*. My *batchan* considered too harsh and disrespectful to call *obaasan* only *obaa*, preferring *batchan*. The use of the vocative term obaa is seen only among the Uchinanchu. One can easily observe that informality prevailing among Uchinanchu families often contrasts with the hierarchy and formality current internally in Nikkei families.

recent years took care of Kame cried inconsolably and told me feel uncomfortable there, where she interpreted the behavior of those present as too cold and restrained.

Photo - *Oba* Kame Uema in *Shinenkai* (new year party), january, 26, 2008.

My mother had instructed me to bring the Kooden[13]. However, because I was one of the first to arrive, I did not know at what time deliver the kooden. When others arrived and signed a book, and then handing the kooden and receiving the omiyage, I did the same. I talked with Luisa, who told me about the last days of Kame, saying she was worried there was a time because the obaa not have more appetite. In the interpretation of Luisa, his lack of appetite, lack of desire to eat, it would be a sign that your life energy was running out. Kame had no will to live. There were about a month that Liza, the daughter of Luisa and granddaughter of Kame told me about the health condition of obaa. However in a joking way, about the fact that obaa confuse Liza with her sister Ana. In situations where Kame asked about the kids, children of Ana, not of Liza (who has no children), insisting that Liza had children. Luisa also spoke of his family relationship with obaa while cohabiting mother in law and daughter in law, since Kame had lost her husband very young (at fifty years of age), forty years before his death. Luisa talked a lot about the daily life and the relationship of obaa with small children Marina and João (Luisa grandchildren, children of Ana), the preferences and habits of Kame, the places that brought his memory.

I started to get a little confused, thinking that something was lacking to connect the ties of kinship relationships that appeared to me. In fact this was not yet at the funeral I could assemble the puzzle of Uema family's kinship. Right now were still missing key information that I got only months later. However, during the funeral I was able to connect the woman to adoption story I had heard previously from several people. It was Kame who had adopted a child of about three years, at nightfall, he spoke to her, "I'll go to sleep with my mother" and walked away. The younger brother of this child, Luis Uema was adopted when has few months old by Kame. Luis says he became choonan[14]. It was said emphatically that Kame had no children, but that has always dedicated great attention to the care of all children in Vargem Bonita. It was said "who never won a wafer, never lunched a meal prepared by Kame?" A great deal of attention, care, affection towards children and the elderly is an important characteristic highlighted by Uchinanchu when they talk about themselves. Demonstrations of

[13] Kooden is the traditional Japanese practice of contributing financially in times of funeral and other rites that mark the seventh day and the seventh week, repeated on the first anniversary and at the entrance of the third year, or the second anniversary, and there will be a rite in memory of seventh year of death. The Kooden is handed to the family in an envelope where you write "Kooden" in Japanese characters and identify the person who offered the contribution. This contribution is used to help with the cost of the funeral and subsequent rituals. Who provides kooden signs in a book and receive an omiyague.

[14] First son, sole heir, responsible for transmitting the family name.

affection and respect to them are easily perceived in coexistence with Uchinanchu. In some ways the care for the children in Uchinanchu community of Vargem Bonita is regarded by them as a task even somewhat diffuse. The group of children grew up together and had vigilance on the part of the adults in the families of the community. Practically one family, as the Uchinanchu vehemently asserted, even those who did not live in Vargem Bonita.

Also during the morning, after the most family and friends came, I went with Liza and Zizi to buy Senko (incense) in the temple of Seicho-no-ie. The incenses are a fundamental piece in funeral ritual, which would be conducted by the monk Sato, from otera (Japanese Buddhist temple of Brasilia). A long time after the funeral of Kame I received a visit from Liza, who feel the odor Senko, recalled his OBAA immediately, saying that until that day in his house there were many sticks of Senko constantly lit in honor of the Kame. Zizi, when we returned to the chapel, showed me a large, wide, shallow bowl brown. He told me that the container for burning incense is a piece that strongly differentiates Uchinanchu rituals of Japanese rituals. The container of the Japanese Buddhist ceremony is smaller deeper and made of a gold metallic material. The monk Sato arrived around 14:30 and the ceremony began, speaking in Nihongo (Japanese language) and translated into Portuguese[15]. The mantra "Namo Amida Butsu" is intoned by Buddhists for the spirit has strength and light and so well follow his path.

