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Transnational Body: Racial Citizenship of Okinawan-Bolivians in Colonia Okinawa, Bolivia and in Yokohama, Japan

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Glossary of Foreign Words

Includes words of the Japanese (J), Okinawan (O), and Spanish (S) languages
In Alphabetical Order

Altiplano (S)	Bolivian western highland
Amerika-yu (O)	American period
Baje (S)	Bolivian central valley
Barbalos	Indigenous groups in rural Santa Cruz region
Blanco (S)	Whites
Boliviajin (J)	Bolivian(s)
Bon (Obon) (J)	The period in August when the spirits of dead return to this world
Camba (S)	Bolivian lowlander
Camion (S)	Dump truck
Camioneta (S)	Pick-up truck
Canpesino (S)	Peasant
Cantón (S)	Village (administrative unit of Bolivia)
Carpintero (S)	Construction worker
Castilliano (S)	Spanish language
Centro (S)	Town center
Chaco (S)	Field wage laborer
Chofere (S)	Machine operator, truck driver
Colonia (S)	Farming settlement
Cosechadoras (S)	Harvesting machines or people,
Cultivador (S)	Cultivating machine
Dekasegi (J)	Sojourning
Denki (J)	Electricity, electrical installation
Departamento (S)	Region (administrative unit of Bolivia)
Dojin/Dojinā (J/O)	Aboriginal(s)
Dōka (J)	Assimilation
Eisa (O/J)	Okinawan *bon* dance
Finca (S)	Lowland version of hacienda
Flojo (S)	Lazy
Fumigadoras (S)	Pesticide sprayers
Futsū-go (J)	Normal Japanese speech
Gaijin (J)	Foreigner(s), alien
Gaikokujin (J)	Same as Gaijin
Gakuryoku (J)	Learning ability
Genba (J)	Construction site
Genchi-jin (J)	Local(s)
Hacienda (S)	Large agricultural landholding system in Andean Bolivia
Haken (J)	Send (staffing practice)
Hakujin (J)	Whites
Hiragana (J)	A Japanese alphabet
Hōnen-sai (J)	Harvest festival
Ie (J)	A household institution
Indio (S)	Indians
Issei (J)	First generation immigrants
Japonés (S)	Japanese
Jinshu (J)	Race
Kanji (J)	Chinese character
Katakana (J)	A Japanese alphabet
Kazoku kokka (J)	Family state
Keigo (J)	Respectful Japanese speech
Keirō no hi (J)	Day for Respect for Elders
Kenjin-kai (J)	Prefectural association
Kenshū	Training program
Kiken (J)	*Dangerous*
Kitanai (J)	Dirty
Kitsui (J)	Difficult, hard
Kokugo (J)	National language
Kokuminsei (J)	National character
Kokoro (J)	Heart, mind
Kolla (S)	Bolivian Andean highlander
Llano (S)	Bolivian eastern lowland
Maíz (S)	Corn
Mañana (S)	Tomorrow
Mestiza/o (S)	Racially mixed
Motacú (S)	Palm leaves
Moyai (O)	Okinawan mutual aid association
Naicha (J)	*Same as Naichi-jin*
Naichi-jin (J)	Natives of Japanese main islands
Nanshin (J)	Southward Advancement
Nan'yo (J)	South Sea (Micronesia) Islands
Nihonjin (J)	Japanese (people)
Nikkei (J)	Descendents of Japanese immigrants overseas
Nikkeijin (J)	Same as Nikkei
Nisei (J)	Second generation immigrants
Ouen (J)	Help (staffing practice)
Paisanos (S)	Fellow countryman
Patron (S)	Large-scale farm owner
Pollera (S)	Andean indigenous women's layered skirt
Rajio taisō (J)	Radio gymnastics/exercise
Raza (S)	Race
Risutora (J)	Term for "restructuring" in Japanese companies
Rōdōsha (J)	Laborers

Sansei (J)	Third generation immigrants
Sanshin (O)	Traditional Okinawan *stringed musical* instrument
Sembradoras (S)	Sowing machine
Semi soya (S)	Soy seeds
Sensei (J)	Teacher
Shimadaiko (O/J)	A kind of Okinawan drum
Shishi-mai (J)	Lion dance/Dancing lion,
Shūkan (J)	Custom
Sindicato (S)	Union
Teinei-go (J)	Polite Japanese speech
Tesis (S)	*Dissertation, thesis*
Trabadores (S)	Workers
Uchinā (O)	Okinawan(s)

Uchināguchi (O)	Okinawan language
Uchiinā-yu (O)	Okinawan period
Ukeoi (J)	*Subcontracting*
Vestido (S)	Western dress
Yamato-yu (O)	Japanese period
Yakuza (J)	Japanese mafia
Yobiyose (J)	Calling relatives and friends from the homeland
Yo (S)	Spanish term for "I"
Yu (O)	Historic Periods
Yuca (S)	Casaba
Yūshoku jinshu (J)	Colored race
Zene-kon (J)	General construction firm

Glossary of Acronyms

Bo-Nikken:	(Jp) Boribia Nihon-go Kyōiku Kenkyū Iinkai (En) Japanese Language Education Learning Committee of Bolivia
CAICO:	(Sp) Cooperativa Agropecuaria Integral Colonias Okinawa (Jp) Koronia Okinawa Kyōdō Nōgyō Kumiai (En) Colonia Okinawa Integral Farming Cooperative
CBJ School:	(Sp) Colegio Particular Mixto Centro Boliviano-Japones Okinawa No. 1 (Jp) Okinawa Daiichi Nichibo Gakkou (En) Japanese Bolivian Elementary/Middle Private School at Okinawa No. 1
CNE School:	(Sp) Colegio Mixto "Nueva Esperanza"
JICA:	(Jp) Kokusai Kyōryoku Jigyōdan (En) Japan International Cooperation Agency
KIJ:	(Jp) Kaigai Ijū Jigyōdan (En) Overseas Migration Agency
MNR:	(Sp) Movimiento Nacionalista Revolutionalia (En) National Revolutionist Movement
Nichibo Kyōkai:	(Jp) Okinawa Nihon Boribia Kyōkai (Sp) Asociación Boliviana-Japonesa de Okinawa (En) Japanese-Bolivian Association of Okinawa
ODA:	(En) Overseas Development Aid
USCAR:	(En) U.S. Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is about how identities and behaviors of transnational migrants are shaped differently in their migratory origins and destinations, due to different economic, political, and cultural forces on local and extra-local scales. It is about how human bodies play a critical role in symbolizing and representing the "true" self of individuals as both a surface upon which a particular significance is inscribed, and as a vehicle for the individuals to perform their identities. It is, finally, about *racial citizenship,* which I define as specific forms of socioeconomic and cultural belonging in a local community that are signified on and through bodies.

Rather than treating transnational migrants as individuals who possess and exert "free will," I regard them as "subjects" who are "not unified, autonomous individuals exercising free will, but . . . whose agency is created through situations and statuses conferred on them" (Scott 1992:34). Because these subjects are both those who make themselves and are made at the same time, it is imperative to define them as an ongoing formative process, not a complete product. The process of transnational migrants' subject formation involves a composition of their "subject-positions" (Parreñas 2001:31), which Rhacel Salazar Parreñas defines as "a contradictory mix of confirming and contending 'identities,'" generated by discourses of state and capital (O'Sullivan et al., 1994:310; cited by Parreñas 2001:31). Identities are defined here not as unitary and stable properties of individuals, but as contested and shifting "positions" in which subjects place themselves in relation to other subjects surrounding them. Furthermore, subject-positions are not constituted simply through abstract and intellectual self-definitions, but comprised through their physical bodies that are differentiated from those of other subjects.

To explore the social processes of subject formation and racial citizenship, I portray transnational Okinawan communities in two nation-states: an Okinawan immigrant community in Colonia Okinawa, Bolivia, an agricultural settlement established almost fifty years ago by Okinawan settlers; and a Colonia Okinawan immigrant community, in the city of Yokohama, Japan, where hundreds of Colonia Okinawans have been migrating since the 1980s for *dekasegi*, or sojourning. My study is derived from a transnational situation of Okinawans and Colonia Okinawans in Bolivia and Japan, where the social process of racial citizenship in particular locales can be observed. I lived and conducted fieldwork in Colonia Okinawa from July 2000 to May 2001; in addition I had previously conducted several short-term research trips beginning in December 1997. I also conducted fieldwork in Yokohama from June to November in 2000, in order to observe and examine the dekasegi experiences of transnational Okinawans. Specifically, I looked at the subject formation of transnational Okinawans in each locale through the lens of three key institutions: economic institutions (labor market and workplace), cultural institutions (school and state-sponsored training programs), and social institutions (family and gender relations). In conducting this ethnographic study, I found that transnational Okinawans in Colonia Okinawa and Yokohama experience different forms of socioeconomic and cultural belonging to the local and national communities in Bolivia and Japan; these experiences manifested in differentially articulated bodies of transnational Okinawans and their Others in each locale, such as non-Okinawan Bolivians in Colonia Okinawa and native-born Japanese in Yokohama.

My analysis of transnational Okinawans' differentially embodied manifestations of belonging, or what I call racial citizenship, illustrates the process of embodiment through class differentiation, institutional enculturation, and gender segregation that are challenged, transformed, or legitimized through their transnational movements.

This study's underlying questions deal with multiple contradictions encountered by transnational Okinawans encounter in both locales: How do transnational Okinawans (Okinawan settlers and their descendants in Colonia Okinawa and Colonia Okinawan dekasegi migrants in urban Japan) cope with the contradictory social class positions they occupy? In Bolivia, they enjoy an affluent *patrón* (large-scale farm owner) status in rural Colonia Okinawa, yet they struggle to succeed in urban Bolivia, whereas in Japan, Colonia Okinawan dekasegi migrants can earn more money by working in construction and manufacturing industries, yet they suffer from financial instability and personal humiliation as blue-collar laborers. How do cultural institutions, like community schools in Colonia Okinawa, cultivate Colonia Okinawan youth's identities and bodies, as they state their purpose to be the production and development of bilingual and bicultural subjects who can succeed in Bolivian society, but in effect prepare them for living and working in urban Japan as dekasegi migrant laborers? How do Colonia Okinawans construct themselves as *Nikkei* (the descendents of Japanese immigrants overseas), if Okinawans, due to their past as colonial subjects under Imperial Japan, do not consider themselves, and are not regarded by *Naichi-jin* (the term used for natives of the rest of Japan), as completely "Japanese"? This study, then, is both an ethnographic account of differentially embodied belongings of transnational Okinawan subjects in Bolivia and

Japan and an attempt to understand the contradictory outcomes of their subject formations.

In order to explore the contradictory and complex processes of transnational Okinawans' subject formations, I rely on scholarship that has attempted to articulate the relationships between class and culture, class and race, and race and culture. Although each theme has produced an enormous amount of theoretical discussion within economics, sociology, anthropology, and cultural studies, the discussion, in my view, falls short of either formulating race as a sociocultural production, empirically examining cultural practices as a crucial means of racial formation, or taking the global and local political-economies into account for theorizing race and class. In my attempt to theorize race in a transnational context, I rely on the feminist theorization of bodies as "becoming" through signification and performance, and the conceptualization of "cultural citizenship" as a process of self-cultivation and being-cultivated within the particular of local context, for integrating the three fields of discussion.