After the speech of the monk Sato all present paid homage to Kame burning many sticks of Senko that were deposited in the brown bowl. This bowl was loaded during the entourage that accompanied the coffin to the grave site and there was left. At the moment of burial Luis spoke. In his speech became clear that there was a relationship between the history of adoption in the family Uema and Mrs. Kame.

Since my first contact I heard that the boy Kuniyo had been adopted already three years old, and he spent the day at the home of foster mother, but by nightfall he spoke "I'll sleep with my mother" and simply walked away. So the couple Seifuku Uema and Uchi, which had a total of eight children, has given the youngest son Luis Hiyode for Seifuku's older brother and his wife Kame create. Luis spoke in his farewell address about the way his life was linked to Kame. He told about his brother Kuniyo even being too young sealed the fate of Luis and Kame spend their lives together. "In

[15] During the ceremony the monk Sato said something that has been marked in my memory: when a loved one passes away, despite being a natural and inherent to life brings strong feelings like sadness. However even this sadness, taken as something negative turns into energy needed to walk the spirit of the person who died.

fact it was to have been my brother the son Kame, but destiny wanted me to be raised by her." He talked about the early widowhood Kame and reunion of the couple that moment forever. Since widowed obaa Kame went to live with his adopted son, who married had two daughters and three grandchildren, the youngest born in 2009.

The adoption was a widespread practice in the migratory movement and Nipo-Brazilian colony. Broadly the malleability of the Japanese family was in the context of migration, according to Ruth Cardoso (1995), due in part to the requirement of "three hoe per family" to embark for Brazil. However it was not only within the context of migration that the malleability of the Japanese family was present. The concern about transmit to future generations the family name was motivating of traditional family arrangements and adoptions. There are deeper issues in the background of this malleability on kinship, on such issues for different positions. I present later in an attempt to explain the family arrangements occurred between my own ancestors, whose motivations and consequences show themselves quite different from what I heard from my interviewees Uchinanchu. Before that, however, I expound the two cases of family arrangements that had access during field research among nippo-brazilian Uchinanchu, in the context of migration to Brazil. The first is where I continue assembling the puzzle of family structure Uema, basing myself on the testimony of Nelson Uema and his mother Luiza. Thus the story of the first son of the patriarch, with another woman, remained in Okinawa to continue the name presents interesting data that I analyze in contrast to a similar story that occurred in my own family. The second case is taken by those who narrates about his own family, as a statement of fact way less rigid with the Uchinanchu face marital relations and family structure.

After a lengthy interview with Nelson and his mother Luiza, could finally assemble the puzzle of kinship structure that since the beginning of the field research is suggested. In summary, the trajectory of the family Uema can find three figures who played central roles in family arrangements. The mother of Seiji, Seiji himself and Luis Hiyode or Zoba. The testimony was given me by the son and the wife of Seiji. Between the mother and father of Seiji had an agreement of marriage. Their families were friends in Okinawa. Before getting married soon decided to have a son to emigrate to Brazil with the family of three people required. Before the migration plan comes to fruition, with Seiji already born, his father Seifuku impregnated another woman called Uchi. When Uchi searched Seifuku pregnant, the family of mother's Seiji no longer accepted that her accompany Seifuku on an adventure to Brazil. So Seifuku and Uchi married and

came to Brazil. Seiji remained with his mother in Okinawa, Seifuku and his wife Uchi immigrated to Brazil. In Brazil, the younger half brother of Seiji, Zoba was donated by the couple Seifuku and Uchi to his older brother married with Kame, whose funeral I followed. In Okinawa, Seiji was given by the mother to paternal grandparents due to the strong insistence of his grandfather. Seiji was the last Uema in Okinawa, responsible for gives continuation to family name. At eighteen, after the death of his grandfather, Seiji shipped to Brazil bringing his grandmother, with whom he lived, and did not return to Japan. However, despite being the eldest son, has never been well accepted by his stepmother Uchi. And Zoba, despite being youngest son, had their positioning in family genealogy relisted due to have been created as a son of the elder brother. He often says that became choonan (the sole heir in Japanese family).

This case presents similar views at the same time quite different in relation to arrangements that occurred in my own family. Adoption as a mechanism for continuity of the name shows up as a key point in my family, whereas in the previous case we find also other elements composing the circumstances where the adoption was inserted in the historical trajectory of the family. I will consider three narratives that bring the problem of birth of children from a previous marriage, but the outcomes differ greatly. In the case Uchinanchu, we have the saga of arrangement and adoption in a certain way which was reconfigured due to the circumstances. In the excerpt of interview with Helio and Irene Higa, Uchinanchu couple who lives in Curitiba, transcribed immediately following, there is an interpretation of how perspective Uchinanchu about marriage relationships differs from the Japanese perspective. And, finally, briefly relate the marriage arrangements and the adoption took place in my family, in order to illustrate how the agreement on the first daughter from another marriage, has been rigidly followed. It demonstrates the difference in perspectives and behaviors regarding the interference of feelings and emotions in marital relationships observed between Uchinanchu and naichi.