Culture and Class

Challenging the structural Marxist approaches to class stratification, it has been argued that class, like any other concept, is a social construct used to explain certain aspects of the social world (Hall 1997:8). British cultural studies has been a major promoter of the social constructionist view of class, in which culture is regarded as a critical means and site of class formation, struggle, and maintenance. The internal diversity of British cultural studies not withstanding, its fundamental analytical framework on the relationship between culture and class could be summarized by John Clarke and his colleagues in the following statement:

> The 'culture' of a group or class is the peculiar and distinctive 'way of life' which realises or objectivates group-life in meaningful shape and form. . . . Culture is the distinctive shapes in which this material and social organisation of life expresses itself. . . . Culture is the way the social relations of a group are structured and shaped: but it is also the way those shapes are experienced, understood and interpreted. [Clarke et al. 1976:10-11]

Two of the "Founding Fathers" of cultural studies are, according to Colin Sparks, Raymond Williams and E.P. Thompson (Sparks 1996:72). Williams' materialist approach defines culture as "a whole social order" that is embedded in socioeconomic relationships; thus class is either "material means" or the transformation of cultural objects and forces (Williams 1981:87-88). Thompson (1963), on the other hand, defines class as a historical relationship, a consciousness, and a sociocultural formation. While he maintains that class is the "raw material experience," he also claims that class is "a relationship, not a thing" (Thompson 1963:10). He views common class (i.e., material) experiences, determined by productive relations (i.e., means of production), foster the common consciousness of the group. He writes:

> [C]lass happens when some men [sic], as a result of common experiences (inherited or shared), feel and articulate the identity of their interests, as between themselves, and as against other men whose interests are different from (and usually opposed to) theirs. . . . Class consciousness is the way in which these experiences are handled in cultural terms; embodied in traditions, value-systems, ideas, and institutional forms. [ibid:9-10]

In short, he sees culture as a means by which members of a class, which is defined by the means of production, interpret their common experiences to create a collective consciousness. This view is shared by such sociologists as Paul Willis (1977) and Dick Hebdige (1979, 1988), who attempted to articulate the working-class youth subcultures as both a symbolic expression and a productive process of their class-defined life situations.

Antonio Gramsci's concept of "hegemony" had a profound impact on scholars of British cultural studies since the 1970s, in explicating class struggle, which had been inadequately addressed by their predecessors. Gramsci contends that the ruling class exerts its power over subordinate classes with "hegemony," a maneuver that combines coercion and consent. The ruling class can accomplish its rule over the subordinate class by force, but the domination has to be secured and maintained by use of consent. In order to consolidate hegemony, the ruling class needs to elaborate and maintain a popular system of ideas and practices, which Gramsci calls "common sense" (Gramsci 1971:182). Hebdige (1979), influenced by Louis Althusser (1970) and V.N. Volosinov (1973) as well as Gramsci, views culture as an "arena of class struggle" between the "dominant culture" that attempts to perpetuate and naturalize the established social order, and the "subculture" that interrupts and subverts the dominant. Stuart Hall also bridges between class and culture with Gramsci's concept of hegemony and common sense. While Hall considers that class derives from "class in itself," defined by the means of production, to "class for itself," which is formed by collective consciousness, he values Gramsci's claim on the heterogeneity and incoherence of classes (Hall 1996a:423). Hall states, "[A] class will always have its spontaneous, vivid but not coherent or philosophically elaborated, instinctive understanding of its basic conditions of life and the nature of the constraints and forms of exploitation to which it is commonly subjected" (ibid:432). Therefore, there is no unitary battle line between the ruling and subordinate "blocs"; rather, the class conflict is a "war of position," which "has to be conducted in a protracted way, across many different and varying fronts of struggle; where there is rarely a single break-through which wins the war once and for all" (ibid:426).

Weberian sociology also radically departed from the structural Marxist definition of class through the formulation of "social classes," which are "not predicated in any straightforward way on a given mode of production," and, therefore, can emerge from racial and ethnic distinctions and social constructions of gender, instead of "purely self-interested economic classes" (Hall 1997:19). Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1986) produced a sophisticated analysis of "social class" formation and maintenance by arguing that "*habitus*," the individuals' structured practices in everyday life, and the accumulation and deployment of "symbolic" and "cultural" capital, determine the individuals' social class belonging. Bourdieu crucially departs from both structural Marxism and British cultural studies by dismantling the distinction between "economic" capital and "cultural/symbolic" capital in Marxist theories. Instead of defining class in terms of the means of production, as in the materialist Marxist fashion, Bourdieu argues that the ruling class accomplishes its status over the subordinates by accumulating "symbolic capital" (prestige or honor) and "cultural capital" (knowledge, skills, and other cultural acquisitions). Such non-materialistic capital, Bourdieu insists, *is* capital, because it functions in the same manner "when it is perceived by an agent endowed with categories of perception arising from the incorporation of the structure of its distinction" (Bourdieu 1991:238).

These efforts to theorize social and cultural formation, reproduction, and maintenance of classes leave open a question regarding the possibility of change and resistance. Hall, for instance, adopts Gramsci's idea of the roles of "organic intellectuals" who take the task of "political education and cultural politics" to mobilize masses and create class-based political struggles (Hall 1996a:431-432). James Scott

(1990) criticizes the notion of hegemony that allegedly naturalizes the relation of dominance. Scott claims that the subordinate class *does* resist domination, but one needs to look for signs of resistance in what he calls "hidden transcripts," the discourse that takes place "off-stage" and "beyond direct observation by powerholders" (Scott 1990:4). Even these arguments for class struggle and resistance, however, are still preoccupied with the reproduction and maintenance of the inequality between classes, and they do not address the actual possibility of class *change*. Bourdieu, similarly, defines members of lower social class by their lack of cultural and symbolic capital, and inability to accumulate such capital because of their own *habitus*, which denies them the lifestyles of the upper classes.

This shortcoming in the class/culture formulation becomes even more pronounced once class is examined within transnational contexts. When middle-class Filipina women migrate to the United States or Italy, for instance, they often become domestic servants for upper-class American and Italian families (Parreñas 2001). The class-culture analysis therefore needs to be placed within the global political economy that is laden with disproportionate distributions of economic, cultural, and symbolic capital across the world. The binary model of the conflict between ruling and subordinate classes can not fully explicate class changes through transnational movements. Another fundamental flaw in the theorizations of class and culture is, with the exception of Hall, a lack of serious attention to race and gender. Ruling class domination, whether through the differentiation of the means of production, symbolic domination, or coercion and consent, is often predicated upon various forms of racism and sexism, since modern capitalist states are as polarized by racial and gender differentiation as class conflict. Any attempt to theorize class in modern states, therefore, requires a rigorous analysis of the relationship between class, race, and gender. My analysis of transnational Okinawans in Bolivia and Japan takes into account these intersections, as these migrants experienced radical social class changes through their migrations and as they *both* deployed and resisted different forms of capitalist exploitation in each locale, which simultaneously constructed them as a class and a race.

Class and Race

In the last decade, "whiteness" has become a hugely influential concept for studies of race and ethnicity by effectively linking class with race. The term gained considerable potency with Michael Omi and Howard Winant's conceptualization of race as a symbol of social conflicts and interests and David Roediger's formulation of whiteness as psychological "wage" (Omi and Winant 1994; Roediger 1991). Omi and Winant define race as "*a concept which signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies*" (Omi and Winant 1994:55, emphasis original). In their view, racial categories that represent such social conflicts are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed through a sociohistorical process, which they call, "racial formation" (ibid). The notion that race is a sociohistorical formation and a symbol of social (such as class) conflicts made a strong influence on the recent scholarship in so-called "whiteness" studies, which seeks to theorize the "making" of race as a simultaneous process, not as a mere consequence, of class formation. Roediger argues that class formation and the development of racial identity "went hand in hand" for the case of the white workers in the US (Roediger 1991:8). Citing W.E.B. Du Bois's note on the "racial wage" that the white workers enjoyed, Roediger argues that the white working class in the US in the late nineteenth century found pleasures and privileges in their race ("whiteness") that could make up for the alienating and exploitative class relationships they had to endure. The white workers, Roediger states, "could, and did, define and accept their class positions [as working class] by fashioning identities as 'not slaves' and as 'not Blacks'" (ibid 13).

Numerous studies since then have demonstrated how immigrant groups in the US, who had previously been considered non-white, came to identify themselves, and be perceived as, members of the "white" race, once they achieved upward socioeconomic mobility and socialy disassociated themselves from African-Americans (Brodkin 1998; Ignatiev 1995; Jacobson 1998; Loewen 1988). These studies have crucially linked race with power by formulating whiteness as symbolic currency to be invested in and maintained (Harris 1993; Lipsitz 1998). More recently, the studies of whiteness have expanded to explore non-European ethnic minorities and their racial "whitening" and "blackening" processes (Koshy 2001; Ong 1996; Warren and Twine 1997), and to expose the disjunction between the facevalue of the white privilege and actual significance of pale skin color and European heritage in concrete social situations (Frankenberg 1993; Hartigan 1997, 1999). These studies have not only reiterated the socially constructed nature and fluidity of white racial identity, but also revealed that in certain social, cultural, and political contexts, whiteness could have little to do with European origin or pale skin *per se*. Europeanness and phenotype, however, are not completely unrelated to their racial privilege. One has only to examine racial formations outside North America and Europe to realize the undeniable influence of the European hegemony since the fifteenth century that has made any local racial identities inseparable from the global hierarchy of power. Alastair Bonnet (1998), for instance, revealed how the modern European notion of whiteness displaced the local white identities in China and Middle East that had nothing to do with being European or Caucasoid. France Winddance Twine (1998) and Michel-Ralph Trouillot (1996) also demonstrated that even in societies where racial distinctions between black and white are rigorously denied and even unnoticed, subtle phenotypic characteristics and cultural traits (language, socialization, or academic diploma from European schools) are valued and devalued according to their supposed proximity to or distance from Europeanness. Any racialization process in today's world, therefore, cannot escape from the modern ideology of racial differences.

Although my inquiry into subject formation of transnational Okinawans is not directly related to either Europeanness or whiteness, I find these discussions useful for their rigorous engagement of race with class and body with power. My inquiry into transnational Okinawans' subject formation in Colonia Okinawa and urban Japan, in this sense, examines the social processes of racial formation by demonstrating how bodies represented symbolic capital through their practices in each locale. My study, furthermore, attempts to address the significance of global political economy in race making, which these studies of racial formation have largely ignored. They rigorously examined, for instance, how Irish, Italians, or Slavs whitened themselves through, and in quest of, socioeconomic upward mobility in the US, but they rarely questioned how the blackness (or non-whiteness) of Irish, Italians, and Slavs was constructed in the first place within the world system. In addition, they pay insufficient attention to the actual race-making process, which is carried out not only through economic and political mobility, but also through cultural practices. Jews in the US, for instance, did not become "white" simply by accumulating wealth and moving out from cities to suburbs, but they articulated and negotiated their whiteness through social interactions in everyday life. My empirical study of the everyday race/class making of transnational Okinawans in Bolivia and Japan aims to fill this void. My study asks, for instance: How do day-to-day interactions between Colonia Okinawans and non-Nikkei Bolivians in Colonia Okinawa, and between Colonia Okinawan immigrant laborers and their Japanese Naichi-jin coworkers in urban Japan, produce and reproduce race/class distinctions between them? How does Colonia Okinawa's relationship with state institutions, such as the Japanese national government and the Okinawa Prefecture government, create the Colonia Okinawans' subject-positions vis-à-vis non-Nikkei Bolivians in Colonia Okinawa and Japanese Naichi-jin in Japan?

Race and Culture

My analysis of transnational Okinawans' subject formation also draws upon anthropologists' efforts to elucidate the relationship between race and culture. Franz Boas was arguably the first anthropologist in the US to pay serious scholarly attention to the concept of race. He criticized eugenicists' explanations of racially determined human behavior and mentality, and argued that "[t]here is not the slightest scientific proof that 'race' determines mentality, but there is overwhelming evidence that mentality is influenced by traditional culture" (Boas 1969:8). Boas sought to demonstrate that eugenics was "bad science" and discredit race as an unscientific category. While Boasian anthropology of race questioned biophysical determinism of human intellect and behavior, it also displaced the concept of race from anthropological discourse, claiming that race is nonexistent (Livingstone 1962), and is "a dangerous fallacy" (Sanjek 1994:6-7). Another, but related, legacy of Boasian anthropology is the separation of culture from race. Ruth Benedict, a most renowned student of Boas, declared that race and culture were distinct, claiming that culture is "the sociological term for learned behavior," whereas race is "biologically transmitted" traits of humans (Benedict [1943] 2000:115). In short, race was defined to be "what culture was not": given, unchangeable, and biological (Visweswaran 1998:72).

What replaced race in the 1960s as the primary interest of anthropologists was the concept of ethnicity, which was defined by a community of language, religion, social institutions, and other cultural traits, rather than physiological characteristics (Montagu 1962). Since the 1970s, an increasing number of anthropologists have followed this trend and investigated the expressive cultural processes of collective identity formation and maintenance of group boundaries by analyzing the symbolic mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion (Banton 1983; Barth 1969; Cohen 1974; DeVos 1975; Isaacs 1975; Keys 1976, 1981; Light 1981; Nash 1989; Waters 1990).[1] This separation of ethnicity from race, however, only widened an ideological separation between race as biology and ethnicity as culture, and valorized the concept of ethnicity (Mukhopadhyay and Moses 1997:523). Moreover, as Faye Harrison (1995), Eugenia Shanklin (1994), and Ana Maria Alonso (1994) argued, the anthropology of ethnicity has tended to "disembody" the individuals' concrete material conditions. For instance, although African-Americans in the US are defined as merely another ethnic group within anthropological studies of ethnicity, they cannot simply "whiten" themselves into the same invisibility as Italian- or

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[1] There is another trend in theories of ethnicity, which emphasizes political and economic significance of ethnicity. For example, Espiritu (1992), Nagata (1974), Patterson (1975), Portes and Bach (1985), and Smith (1986, 1991).

Irish-Americans (Williams 1989:428). While the concept of "ethnic group" has gained credibility among anthropologists as a more accurate category than "race," the crucial importance of power that *creates* races has been lost, and the very fact that the distinction between nature (= race) and culture (= ethnicity) is, in fact, a cultural construct has also remained unrecognized by anthropologists (Visweswaran 1998). As anthropologists moved away from race and focused on ethnicity as a more reliable scholarly concept, anthropology, by and large, has "determined to write itself out" of the current public discussions on race and racism in society (Shanklin 1999:672).

The problem of sociocultural anthropology's unwillingness to analyze race as a social yet powerful "fact" was exacerbated amidst what Etienne Balibar (1991) called the "new racism" and xenophobia spreading across Europe and other regions. He argued that today's racism does not rely on the eugenicist theories of biological racial differences, but instead on the notion of essentialized and naturalized culture and tradition in which culture "*can also function like a nature*" (Balibar 1991:22, emphasis original). As a result, racism against non-European immigrants is justified as a "defensive reaction" by Europeans to maintain their "cultural closure" (ibid:26). In the neo-racist discourse of xenophobia, race and culture are conflated: race is culturized while culture is racialized. Paul Gilroy also criticized the "new racism" for its naturalization of national belonging: "This new racism was generated in part by the move towards a political discourse which aligned 'race' closely with the idea of national belonging and which stressed complex cultural difference rather than simple biological hierarchy" (Gilroy 1993:10). Gilroy's concept of "ethnic absolutism" seeks to explicate the relationship between race and culture in Britain where the "confluence of 'race,' nationality, and culture" is a driving force for xenophobia (Gilroy 1990:114). He defines ethnic absolutism as “a reductive, essentialist understanding of ethnic and national difference which operates through an absolute sense of culture so powerful that it is capable of separating people off from each other and diverting them into social and historical locations that are understood to be mutually impermeable and incommensurable” (ibid:115). Stuart Hall (1996b) echoes Gilroy’s conceptualization of culturalist racism. Hall defines racism as a naturalization of “otherness” through representations. He writes, “Racism . . . operates by constituting impassable symbolic boundaries between racially constituted categories, and its typically binary system of representation constantly marks and attempts to fix and naturalize the belongingness and otherness” (ibid:445). Therefore, as David Palumbo-Liu argued, human bodies become “a site of enormous symbolic work and symbolic production,” and they tend to create a “slippage between cultural and racial hybridity” through discourses (Palumbo-Liu 2001:82).

My study of transnational Okinawans’ experiences in Colonia Okinawa and urban Japan also reveals that their subject-positions are constituted through a reductive and essentialist understanding of cultural difference between Colonia Okinawans and their Others in the two locations, by themselves and their Others. One might ask: Why do I conceptualize essentialized and naturalized social class and cultural differences, and senses of belonging and alienation of transnational Okinawans as a manifestation of “racial,” rather than cultural, national, or ethnic, difference, even though Colonia Okinawans do not appear as a race, or *jinshu*, in the scientific and popular discourse in Japan, and Colonia Okinawans in Bolivia are not regarded as a *raza*, in the same way as, say, African-Americans in North America? This query begs further questions: Why do anthropologists, despite their claims that race is a cultural construct, not a biological entity, rarely examine the processes of racialization in societies where phenotypic differences among individuals are not easily identifiable, or where a sociobiological discourse of race has not been well-established? Why are there very few anthropological studies of racial formations that are conducted outside of the societies where black-white racial polarities are widely acknowledged, such as North America, British West Indies (and West Indian communities in UK), and Brazil? Do anthropologists, after all, still presume that race is "what culture is not," although they claim race *is* a cultural construct?

This study of transnational Okinawans is an attempt to break through this barrier built around the anthropology of race today. For this reason, I contend that the transnational Okinawans' differences from their Others is a *racial* difference, and that their subject formation is a *racial* formation. This claim does not contradict the fact that their divergence from non-Nikkei Bolivians and Naichi-jin Japanese are described as cultural, national, and ethnic differences, rather than sociobiological racial ones in popular narratives in Japan and Bolivia. What makes cultural differences of transnational Okinawans racial, I argue, is the social processes of embodiment that produce human bodies as markers (consequences) and makers (reasons) of essentialized and naturalized differences that signify, and account for, their belongingness and otherness in local and global scales. Therefore, the objective of my inquiry is not so much to analyze whether or not transnational Okinawans *are* a race, but how they are culturally racialized and racially cultured through various social processes.

Embodiment

As I will discuss in Chapter 6, gender is a critical factor in the subject formations of transnational Okinawans, not only because Colonia Okinawan women and men go through different social processes in Bolivia and Japan, but also because it reveals how crucial the human body is for the subject formation processes. In my study, instead of merely "adding" gender as another variable for theorizing of race and class, I attempt to integrate gender into "interacting, interlocking structures" in which the transnational Okinawans were placed (Glenn 2002:6). As Anne McClintock has pointed out, racial, class, and gender differences have often been imagined as a "triangulated analogy," exemplified by the common narratives in the nineteenth century-Britain where Irish, Jews, prostitutes, the working class, and domestic workers were regarded as "white negroes," who were different "races" from the white middle-class Englishmen (McClintock 1995:53-4). This conflation of race, gender, and class is particularly important for inquiries into the subject formations of transnational immigrant men and women, because they simultaneously experience transformations in their racial, class, and gender identities (Pedraza 1991). Explorations of transnational immigrants' experiences, therefore, require not an "additive model" of gender, race, and class, but a more nuanced and organically unified model for subject formation (Sacks Brodkin 1989). Feminist scholars of transnational immigrant women (and men) have explored "racialization" of labor market and state politics. Studies of workers' participation in the labor market, for instance, revealed numerous cases of labor market segmentations, or "occupational ghettorization" of non-European immigrant women in specific industries, such as domestic service and light-manufacturing (Bonacich 1994; Espiritu 1999; Glenn 1981, 1985). State and capital's influences on such gendered and racialized labor market segmentations in local and global scales were also explored by Aihwa Ong (1987), whose ethnography depicted transnational capital's control and discipline of gendered labor in the manufacturing sector, and by Cynthia Enloe (1990), who illustrated global division of production and consumption along gender and national lines.

Literature on female transnational migration has produced particularly interesting insights on the reconstitution of gender roles for immigrant men and women in the public spheres, which are conditioned by both capital and state institutions (Bonacich 1994; Choy 2003; Grasmuck and Pessar 1991; Ong and Azores 1994; Parreñas 2001). Catherine Ceniza Choy and Parreñas, for instance, revealed how Filipina transnational migrants were systematically produced by state and capital as "racialized and gendered" (Choy 2003:9) labor force in specialized labor markets, such as domestic service and nursing, and as socially and economically "dislocated" (Parreñas 2001:34) subjects in their migratory destinations. Informed by these attempts to articulate "interlocked and interacted" racialized and gendered subjects, my analysis of transnational Okinawans' subject formations takes into account the gender and racial segregations in public spheres, such as in the paid labor market and workplaces

Another aspect that makes feminist scholarship particularly useful for my analysis of transnational Okinawan subjects is its rigorous inquiry into the human body as an intersection of race, class, and gender, both as a "surface" for inscription of categories and "performative" vehicle of these identities (McDowell 1999). Michel Foucault's study of sexuality has been most instrumental for a feminist theorization of human bodies. Foucault locates the origin of racism in "a prolification of discourses" on sex during the

Victorian era that produced the "truth" of their European bourgeois self (Foucault 1978:72). He argues that the discourse of sexuality is indicative of "bio-power," defined by Foucault as "power over life" that evolved into two basic forms: discipline of individual human bodies at an anatomical level and regulation of population at an administrative level (ibid:139-40). Racism, in his view, was born in this "science of sex," which is predicated on the will to knowledge and quest for truth about the human body and identity. Foucault argues that "[the science of sex] claimed to ensure the physical vigor and the moral cleanliness of the social body; it promised to eliminate defective individuals, degenerate and bastardized populations. In the name of a biological and historical urgency, it justified the racisms of the state. . . . It grounded them in 'truth'" (ibid:54). Foucault's conceptualizations of bio-power, and of the body as surfaces to be inscribed by social practices, have been extremely productive for feminist scholars, who attempted to theorize gendered differences as a result of corporeal inscription that "actively produce the body as a body of determinate type" (Grosz 1994:x). Grosz, for instance, argued that gendered bodies "cannot be adequately understood as ahistorical, precultural, or natural objects," because they are "inscribed, marked, engraved" by various social forces (ibid:53). Judith Butler's formulation of sexual bodies also contends that sex, which is often contrasted with sociocultural category of gender, is not a biological given, but rather is an ideological ideal manifested in a body through scientific and regulatory practices (Butler 1993). By theorizing sex as such, Butler avoids presumption of the "real" or "raw" body that precedes the gendered body. Instead, she suggests that "there are conditions for the emergence of a subject neither requires a 'subject' before the constitution of a subject, nor the foreclosure of agency by making the subject the product and puppet of sociocultural processes" (cited in O'Connell 1999:65). Butler, moreover, following Irvin Goffman's contention that social behavior consists of a variable performance, argued that gender identities are a performance, constituted by the "stylized repetition of acts" (Butler 1990:140, cited in McDowell 1999:54). This notion of bodily performance of gender is not necessarily at odds with the body as surface upon which gendered difference is inscribed, but it allows the possibilities of change, transgression, and subversion of the socially constructed categories of sexed bodies. In so doing, it adds to my analysis of subject formation a dimension of resistance and change by individual subjects against the external social forces that seek to produce their bodies in particular fashions.