> *Hélio – One thing that distinguish. Japanese homes have an altar for ancestor worship, also in Okinawa. Just that at the altar of the Japanese has a katana (swords), at the altar of Okinawans has a sanshin. Which is a musical instrument. So a culture of the katana and a culture of sanshin. So this is a basic difference.*
>
> *Yoko – And the totome (domestic altar Uchinanchu) is with you?*
>
> *Hélio – Not.*

*Yoko – Stands with your father?*

*Hélio – Totome is in the house of my older cousin which is heir to the previous ancestor.*

*Yoko – His father is not the eldest son?*

*Hélio – No, my dad is the youngest. They were four brothers. The oldest is Yoshiyo then has Fumyio, second, third Shigueo, Yoshinobu is the youngest son.*

*Yoko – And through his mother?*

*Irene – Oh! Has a lot.*

*Hélio – Yoshio, is to mother's side, all the children.*

*Yoko – How many brothers has his mother?*

*Hélio – She has two brothers and four sisters.*

*Irene – That's it?*

*Hélio – They were seven.*

*Yoko - And they already are nisei?*

*Hélio – Nisei, all nisei.*

*Irene – No, I think that your uncle Paulo is isei.*

*Hélio – Wait. It's from another wedding. My maternal grandmother had two sons in Okinawa. Children of my grandmother, you know, not my grandfather. From a first marriage. One was Shinhey. The other us simply never had contact. I. My mother even knows his name, but I don't.*

*Yoko – His grandmother remarried. What was the name of that husbands, you know? The first and her second husband. She became a widow, how was it?*

*Hélio – No, she simply. That Okinawa was the following is equal to the northeast, the person "filled the bag" and already departed to another was so. There was no formal relationship with the unions, right. The person fought there, leave home and now lived.*

*Yoko – Then do not was a very heavy, so to speak, that story.*

*Hélio – No, no.*

*Yoko - Because even today, for the Japanese, divorce is a dishonor, right.*

*Hélio – It is. But there was different in Okinawa. In Okinawa, my older aunt who was born in Okinawa, she said us was equal Bahia there. Makes a child with a person, does child with another, you know. Then it was so. It was a, it was such a society by our point of view, very permissive, right. Then, but it's*

*their lifestyle. Very different from the Japanese, when things were more formalized in Japan. The first marriage of my grandmother, maternal grandmother had two sons and decided to come to Brazil. She met my grandfather, who was an athletic person so, you know. He was Okinawan sumo wrestler, a very strong guy. And then decided to marry and come to Brazil. She practically ran away with my grandfather. She was there and passionate athlete, and the athlete was also in bad shape in terms. He was in debt and to pay the debts came. I think my grandfather was a playboy, so let's say. (laughs) And he had one, the family had many possessions, but just as he had possessions was open hand. Helped many people. Lent and not received back. Into debt. And to pay the debts came to Brazil.*

(Interview with Helio and Irene Higa, held in Itatibaia, SP, on June 22, 2008)

A comparison of the mode of looking at things from the northeast and Uchinanchu is frequent in the speech. The Uchinanchu generally relate to joy, musicality, festivity, especially of Bahia. But also draw comparisons regarding deprivations and sufferings Uchinanchu and northeastern lived. You need to relativize a little the reference specifically to Bahia. It is noteworthy that the major regional benchmark Nikkei are the states of the southern and southeastern Brazil, where prejudice toward immigrants Northeastern is relevant. In the imaginary Carioca Northeast are all called pejoratively of "Paraíba", a term also used in order to insult someone. Already in São Paulo and Paraná the Northeast are called "Bahia" or "American." Thus the homogenization of cultural diversity in the northeastern Brazilian imaginary southern and southeastern Brazil is the reality where the Nikkei are inserted. So the Nikkei broadly not have a very accurate perspective of cultural diversity in the northeast.