Although Foucault made little effort to link colonialism with the emergence of bio-power and state-racism in Europe, Ann Laura Stoler argues that the formation of a European bourgeois self at home was inseparable from the colonialism abroad where the colonial authority obsessively policed "moral, sexual, and racial affronts to European identity" (Stoler 1995:112). Noting the colonial authority's emphasis on "discipline" and "cultivation" of the European bourgeois self in the colonies, Stoler argues that the colonial order "coupled sexuality, class and racial essence in defining what it meant to be a productive – and therefore successfully reproductive – member of the nation and its respectable citizenry" (ibid:178).[2] Through technologies of bio-power deployed by the colonial authority, therefore, the discourse of sex produced race as "true" bodies through which we identify ourselves, and racism provided "truth claim" of what the social world once was and should be.[3]

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[2] See Stoler's other works (1991, 1992), an edited volume on interracial marriages in colonial Latin America by Larvin (1989), for policing of sex and bodies under colonialism.

Stereotyping is an effective means of producing distinct and "true" bodies in colonial situations, because identification by others and selves is central to what Ian Hacking calls "making up people" (Hacking 1992). Frantz Fanon argues that the "dark" bodies of the colonized are created through the colonizers' representations of the colonized as abnormal and uncivil, contrasted with the normal and civil bodies of the colonizers. Fanon states, "[T]he feeling of inferiority of the colonized is correlative to the European's feeling of superiority. . . . *It is the racist who creates his inferior*" (Fanon 1967:93, emphasis original). The colonized, in turn, internalize their racialized bodies. Fanon writes:

> For not only must the black man be black; he must be black in relation to the white man. . . .The black man has no ontological resistance in the eyes of the white man. Overnight the Negro has been given two frames of reference within which he has had to place himself. [ibid:110]

The internalization of racialization by the colonized also takes place in the domain of culture. In *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963), Fanon argued that European colonialism systematically instilled this conflation between culture and race in the thought of the colonized Africans. Since colonized Africans were never viewed as Angolan or Nigerian but as "Negroes," the culture of the colonized was coined as "African" (instead of Angolan or Nigerian) culture, in opposition to "European" culture. The postcolonial African intellectuals, as a result, found themselves tending "to racialize their claims and to speak more of African culture than of national culture" (Fanon 1963:214). Under colonialism, therefore, a generalized European culture was racialized as white, while the generalized African culture was racialized as black.

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[3] Fessenden (1999) demonstrates how race became an indication of man's "soul" in both the white supremacist discourse, which propagated the unassimilatability of African-Americans, and the Progressivism, which promoted multiculturalism, in the early 1900s US. Fessenden cites Lothrop Stoddard, who wrote, "Civilization is the body, the race is the soul. Let the soul vanish, and the body moulders into the inanimate dust from which it came."

Similarly, Homi Bhabha argues that stereotyping in colonial discourse deploys skin as a useful bodily marker of difference. He writes, "Skin, as the key signifier of cultural and racial differences in the stereotype, is the most visible of fetishes, recognized as 'common knowledge,' in a range of cultural, political and historical discourses" (Bhabha 1994:78). "Visibility" and "spontaneity" of skin color become "a *sign* of inferiority or degeneracy, skin as its natural '*identity*'" (ibid:80, emphasis original). Bhabha finds the stereotyped colonized to be "split" within the colonizers' "fantasy." Dark skin of the colonized is at once the symbol of evil and pleasure. Bhabha writes:

> The black is both savage (cannibal) and yet the most obedient and dignified of servants (the bearer of food); he is the embodiment of rampant sexuality and yet innocent as child; he is mystical, primitive, simple-minded and yet the most worldly and accomplished liar, and manipulator of social forces. In each case what is being dramatized is a separation. [ibid:82]

Race is, in Bhabha's argument, a "natural" and embodied projection of the colonizers' ambivalence towards colonized subjects. While in Fanon's argument, the culture of the colonized was racialized by colonizers' stereotyping, Bhabha formulates racialized bodies as a symbol of the colonized culture that reflects the colonizers' ambivalence towards colonized subjects. Recent anthropological studies on ethnic violence (Das 1990, 1995; Feldman 1991; Hayden 1996; Jeganathan 1998; Malkki 1995) demonstrate that not just stereotyping but also violence can be an effective means in the production, identification, and segregation of ethnic Others from the Self, by exaggerating certain phonotypical differences of bodies of the enemy. Violence is not only a means to single out and exterminate the racial or ethnic Other, but also a device to *produce* racial or ethnic Self and the in-group intimacy. As Appadurai summarizes, ethnic violence is a mechanism that produces "persons out of what are otherwise diffuse, large-scale labels that have effects but no locations" by extracting an "abstract token of ethnicity" out of human bodies (Appadurai 1998:241).

These efforts to theorize the relationship between race, class, and culture inevitably return to the question of the body. Race is neither a biological entity nor a cultural collectivity *per se*, but a culturally embodied symbol that functions as a "natural" and "true" representation of individual essence, and as a performative vehicle for individuals to exhibit their identities. More importantly, we should learn from various feminist scholars that non-racial – blank or abstract – bodies never existed *prior to* the constitution of race. Instead, racial bodies are produced within the political and economic orders of society, which exerts its bio-power over individual subjects through their bodies. Individuals' everyday practices that constitute their particular lifestyles, or in Bourdieu's term, *habitus*, function as a medium through which the state, capital, and individuals produce themselves as racialized subjects.

Bodies of transnational Okinawans, and their Others in Colonia Okinawa and urban Japan, are both "surfaces" on which racial, gender, and class differences are inscribed, and vehicles of "performances" of socially assigned race, gender, and class positions in Colonia Okinawa and urban Japan. In my study, therefore, I view the bodies of transnational Okinawans as the primary location for the racialization of culture (and the culturization of race) – the constitution of mutually impassable symbolic/cultural boundaries between individuals – for it is a symbolic intersection of nature and culture.

Racial Citizenship

The key question in my study, then, is how to theorize the *change* in social class, *habitus,* and gender that the transnational Okinawans experience through their movements between Colonia Okinawa and urban Japan, and how these changes are inscribed upon, and acted by, their bodies. I find the concept of "cultural citizenship" most helpful in theorizing the fluid social processes of subject formation (Rosaldo 1994; Lowe 1996; Glenn 2002; Werbner and Yuval-Davis 1999). Renato Rosaldo defines cultural citizenship as an individual claim to represent him/herself as a particular subject, rather than as a generic citizen who is inseparable from the mainstream population. He argues that cultural citizenship is "the right to be different (in terms of race, ethnicity, or native language) with respect to the norms of the dominant national community, without compromising one's right to belong, in the sense of participating in the nation-state's democratic processes" (Rosaldo 1994:57). Lisa Lowe distinguishes legal and political citizenship from cultural citizenship, because a nation-state is "juridically legislated, territorially situated, and culturally embodied" at the same time (Lowe 1996:2). Therefore, while one might be legally allowed to reside within the territory of the state, it is through "the terrain of national culture" that the individual subject is formed as a citizen. Criticizing Marx's notion of "abstract labor" in a labor market that underwrites the rights of an "abstract citizen" in a political state, Lowe argues that in a liberal capitalist state like the US, non-whites have been neither "abstract" labor nor citizens. She writes:

> [C]apital, with its supposed needs for "abstract labor," is said by Marx to be unconcerned by the "origins" of its labor force, whereas nation-state, with its need for "abstract citizens" formed by a unified culture to participate in the political

> sphere, is precisely concerned to maintain a national citizenry bound by race, language, and culture. [ibid:13]

Thus, a citizen of color like an Asian-American remains a "contradiction," at once a legal citizen and a cultural alien, because s/he, "even as a citizen, continues to be located outside the cultural and racial boundaries of the nation" (ibid:6, 10).

Citizenship is more loosely defined by Evelyn Nakano Glenn as "full membership in the community in which one lives," which includes "certain rights in and reciprocal duties toward the community" (Glenn 2002:19). Glenn argues that while citizenship came to be conceived as a universal status, the history of citizenship in modern Western states has been in fact characterized by the policing of citizenship's boundaries and exclusion of non-citizen, such as "the alien, the slave, and woman" from the "universal citizen" status (ibid:20-21). While Rosaldo stresses individual agency to perform differences within the national community, Lowe and Glenn insist on the state-capital alliance that prevents particular labor and citizens from belonging to a politically and culturally defined national citizenry. Ong, in contrast, defines citizenship as the "dual process" of the Foucaudian "subject-ification" process within "power relations that produce consent through schemes of surveillance, discipline, control, and administration" (Ong 1996:737-8).

Ong later expanded the concept of "cultural citizenship" to explicate the "cultural logic" behind transnational migrations and state policies in today's global political economy (Ong 1999:5). She argues that techniques and codes that condition and manage the transnational movements of population and capital are governed by the notion of "flexible citizenship." She states:

> "Flexible citizenship" refers to the cultural logics of capitalist accumulation, travel, and displacement that reduce subjects to respond fluidly and opportunistically to changing political-economic conditions. In their quest to accumulate capital and social prestige in the global arena, subjects emphasize, and are regulated by, practices favoring flexibility, mobility, and repositioning in relation to markets, governments, and cultural regimes. [ibid:6]

If I paraphrase what Ong calls "capital and social prestige" with "economic and cultural capital" in Bourdieu's sense, and draw upon my previous argument that cultural absolutism is a process of racialization, it would be possible to explicate "racial formation" (Omi and Wimant 1994) within a global political economy as a manifestation of citizenship, a social process of socioeconomic and cultural belonging and nonbelonging in specific local communities.

Drawing upon these deliberations, I make three propositions. First, I argue that race is an embodied form of "cultural capital" in Bourdieu's sense that can be accumulated through the "cultivation" of the body (Bourdieu 1986:244). Race is a representation of bodily "cultivation," by which individuals seek to increase their symbolic value within the scheme of social class. The individuals' cultivation of their own bodies, however, is not always successful in increasing cultural capital, because the body's symbolic value depends on the symbolic systems within a particular locale. Second, I argue that race is a product of Foucaudian bio-power. Following Foucault and feminist scholars who adopted his theorety of embodiment, race is defined here not only as a reification of cultural capital, but also as "truth," or fundamental knowledge, about the human body through which we identify ourselves and others. Finally, I argue that the racialized body is a manifestation of cultural citizenship, as defined by Ong, whose conceptualization of citizenship allows us to view the body as a representation of both the society's bio-power and individual agency. Because bodies are representations of symbolic capital, the same body may become a symbol of power and privilege in one locale at a certain point in history, but in another place in another era, it may signify symbolic deficit. The differing symbolic values of racial bodies represent different degrees and forms of socioeconomic and cultural belongingness and otherness in each community. Conversely, individuals seek accumulation of locally defined symbolic capital through the cultivation and representation of their bodies, with which they pursue greater cultural and socioeconomic belongingness in the society.

This two-way process of the cultivation of racialized bodies by both state, capital, and individuals within global and local spheres is what I define here as racial citizenship. One might argue that my use of the concept of citizenship in this way is stretching it too far. I, however, agree with Werbner and Yuval-Davis who argue that the discussion and conceptualization of citizenship should not remain defined merely as a legal and formal relationship between an individual and the state. They define citizenship as "a more total relationship, inflected by identity, social positioning, cultural assumptions, institutional practices and a sense of belonging" (Werbner and Yuval-Davis 1999:4). In this sense, racialized bodies can be viewed as a manifestation of citizenship.

What I attempt to demonstrate in this study, therefore, is the racial citizenship of transnational Okinawans in Bolivia and Japan through an examination of their subject-positions in each locale. Through ethnographic inquiries, I explore their everyday practices at workplaces, in cultural institutions, and within gender relations, produced their identities and behaviors through stereotyping and performances, which indicates symbolic gains and losses of their embodied cultural capital. In quest of capital accumulation, however, transnational Okinawans often produces seemingly contradictory outcomes. Their efforts to maintain or increase the cultural and economic capital placed in unexpected social positions within each locale, and affected their sense of belonging and alienation in both situations.

Fieldwork Site: Colonia Okinawa

Between December 1997 and May 2001, I conducted field research in Colonia Okinawa for approximately fourteen months. Colonia Okinawa, an agricultural settlement established in 1954 by Okinawan settlers from the Ryukyu Islands of southwest Japan, is a small rural village located 30 miles northeast of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, the regional capital of Santa Cruz, and 15 mile east of Montero. Santa Cruz is the largest among the nine regions of Bolivia, constitutes approximately 34 percent of the entire national land. A large portion of the Santa Cruz region belongs to the eastern lowland, or *llano*, that shares its borders with Brazil and Paraguay. Unlike the Andean highland in western Bolivia, or *altiplano*, the Santa Cruz region is known for its mild tropical climate, with an annual average temperature of 24C to 26C (75F -79F), with distinct rainy seasons (November to April) and dry seasons (May to October) (Hiraoka 1980). Santa Cruz de la Sierra has recently become the largest city in Bolivia, with a population of over one million, replacing La Paz as the country's demographic and economic center.

After seventeen groups of settlers had arrived from 1954 to 1963, more than 1,500 people have settled in Colonia Okinawa, but as I will discuss in the next chapter, the vast majority of these settlers soon left the Colonia for the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, left the country for Brazil or Argentina, or returned to the Ryukyu Islands or Japan.

Currently some 800 Nikkei are members of *Okinawa Nihon Bolivia Kyōkai*, or *Nichibo Kyōkai*, the community organization of Nikkei in Colonia Okinawa. The majority of Nichibo Kyōkai members are Okinawan settlers and their children, but there are a small number of Japanese mainlanders who have settled in Colonia Okinawa since the 1970s through the Japanese government-sponsored immigration programs.[4] The vast majority of Colonia Okinawan farmers are engaged in large-scale and mechanized production of soybeans, wheat, and sunflowers, while a small number of them are wage earners at Nichibo Kyōkai, Nichibo Kyōkai-run schools and hospital, and the Colonia's farming cooperative, *Cooperativa Agropecuaria Integral Colonias Okinawa* (CAICO hereafter). The Colonia Okinawan population today encompasses three generations. First generation immigrants, or *Issei*, who are in their sixties and seventies, the younger Issei, who were born in the Ryukyu Islands but migrated to Bolivia with their Issei parents when they were children, and the Colonia-born second-generation, or *Nisei*, and the third-generation, or *Sansei*, most of whom are still students.

Despite the small population and relatively short history, Colonia Okinawa occupies a significant position within the Nikkei Bolivian community. It is estimated that there are approximately 13,400 Nikkei Bolivians, the fourth largest ethnic Japanese population within Latin America. The two major centers of Nikkei Bolivian population are Riberalta of the Region of Beni and the surrounding areas, and the Region of Santa Cruz, particularly Santa Cruz de la Sierra, the regional capital, and two Nikkei Colonias, Colonia Okinawa and the Colonia San Juan. The Region of Bení was a major migratory destination for prewar Japanese and Okinawan immigrants, whereas the two farming settlements, Colonia Okinawa and Colonia San Juan de Yapacaní, were established in the 1950s as the result of coordinated efforts by Japanese, Bolivian, and US governments.[5]

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[4] See Chapter 5 for Japanese Naichi-jin in Colonia Okinawa.

A number of scholarly and non-scholarly writings and governmental reports on Colonia Okinawa have been published in Japanese, ranging from the geographical studies of the Colonia foundation process (Ishikawa 1968, 1973, 1995), reports written by JICA officials (Imaizumi 1993; Oshimoto 1970; Tomizu 1973), Colonia Okinawans' commemorative publications on 10th, 30th, and 40th anniversaries (Koronia Okinawa Nyūshoku 10-shūnen Kinen Saiten Iinkai 1964; Koronia Okinawa Nyūshoku 30-shūnen Kinen Saiten Iinkai 1984; Koronia Okinawa Nyūshoku 40-shūnen Kinen Saiten Iinkai 1995), and personal memoirs by leaders of the community (Gushiken 1998; Ijū 1987). A research group headed by Ohashi, a social psychologist, of Tohoku University has conducted the most comprehensive research on Colonia Okinawa and published a report in 1998 (Ohashi 1998). The chapters in this volume cover a variety of themes, including survey research on Colonia Okinawans' cultural assimilation (Ohashi and Ishii 1998), historical analysis of school education (Kasuya 1998; Mori 1998c), non-Nikkei Bolivians' settlement in Colonia Okinawa and their community organizations (Mori 1998a, 1998b), and Colonia Okinawans' secondary migrations to Brazil and Argentina, and dekasegi migration to Japan (Mori 1998d; Tsujimoto 1998a, 1998b, 1998c). My study has drawn greatly from the detailed studies, based on surveys, interviews, and ethnographic fieldwork. What seems to be omitted in these studies, however, is a subtle but crucial significance of Okinawan identities, and the critical importance of social class positions held by Colonia Okinawans both in relation to non-Nikkei Bolivians in Colonia Okinawa and native Japanese mainlanders in urban Japan. Moreover, while these studies have richly demonstrated transnational Okinawans' identity formations and transformations, they are not concerned with my primary research interest, the racialization – naturalizing processes of social class and cultural differences –through everyday practices and experiences in each locale. I hope that my dissertation can contribute a more theoretically nuanced analysis of subject formations of transnational Okinawans, which may make us theorize racial formations in local and global scales more generally.

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[5] There are numerous studies and reports on the early Japanese and Okinawan immigration to Bení region prior to WW II, mostly published in Japanese. For publications in English on Japanese and Okinawan immigration to Bolivia, see Chapter 3 of *Encyclopedia of Japanese Descendants in the Americas* (Kikumura-Yano 2002), Tigner (1963), Amemiya (1996, 1999), Hiraoka (1980), Thompson (1968). For Japanese publications on the prewar Japanese and Okinawan immigrants in Bolivia, see (Bolivia Nihonjin 100-shunenshi Hensan Iinkai 2000; Nihonjin Borivia Ijushi Hensan Iinkai 1970; Ishikawa 1992; Kunimoto 2000; Ono 1970; Otsuka 1992). For studies on postwar Japanese immigration to Bolivia in general, see Wakatsuki (1987). Regarding Colonia San Juan de Yapacaní, Kunimoto (1986) and the Colonia's own publications (San Fuan Ijūchi Nyūshoku 30-nen Kinen Jigyō Suishin Iinkai 1986; San Fuan 15-nenshi Hensan Iinkai 1971; San Fuan Nichibo Kyōkai 1997). For overviews of Nikkei communities in Bení, La Paz, and Bolivia in general, see Kunimoto (1984, 1989), Furuki (2000), Oshikawa (2000), and Shioiri (2000).

The majority of my research took place from July 2000 to May 2001, when I lived and worked in Colonia Okinawa. From my previous short research trips, I had realized that I would not be able to establish connections with Colonia Okinawan residents without having a certain official position in the community. Because the 800 Colonia Okinawan families' residences are spread throughout the Colonia on vast farmland, and I did not have a car, it was quite difficult to get acquainted with people simply by living in the village. My solution was to take a typical job for a community outsider from Japan (See Chapter 5), as a Japanese language teacher at the community school. As a staff member at the school, a key community institution of Colonia Okinawa, I was able not only to participate in numerous formal and informal social gatherings, but also to create and cultivate social connections to Colonia Okinawan students' Nisei parents and Issei grandparents. I attended weddings, a funeral, and numerous social gatherings at private homes; I was at the schools' inauguration and graduation ceremonies, field trips, and welcome and farewell parties for the volunteer Japanese teachers; I participated in local festivals and events like the Harvest Festival (*Hōnen-sai*), Colonia Okinawa Track Meet, the Day for Respect for Elders (*Keirō no hi*), the New Year's Day, Mother's Day, and Father's Day. Through these occasions, I came to know many, though not all, Colonia Okinawans, especially those who have school-age children. Through my role as a volunteer teacher, I also escaped from the community's stereotype of an academic researcher as an abrupt intruder who stays in the Colonia only for a short period of time and demands their cooperation for survey questionnaires with abstract and often uncomfortable questions. I also joined the *sanshin* club, the group that get together once a week to play sanshin, the traditional Okinawan string musical instrument, through which I also got acquainted with the elderly Issei club members. I also regularly spent time at the Methodist Church Nikkei kindergarten. I went to services at the Methodist Church, where I got acquainted with several elderly Issei who were regulars at the church functions. Although I managed to find an available housing in Colonia Uno for most of the research, I also lived with a Colonia Okinawan family for about three months. During the period, I frequently went to the family's farmlands with father of the family, and dined, chatted, watched TV, and sometimes played games with other members of the family.