I return here to the story of my extended family as a third story where I will analyze the counterpoints between the characteristics of Uchinanchu and naichi. I started the narrative in a period in which took place the marriage of my hibatchan (great-grandmother). Having since childhood, constantly heard the saga of the early life of Japanese immigrants in Brazil and marital arrangements of familiar stories, sequencing the family name and adoptions, these elements began to make more sense to

my perception as an individual in the world when I began to have closer contact with anthropology. Being mixed race and even having had close contact with cultural elements such as food and customs, my nuclear family remained distant from the "Japanese colony" in Brasilia, except on occasions of visits to relatives in Londrina, which is discussed above.

It is precisely in the generation of my maternal great-grandparents who happened a series of family arrangements. At that time in Japan, marriages occurred basically by miai (marriage agreement). The bride and groom were chosen, procedures and arrangements were agreed previously by the parents of the bride and groom. The family of my hibatchan (great-grandmother), Fujiwara, had lost his only son after the marriage of his eldest daughter. My hibatchan was the second daughter, and had two younger sisters. Then put up a question: how to perpetuate the name Fujiwara without an heir man? Thus a double miai agreement was effected between the Fujiwara family and the family Nitahara, who had two brothers. The eldest of the brothers had a daughter. It is unknown if her mother was alive. When he married hibatchan she even knew of the existence of this first daughter. The hibatchan not touched this subject. An agreement had been made with respect to this first child. Consisted of the following: this daughter would not seek more her father. She would be disconnected from family and inherited, with her father alive, a pine forest. A fortune enough for their sustenance throughout their whole live. This daughter sought out my hijitchan’s brother (great-grandfather), who had married the sister of my hibatchan after her father was in Brazil. It was said that she could not search for the family because that was the agreement and was simply sent away.

A customary practice of miai was the low number of encounters between the couple, usually only two: the first to know each other and next time they will see would already be in the wedding ceremony. My hibatchan was first presented to the brother of her future husband. I believe that due to this previous marriage, though I have heard many stories that gave this "exchange" to the fact that my hijitchan be lower than my hibatchan. She was huge by Japanese standards of the time, 1.62 m, and at twenty-three years old was already "getting to auntie." In presenting the grooms brother of my hijitchan appeared in his stead. It happened a single meeting before the wedding, this presentation, in which she was presented to hijitchan’s brother, not her husband. Husband and wife really only met at the wedding ceremony.

The brother of my hijitchan and the sister of my hibatchan in turn also married, to perpetuate the name Fujiwara. However they had no children. When my family migrated to Brazil hibatchan left his youngest son with the couple formed by the sister of my hibatchan and my hijitchan' brother, in the case of my jitchan's brother. So who followed both the name Fujiwara as the name Nitahara are biological children of my hibatchan. At the time of emigration to Brazil my jitchan was 10. To satisfy the requirement of "3 spades per family" the little sister of my hibatchan accompanied the family. My jitchan had a younger brother who, when they migrated to Brazil, stayed on Nihon to continue the Fujiwara name. Another younger brother of my jitchan was born on Brazilian soil. After the couple was in Japan with my jitchan's brother adopted another child, a cousin. And both families gave the sequence names. Nitahara and Fujiwara were samurai families. Also among the same segment in Nihon social hierarchy exists. Marriages have always functions of alliances. In this double union between the two families occurred several exchanges: Nitahara family had a most favored economic status, on the other hand, the condition of the family hierarchy Fujiwara was better.

These three family stories show us how malleable proved the family configurations in the context of migration, both among Uchinanchu and between the Japanese. The concern to continue the family name is an element found in both cases. Adoption is the strategy used for this purpose. The conduct of the two cases and their final conformation show, however, that the ideas, feelings and behaviors that guided each family trajectories on the screen here are quite distinct. The son left by hibatchan with her sister followed the Fujiwara family name in Japan as sent the protocol. Seiji, who should have stayed in Okinawa to follow the name Uema ended up coming to Brazil. And despite not having a ready acceptance the feeling of helping and being close to his family, as an obligation of eldest son was, according to his son Nelson, the main reason for the permanence of Seiji in Brasilia.