In the course of my research, I conducted approximately 80 formal interviews with both Issei and Nisei Colonia Okinawans and non-Okinawan Japanese settlers, and five non-Nikkei Bolivians. The formal interviews, lasting an average of two hours, were normally conducted at the interviewees' homes. The individuals who were selected for formal interviews were mostly those who had returned from dekasegi in Japan, but I also conducted a number of interviews with elderly Issei, whose children had migrated to Japan. The majority of my interviews with Colonia Okinawans were conducted in Japanese. According to Hideo Anbo et al.'s survey (Anbo, et al. 1998) conducted in 1996, Issei were most comfortable in communicating in the Okinawan language, which significantly differs from "standard" Japanese, and were fairly competent in Japanese, but were not fluent in Spanish.[6] On the other hand, Nisei were far more comfortable with Spanish than with the Japanese or Okinawan language. Differences in language use between Issei and Nisei, in Colonia Okinawa and urban Japan, and men and women, will be discussed in more detail in the following chapters. My request for interviews was occasionally turned down by Issei, because of their discomfort in communicating in Japanese, and I could indeed detect some peculiar intonations and unique expressions in speaking with them. Some Nisei, particularly men, were clearly not very comfortable speaking in Japanese, even though few seemed to have difficulty understanding me when I spoke Japanese. As a result, our conversations were mixed with Spanish and Japanese, and when I observed conversations among Nisei men, they were usually spoken entirely in Spanish. All formal interviews and casual conversations were spoken entirely in

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[6] 75 and 74 percent of Issei were very confident in their listening comprehension and speaking abilities in Okinawan language, respectively, and 66 percent of them were very confident in their listening comprehension of the Japanese language, while 56 percent considered themselves very competent speakers. As for Spanish, only one percent of Issei were confident in their listening competency in Spanish, and none considered him/herself to speak Spanish very well. 62 and 53 percent of Nisei were very confident in their listening comprehension and speaking abilities in Spanish, respectively, while only 28 and 21 percent expressed strong confidence in their listening comprehension and speaking abilities in Japanese, respectively. Nisei were more comfortable with Okinawan language than Japanese. 64 and 34 percent of Nisei were very confident in their listening comprehension and speaking abilities in the Okinawan language, respectively. (Anbo, et al. 1998:241-3, 246).

Japanese with Issei and Nisei women, because they were generally more comfortable with communicating in Japanese. This difference in language use between men and women, as I will discuss in Chapter 5, was quite suggestive for Nisei Colonia Okinawans' gendered subject formations.

My interviews and interactions with non-Nikkei Bolivians in the village, however, faced more obstacles. As I will describe in the following chapters, the social divide between Colonia Okinawans and non-Nikkei Bolivians was strong, and for a Japanese national like myself, it was difficult to freely transgress the social boundaries and establish close relationships with them, for they were suspicious of, or utterly disinterested in, Japanese outsiders. I managed to conduct several interviews with parents of non-Nikkei Bolivian students at the community school, and had numerous casual conversations with those non-Nikkei Bolivian laborers and domestic workers who worked for Colonia Okinawans, but as they saw me as a friend of their employers, I sensed a strong reluctance to converse openly with me. As many feminist anthropologists have pointed out, ethnographers, after all, neither can ignore the complexities of the social relations within the local community, nor can relinquish or change their identities and bodies in front of their research subjects. My body at the research site was, regardless of my intent as an ethnographer, also inscribed with certain social identities by the different peoples I encountered.

Finally, my study involved research in the Nichibo Kyōkai archives. I worked for Nichibo Kyōkai for three months, cleaning and organizing the old documents stored in the association's headquarters' archive. In exchange for this service, I was allowed open access to the official and unofficial documents of the association, including the existing records of the Colonia's population transactions over the past two decades. Due to the poor preservation and organization of the documents, I could not conduct my archival research in a systematic manner. Therefore, the information I obtained from my archival research is at best fragmented, even though copies of the association's notices to the community and transcripts for the board meetings greatly compensated me for my lack of access to the formal board meetings at Nichibo Kyōkai.

Fieldwork Site: Tsurumi, Yokohama

In 1998, the number of Bolivian nationals in Japan was reported to be 3,461 by the Japanese government, but with those who have dual citizenship added, it was estimated to be closer to 4,000 (Ikuno 2000:294). Most Colonia Okinawan migrants from Colonia Okinawa migrated to Kanagawa Prefecture, or more specifically, to the cities of Hiratsuka, Atsugi, Yokohama, and Kawasaki. The Tsurumi district of Yokohama has become a major destination for dekasegi migrants from Colonia Okinawa, especially in the Nakadori and Ushioda neighborhoods. Although the total Colonia Okinawan population has never been recorded, Masahiro Tsujimoto counted 21 businesses that were owned by Colonia Okinawans in Tsurumi, and at least 102 Colonia Okinawans lived in the district in 1994 (Tsujimoto 1998c:320, 326).

Compared with the small Nikkei Bolivian population in Japan, the number of Brazilian and Peruvian *Nikkeijin* (descendants of Japanese immigrants) living in Japan exceeded 270,000 in the late 1990s. An increasing number of sociological and anthropological studies of Brazilian and Peruvian Nikkeijin in Japan have been published in the last decade. It appears that existing studies on South American Nikkeijin in Japan are generally concerned with three themes: (1) the typology of migration patterns; (2) the economic and social impact of the migration for the sending communities in South America; (3) the transformation of ethnic identity and acculturation. Since scholarship on the subject of South American Nikkeijin's migration to Japan is relatively new, virtually all studies deal with the history and typology of migration. Yamanaka (1996), for example, summarizes the process of Japanese-Brazilian migration to Japan and analyzes the three main factors of this trend: (1) the pressure against the Japanese government from small-scale employers to relax the immigration policy; (2) the Japanese government's insistence on the *sui sanguinis* principle of nationality and immigration laws, namely, that only children born to a Japanese father are regarded as Japanese; and (3) increasing criticism from the mass-media and scholars for the mistreatment of foreign workers in Japan. Yamanaka observes the increasing rate of long-term settlement of Japanese-Brazilians in Japan and concludes that they are transforming from sojourners into settlers and becoming an ethnic minority group in Japan.[7]

Koichi Mori (1992, 1994) focuses on the economic and psychological impact of the emigration and return of Brazilians on the sending communities in Brazil. He investigates the rising interest in dekasegi to Japan among the Japanese-Brazilians since the mid-1980s by examining Japanese recruitment agencies' advertisements in Brazilian newspapers. Through his research in three Nikkei communities in Brazil, he finds improvement in household economies, solidification of the connection between the community residents and the émigrés, and the reconstruction of the community as "home" (Mori 1994). His studies are significant in their examination of the dekasegi migrations' impact on local ethnic communities in South America. The social changes in the sending Nikkei communities in Latin America are also discussed by Masato Ninomiya (1994). The collaborative studies by Japanese and Brazilian scholars reveals the pattern of chain migration of Japanese-Brazilians and the role of migration brokers in the process.

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[7] See Yamanaka (1993) and Tsuda (1998) for the Japanese government and general public's attitudes towards the South American Nikkeijin, which are reflected in the country's immigration policies.

References to sociological and anthropological theories of migration are still relatively scarce in literature on this subject. Yamanaka and Eunise Ishikawa Koga (1996) write a comprehensive study of Japanese-Brazilian migration to Japan. Utilizing sociological theories of migratory processes, they analyze social changes in both sending and accommodating communities in Brazil and Japan. With extensive interviews in Japan and Brazil, they conclude that the creation and development of personal networks across the two countries sustain the immigration of Japanese-Brazilians to Japan. They also briefly report an experience of readjustment by the returnees from Japan to Brazil. The sojourning experience in Japan, they argue, strengthens the Brazilian national identity of the second- and third-generation Japanese-Brazilians, despite difficulty in readjusting to Brazil. Takeyuki Tsuda's (1999b) essay on Japanese-Brazilian migrants in Japan is another study that explicitly makes reference to migration theories in anthropology. He challenges the traditional bipolar model of transnational migration, based upon economic "push" and "pull" factors in the sending and host countries. He relies upon the concept of "structural embeddedness," also used by Cornelius (1998), to explain why what was initially planned as "temporary" migration by Brazilian Nikkeijin became a "permanent" settlement in Japan, due to larger structural factors of domestic and global economic situations surrounding Japan and Brazil.

Ethnic identity formation and transformation of South American Nikkeijin in Japan have also been studied by David Touro Linger (2001), Ayumi Takenaka (1999), Tsuda (1996, 1998, 1999a, 2003), and Joshua Hotaku Roth (2002). In her essay on Japanese-Peruvian immigrants in Japan, Takenaka (1999) argues that the transformation of ethnic identity does not produce either Japanese or Peruvian national identity; rather, the immigrants create a "Nikkei" identity, by accentuating the transnational ties they have across nation-states. Roth's ethnographic studies (2002) of Japanese-Brazilian laborers in Japan also point to the formation of a unique Japanese-Brazilian communal identity. While rejecting the notion of a hybrid identity, Roth argues that Brazilian Nikkeijin in Japan seek "authenticity" and "wholeness" through participation in local community events, such as festivals. Brazilian Nikkeijin in Japan, in other words, construct themselves as a distinct ethnic minority within Japan by emphasizing a commitment and belonging to their community (Roth 2002:8). Tsuda (1999) presented a different view of the ethnic identity of Brazilian Nikkeijin in Japan. He argues that they do not necessarily form a new collective identity independent of nationalities. His field research, which draws upon numerous narratives of Japanese-Brazilians who migrate back and forth between the two countries, reveals that "transnational migration can, in some cases, consolidate and increase national loyalty among migrants, thus contributing to the state's hegemonic objectives and nationalist agendas" (Tsuda 1999:170).

Despite the rich contributions of these studies on South American Nikkeijin, however, the unique situations that Colonia Okinawan dekasegi migrants face, and their subject formations there in, cannot be equated with those of Peruvian and Brazilian Nikkeijin. First, unlike the majority of Brazilian and Peruvian Nikkeijin in Japan, Colonia Okinawan dekasegi migrants entered Japan with Japanese passports, not with tourist or working visas, and with a much better command of Japanese than those from Brazil and Peru. Colonia Okinawans are more capable of "passing" as local Japanese, as they are only the second-generation Nikkei population who grew up in a small and relatively isolated rural ethnic community. Second, the studies mentioned above regard South American Nikkeijin as rather a homogenous group, and pay little attention to the distinctiveness of Nikkeijin of Okinawan descent and their experiences as dekasegi migrants.

Tsujimoto's studies (1998a, 1998b, 1998c, 1999) fill this void by focusing specifically on Colonia Okinawans' identity transformations through their migrations from Colonia Okinawa to Brazil and Argentina, where hundreds of Okinawan settlers migrated to during the 1960s and 1970s, and to Yokohama. His comprehensive inquiries into these transnational experiences have been extremely helpful for this study, but do not recognize the significance of the historically unique relationship between Okinawans and Naichi-jin, and the effect of their Okinawan distinctiveness in their identity formation in Japan and Bolivia. Higa's study on Nikkei Argentines in Japan, the majority of whom are of Okinawan descent, notes that the historical tension between Okinawans and Naichi-jin has remained in their migratory destinations in South America, and it resurfaced in Japan with added complexity, via the South American immigrant experience (Higa 2002:273).[8] My study seeks to address this issue more extensively; to demonstrate how the "Okinawan-ness" of Colonia Okinawan dekasegi migrants functions in their identities and behaviors.

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[8] See also Mori (2000) for historical transformation of Okinawan identity, vis-à-vis Naichi-jin Nikkei Brazilians, in the Nikkei community of Brazil.

Another contribution that my study hopes to add to the literature on South American Nikkeijin communities is a more attentive analysis of the social processes of embodiment. Although identity transformation among the South American Nikkeijin migrants has seemingly been much studied by anthropologists and social psychologists, there has been little effort to link their class and cultural transformations with the fertile theoretical discussion relationships between race, class, gender, and culture in the recent scholarship. While there have been a number of studies on the concept of race in Japan (Russell 1991; Wagatsuma 1967), historical transformations of the concept in relation to modern Japan's nationalism and colonialism (Oguma 1995, 1998; Siddle 1996; Weiner 1997), and to neo-nationalism, or "cultural nationalism," of Japan today (Yoshino 1992), studies of South American Nikkeijin have been surprisingly reluctant to engage with these discussions. While Tsuda, for instance, discusses the "ethnic discrimination" that Brazilian Nikkeijin experience in Japan, he explicates it by Nikkeijin's cultural ambiguity, not racial formation, within Japanese society. Brazilian Nikkeijin, he contends, violate the symbolic boundary in Japanese society between the inside-purity and outside-impurity by being simultaneously of Japanese descent and culturally foreign. Drawing on Mary Douglas' famous thesis on purity and danger, Tsuda argues that Nikkeijin's violation of the classification poses a threat of cultural "pollution" to the Japanese society (Douglas 1966; Tsuda 1998:343-5). Tsuda admits, however, the insider-purity and outsider-impurity binary cannot fully account for the differences between the Japanese majority's attitudes towards South American versus North American Nikkeijin (e.g. Japanese-Americans and Japanese-Canadians). International power hierarchy and racial formation processes within it, South American Nikkeijin migrants' subject formation, therefore, must be integral to the analysis and theorization. Furthermore, although many ethnographic studies mentioned above discuss how Brazilian, Peruvian, or "Latin" cultural differences are essentialized and naturalized through Nikkeijin's bodies (both physical features and their behaviors), they stayed away from the concepts of race and racialization. My analysis of Colonia Okinawan migrants in Japan, therefore, attempts to engage their particular social class (trans)formations and embodiment of their essentialized cultural and social class differences with the theoretical discussions of race, class, culture, and citizenship.

I conducted my fieldwork in Yokohama, from June to October 2000. Unlike in Colonia Okinawa, the transnational Okinawan community in Yokohama, as in other Japanese cities, is neither geographically confined nor tightly knit. There is little face-to-face contact on daily basis and few community events regularly participated in by a large number of Colonia Okinawan migrants. Instead, most of their socialization takes place spontaneously and privately with their own families, relatives, and personal friends. I made several attempts to contact Colonia Okinawan migrants in the area to conduct interviews, but as they were preoccupied work and family affairs in urban Japan, I was able to have only a few formal interviews, and had difficulty creating and expanding networks for my research. In addition, the formal organization among Colonia Okinawan dekasegi migrants in the area, *Boribia Shinboku-kai*, or Bolivia Friendship Association, in Tsurumi was defunct by the time I went to Japan.

I conducted much of my research, consequently, through the work place and an informal social network. I worked as an electrician at T Denki, a Colonia Okinawan-owned electrical installation firm in Tsurumi, for three months. As a member of the T

Denki staff, I went to work at several construction sites in Kanagawa Prefecture and Tokyo, with Colonia Okinawan electricians. I worked side by side with these T Denki electricians, who were mostly young Nisei men in their twenties, and observed their work and interactions with Japanese Naichi-jin supervisors and coworkers, and among themselves, at the various construction sites. I chatted with them while commuting from the meeting place in Tsurumi to the day's work site, during the breaks in the morning, noon, and afternoon, and on the trip back to Tsurumi. Occasionally, I hung out at the company office, which was the T Denki president's apartment, drank beer and chatted with them. I did not manage to conduct any formal interviews with my coworkers, but the informal conversations with these electricians turned out to be more revealing than the few formal interviews I had with other Colonia Okinawan migrants in the area, for they were more relaxed and willing to talk honestly about their past, their current lives in Japan, and future plans.

Although I told most of them about my status as a graduate student at an American university, and my intension to write my "*tesis* (dissertation, thesis)" on Colonia Okinawa and Colonia Okinawan migrants in Japan, I was not always able to make a point of informing the Naichi-jin workers with whom we worked at the sites. My Colonia Okinawan coworkers were less interested in my academic interests than my background as a Japanese language teacher who had taught in Colonia Okinawa. They seemed to view me more as someone who had lived in Colonia Okinawa, their "home," than as an anthropologist who "studied" their community and identities. Although they talked mostly in Spanish among themselves, mixed with a number of Japanese terms and phrases, they chose to speak to me in Japanese, which they spoke fluently. They were clearly uncomfortable with reading and writing in Japanese, so I often assisted them in reading roadmaps and signs while we were driving to the construction sites from Tsurumi, and in filling out the work registration forms in Japanese at the sites.[9]

I also frequented the Colonia Okinawan-owned restaurants in Tsurumi, and often encountered the customers who had migrated from Colonia Okinawa. Due to the relatively short duration of my research and the loose-knit nature of Colonia Okinawan immigrant community in urban Japan, I was unable to conduct extensive and multi-dimensional field research in Yokohama, unlike my fieldwork in Colonia Okinawa. Other than the particular conditions in which the Colonia Okinawan electricians worked, my discussions of Colonia Okinawans' dekasegi experiences in Japan, as a result, rely heavily on events recalled to me by those in Colonia Okinawa who had returned from Japan. Combined with the considerable diversity among Colonia Okinawan dekasegi experiences, resulting from their workplace, location, gender, age, and other specific factors that are involved with their individual situations, I do not claim that my work experience as an electrician at T Denki represents the dekasegi migrants' work and life experiences in general. What I try to present in this dissertation is, therefore, a glimpse of the migrants' everyday work and lives in urban Japan that configured their subject-positions.

The materials on which this study based on are drawn from diverse sources. The quotations throughout the dissertation are from formal interviews, informal conversations in which I was involved or simply witnessed, or observations recorded in my field notes. Throughout the dissertation, the individuals' names used are pseudonyms, although the names of official organizations, such as schools and state institutions, are not. Although most individuals I quoted or portrayed in my study will be well known to Colonia Okinawan migrants in the Colonia and Tsurumi, for the particular positions and personalities described here, I have tried to conceal their identity as much as possible. The quotes I present in the dissertation were originally stated in Japanese, Spanish, or both, and I italicized those words uttered in a language different from that of the rest of the quote. For the names of non-academic Japanese, I maintained the typical order of family name-first, given name-second (e.g. "Suzuki Taku," instead of "Taku Suzuki"), while for Spanish and English names, I employed given name-first, family name-second, to minimize alteration from actual enunciations.

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[9] For their use of their language use in Japan, see Chapter 4.

Organization of the Dissertation

Chapter 2 describes the history of Okinawan migration to Bolivia before and after WW II. The two migrations took place in drastically different forms; while the prewar migration to Bolivia was a secondary migration by the Okinawan contract labor migrants to Peru in the late nineteenth century, the postwar migration was a state-sponsored project. The difference between the two groups was a reflection of Okinawa's historical circumstances in the two eras, namely, colonialism under Imperial Japan and postwar/postcolonial conditions under the US military rule. By outlining the prewar and postwar Okinawan immigrations to Bolivia, I demonstrate how the immigration and settlement in Bolivia was a social process through which Okinawans "became" Japanese national subjects. After their arrival in Bolivia and the foundation of Colonia Okinawa, Okinawan settlers experienced drastic changes within the ethno-racial dynamics in the region and socioeconomic conditions, both of which were heavily influenced by the global and local economies and state (Bolivian and Japanese) policies.

Chapter 3 turns to the factors and outcomes of Colonia Okinawans' dekasegi migration to urban Japan from the 1980s, and elucidates how a "transnational social field" (Glick Schiller, et al. 1995), in which Colonia Okinawan subjects were formed and transformed, was established through the dekasegi migration. My analysis of dekasegi migration phenomena is divided into three different eras: the first wave (1982-1985), when most migrants were middle-aged Issei men who went to Japan because of their serious financial trouble; the second wave (1985-1993), when the dekasegi migration became a widespread "fad" among Colonia Okinawan youth; and the last period (1993 to today), when the dekasegi became a structurally established migratory system, through which Nisei youth keep migrating to Japan despite a prolonged recession in the Japanese economy and the improved economic status of Colonia Okinawan farmers in this period. I also discuss the contradictory influences of Japanese state institutions, which enabled Colonia Okinawans to become an affluent rural upper-class as large-scale farm owners, but at the same time, created socioeconomic circumstances in which many Colonia Okinawan Nisei found dekasegi migration to Japan as the most conceivable, and even reasonable, choice for their future.

Chapter 4 focuses on economy, namely, labor market and work, as a critical site for analyzing the subject formations of transnational Okinawans in Colonia Okinawa and Yokohama. Through ethnographic accounts of Colonia Okinawan farm owners on their farmlands in Colonia Okinawa, and Colonia Okinawan electricians at construction sites in Tokyo and Yokohama, I demonstrate how they are constructed as different social class subjects, and how these differences are practiced and performed by themselves and their Others (non-Nikkei Bolivians and native-born Japanese Naichi-jin) in everyday working situations. I also demonstrate how these social class differences and labor relations are naturalized and inscribed onto the bodies of transnational Okinawans in the two locales. I argue that as their differences from local Others are conceived not as results of socioeconomic differences, but as "natural" outcomes of their different national origins and cultures, their social class differences become racialized.

Chapter 5 explores cultural institutions, such as schools and training programs, as another "site" where the transnational Okinawan subjects are produced. Specifically, I will examine community schools in Colonia Okinawa, where most Colonia Okinawan Nisei and Sansei children study and socialize, and training programs that are sponsored by state- and non-state agencies, through which many Colonia Okinawans have traveled to Japan. Drawing on ethnographic accounts of classes and events at the school, and the narratives of the returnees from the training programs in Japan, I demonstrate how these cultural institutions enabled transnational Okinawans to construct, maintain, and embody their differences – either as Bolivian, Japanese, or Okinawan – from their Others. I argue that the function of cultural institutions is to produce Colonia Okinawan subjects through the essentialization and naturalization of their positions in relation with non-Nikkei Bolivians, Japanese, or Okinawans. Their subject-positions within and outside Colonia Okinawa are formed, interpreted, and reified in the bodies of transnational Okinawans and their others, in and through cultural institutions.

In Chapter 6, my analysis of transnational Okinawans' subject formation turns to gender and sexuality. Employing the conceptualizations of "public" and "domestic" spheres, I demonstrate how the gender and sexuality of Colonia Okinawans are constructed in both spheres of Colonia Okinawa community, not only through gendered differentiation, but also ethnic distinction in paid labor and household affairs. Once moved to Japan, the gender bifurcations among Colonia Okinawans in public and domestic spheres are radically challenged, mainly due to the differentially assigned social and cultural roles of Colonia Okinawan migrant men and women. Drawn from ethnographic accounts workplaces and narratives of intermarried couples who cope with not only sexual and behavioral stereotypes of non-Nikkei Bolivians held by other Colonia Okinawans, but also changing social roles in public and domestic spheres that are structured by gender and nationality. In my concluding remarks in Chapter 7, I reiterate that transnational Okinawans' identities and behaviors in Bolivia and Japan are manifestations of their different degrees and forms of belonging in each society, which resulted from embodied cultural capital they cultivated, intentionally or not, through everyday life.