One radical difference being appointed between Uchinanchu and naichi is located in the question of formalities relating to marital unions and family relationships. Among naichi, once established a settlement there are no reconsideration. This rigid obedience becomes clear in the episode where the first daughter of my hijitchan (great-grandfather) with another woman than the hibatchan (great-grandmother) searched the family and simply has not been received. From this episode is measured at formal behavior of Japanese family that both Uchinanchu as Brazilians in general would

indicate as cold and emotionally restrained. This relationship distant and cold, without demonstration of affection between family members in Japan is a feature indicated by Uchinanchu as the statement that the hierarchy of Japanese society has its parallel within the family institution. Even those dekassegui Brazilians looking to visit their relatives Japanese see their expectations of family affection and identification often frustrated. They say: "The family treat Japanese Brazilian relatives so cold, show no emotion to know persons coming from so far away. They ignore the fact that we have the same blood running through our veins. Does not seem that you're family. "

It is radically different what we see in the stories of Uchinanchu family exposed here. Both stories Uchinanchu are demonstrative of the way the emotion, passion and sense of family cohesion are inscribed in the conformation of the trajectory of family. The naichi family prioritize the relationships of respect and honor, while in the family Uchinanchu the emotion, informality and a certain fickleness of marital unions reveals a very different ethos from naichi. The way to look at the existence of a previous marriage shown opposite if we compare the stories here on screen. In family Nitahara information about the existence of a daughter from a previous marriage (no one knows for sure if there really was marriage, widowhood or which indeed happened) are inaccurate because it was long considered a taboo subject. There was not any contact and approach with this first daughter and any member of the Nitahara or Fujiwara family. In family Uema the son of a first relationship, which was tasked to follow the name in Okinawa came over and lived together with the family. In the Higa family history of maternal grandmother's first marriage is told in a relaxed way, given as an example of how Uchinanchu take the issue of marriage so passionate and emotional.

We can assume that the different perspectives and attitudes toward marital relations and family structures among Naichi and Uchinanchu are guided by the ethos and values intrinsic to each group. The relaxed manner, non-formal and light with which Uchinanchu report the existence of children from a first marriage and a remarriage driven by passion and adventure is an example of this difference. The radically different trajectories and the outcomes of the stories treated here revealed that between Uchinanchu the malleability of family configuration was often guided by the circumstances and emotions, while the arrangements agreed in the family naichi were strictly followed. The stories have differences that reflect different ways of being and position themselves with regard to situations similar to some extent. A family matter

proved to be one point comparing the identity Uchinanchu and Naichi fairly bulging in my ethnographic data. The rigidity in the rules of succession to the familiar name among the Nikkei was preponderant over feelings[16].

**Conclusion**

These minutiae that make up the identity constructions of groups who have lived virtually the same dynamics of global migration reveal the strength that membership exercises over the identity constructions. The stark contrast between the identity construction between Uchinanchu and naichi, focusing on positioning, feelings, dispositions, perspectives, values, attitudes quite own for each one of the identities under consideration here, is reflected strongly in the current global configuration of both communities. I am referring strictly to the colony Nikkei, which due to movement dekassegui has experienced in Japanese land the non-cultural and identity integration in relation to the Japanese. According to Kawamura, in view of the Brazilians, their distance from the Japanese is due to several reasons: you cannot communicate in the Japanese language, do not agree with Japanese customs or unknown them, live conflict situations at work, and feel discriminated by coworkers and Japanese neighbors. (Kawamura, 1999: 169).

The ethnography I expounded dealing on sociability Uchinanchu, about the hierarchy and family succession, adoptions and marriages inserted into a centennial dynamic and global migration, sought to indicate the process through which both communities were built with feelings of belonging and identity as disparate. The current configuration, and comparing naichi Uchinanchu in a perspective from the situation in Brazil is as follows, briefly. In case the configuration of Japanese society and the descendants of emigrants who left Japan and settled in countries like Peru, United States and Brazil, the image to be associated is the extreme and rigid division into small boxes. In the cohabitation of the descendants of Japanese immigrants born in the countries mentioned above and Japanese citizens do not hear about integration or identification. However the Brazilian Uchinanchu actively participates in a living, breathing, intensely Uchinanchu community, that is found multi-located. Precisely their tenacity makes the transnational community Uchinanchu obtain the characteristic of being glocal. Not in the strict sense of "think globally and act locally" but rather an integration and

[16] The film Gaijin (I and II) of Tizuka Yamazaki portrays that the attempt to contain the feelings and emotions was something quite complicated inJapanese colony in Brazil broadly.

coordination between the living and dynamic global community that shares the spirit Uchinanchu, and local groups of friends who are actually Associations Okinawa Kenjin Brazilian Peruvian, Hawaiian, Argentina. These local groups, the associations, are articulated in a dynamically flowing network of information, people, family relationships and friendships, values, aids, and membership reciprocity identity that is established globally.

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