CHAPTER 2
OKINAWAN DIASPORA AND SUBJECT FORMATIONS

The history of Okinawan immigration to Bolivia in the prewar and postwar eras reflects the ambivalent subject positions of Okinawans throughout the modern history, in which Okinawans have lived through four distinctive "*yu* (periods)" in Okinawan local vocabulary: *Uchinā-yu* (Okinawan era), *Yamato-yu* (Japanese era), and *Amerika-yu* (American era), and again, Yamato-yu, since the reversion of Okinawa to Japan in 1972. The four periods represent the pre-colonial (Uchinā-yu), colonial (Yamato-yu), and postcolonial conditions (from Amerika-yu to Yamato-yu) of the Ryukyu Islands from the late nineteenth century to the contemporary period, within which three waves of Okinawan migration took place: the prewar and postwar migrations to Bolivia, and the dekasegi (sojourning) migration from Bolivia to Japan proper in the 1980s and 1990s. The diasporic Okinawans' struggles to cope with colonial and postcolonial conditions, within which their ambivalent and complex subject-positions were constituted and reconstituted, also represent of their changing racial citizenship that are defined by varying symbolic values and forms of their cultural and political belongings to Japan, US, and Bolivia.

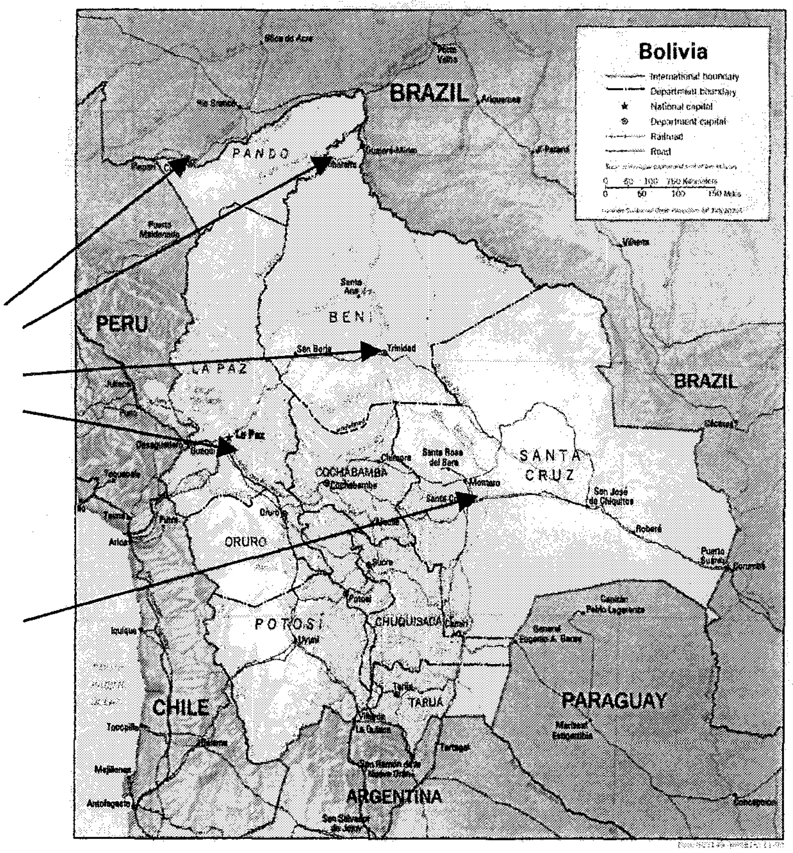
In this chapter, I outline the history of Okinawan immigration to Bolivia from 1906 to 1964, the social and demographic transformation of Colonia Okinawa, the agricultural settlement of Okinawan postwar immigrants, from the 1950s to 1970s. I illustrate how the immigration and settlement in Bolivia was the social process through which Okinawans have been formed and self-formed as the ambiguous national subjects; as colonial subjects under Imperial Japan, who were neither Japanese nor non-Japanese, as nation-less subjects under the US-occupied postwar Okinawa, who were neither Japanese nor American, and neither Japanese nor Bolivian national subjects in the isolated ethnic community in rural Bolivia. Once they settled in Colonia Okinawa, Okinawans experienced drastic economic and social changes in the first two decades, during which they became a numerical minority in the "Okinawan" village. The subject-positions of Colonia Okinawans in this era were conditioned by the ethno-racial dynamics in the region and their own economic and demographic changes in this period, both of which were heavily influenced by the global and local agricultural economies and state (Bolivian and Japanese) policies. By 1980, Colonia Okinwans had witnessed their homeland's reversion to Japan, their own economic struggle and population decrease, and the rapid increase of non-Nikkei Bolivians. It became apparent, therefore, that Colonia Okinawan settlers needed drastic means to improve their socioeconomic status and strengthen connections with their "national" homeland, Japan. The third wave of Okinawan migration, from Bolivia to Japan proper in the 1980s and 1990s, was one solution to such a predicament of Colonia Okinawa.

Throughout immigration to Bolivia in the prewar years and the colonization project in the postwar years, Okinawan subjects remained undefined by a singular nationality, placed outside the "national order of things" (Malkki 1995). Although my approach to the three waves of Okinawan migrations as processes of subject formation explores the political and economic forces as critical factors, it also pays equal consideration to the Okinawan migrants themselves. As domestic and international politics and economies provide changing contexts for transnational Okinawans, they have situationally drawn upon their sense of belonging to Okinawa, Japan, and Bolivia, in order to construct their identities within and outside of national boundaries. The dekasegi migration to Japan proper since the 1980s, viewed from this perspective, was no more than a continuation of such national maneuvering that transnational Okinawans have deployed throughout modern history.

Prewar Okinawan Immigration to Bolivia

Prewar Okinawan emigration overseas was in many ways shaped by Japan's colonial policies, which brought economic hardship to Okinawa. Okinawans, as colonial subjects under the Meiji government of Japan, were constructed as fundamentally

Figure 1: Prewar and Postwar Okinawan communities in Bolivia


Bolivia
International boundary
Department boundary
National capital
Department capital
Railroad
Road
BRAZIL
PANDO
PERU
BENI
Trinidad
LA PAZ
La Paz
COCHABAMBA
Cochabamba
Santa Rosa del Sara
Montero
SANTA CRUZ
San José de Chiquitos
ORURO
Oruro
POTOSÍ
Potosí
Sucre
CHUQUISACA
TARIJA
Tarija
CHILE
PARAGUAY
ARGENTINA
Arica
Iquique
Antofagasta
Roboré
Puerto Suárez

Prewar Okinawan immigrants' communities

Colonia Okinawa

ambiguous national subjects: quintessentially "Japanese," but not quite the same as "Japanese." Such ambiguity of Okinawans was projected on their bodies and behaviors even when they migrated to Japan proper or overseas. In Bolivia, however, due to an extremely small number of Japanese and Okinawan immigrants in the prewar years and overwhelming speed of assimilation into Bolivian society through intermarriage, significant Okinawan "difference" from Naichi-jin Japanese had been quickly undermined by the more serious "difference" between Japanese and Bolivian.

The Japanese "Family State" and Okinawans

Contrary to the common belief that Japanese have always thought of themselves as a homogenous race and nation, Eiji Oguma's analysis of imperial discourse of Japanese nationhood revealed that pre-1945 Imperial Japan advertised itself as "a multiethnic empire," a mixture of heterogeneous Asian groups (Oguma 1995). The notion of a multiethnic Japan, often combined with the Western social Darwinism, which provided "scientific" explanations for racial hierarchy around the globe, created the ideology of a "family state (*'kazoku kokka'*)." The Japanese empire was imagined as a family of common ancestry, within which diverse ethnic groups in the empire's territory were peacefully unified.[10] The ideology of a multiethnic family state not only justified Japan's colonial expansion as repatriation of the "original" Japanese populations, but also enabled the paternalistic adoption of the colonized groups within the empire as underdeveloped "children" of the Japanese nation (Christy 1997:153).

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[10] Oguma revealed that it was commonly argued by various intellectuals that the Japanese royal family was originally from the Korean Peninsula, and migrated to Japan.

The metaphor of "family" reflects a certain notion of "family" within Japanese society. Despite the common assumption the the Japanese family has a rigid patriarchal structure that is strictly based on lineage, *ie*, or a household institution, has been thought of as more of a corporate residential group, whose membership is extremely flexible (Nakane 1970; Smith 1974). For instance, it was common for a merchant household to adopt a talented store clerk as a member of the household, and to treat him like a family member. While it is true that any outsider could become a member of ie and be treated with benevolence from the household head, the adopted member was expected, if not forced, to abandon connection to his original family, change his family name, and obey the rules of the new household. If the adoptee disobeyed or resisted changing his own ways of life, he would receive severe punishment for being ungrateful to the adopting family (Oguma 1995:388). Ie also has the "natural" hierarchical order between husband and wife, parents and children, and elder sibling and younger one. Within this ie ideology, therefore, there was no room for the notion of "individual rights," because household members in subordinate positions should "naturally" follow the superiors' benevolent guidance.

The ie ideology was frequently found in prewar Japanese intellectuals' and politicians' narratives of the Japanese family state and Okinawa's position within it. As adopted children, Okinawans were expected not only to abandon their previous customs, beliefs, and language, in order to become indistinguishable members of the Japanese nation, but also to "naturally" obey the ie's household head, Naichi-jin. People of Okinawa, annexed to Imperial Japan in 1879, were the first child to be adopted and assimilated. Oguma (1998) illustrated how vigorously Japanese and Okinawan intellectuals debated on whether Okinawans were the same as Naichi-jin, and how they attempted to erase the cultural differences of Okinawans through a rigorous assimilation (*dōka*) policy, which sought to transform Okinawans' speech, dress, work, and leisure activities. There was, however, a paradox in this colonial discourse on Okinawa. Under this dōka policy by Imperial Japan, Japanese intellectuals and politicians argued that Okinawan customs and language were signs of the backwardness, but they were also the reminders of archaic and original Japanese culture. Okinawans, therefore, were at the same time backward people who were unworthy of the total citizenship in Imperial Japan, yet were already quintessentially Japanese (Christy 1997:158-9). As a result, although the Japanese intellectuals praised Okinawan customs and language as forms of authentic Japanese culture, it took decades after the Ryukyu Annexation for Okinawans to be rewarded with the same legal rights under the Japanese constitution as Naichi-jin. Such a paradoxical positioning of Okinawans justified and maintained the social and economic oppression of Okinawans under Imperial Japan, which created a strong "push" factor for Okinawan emigration from the late nineteenth century to the 1940s.

Colonial Trauma of Overseas Okinawans

After the Ryukyu Annexation by the Meiji government in 1879, Okinawans had enormous economic obligations to the central government due to newly instituted land tax laws, and Okinawa's economy became extremely unstable as the Meiji government promoted sugar production as the prefecture's economic backbone. Overseas emigration was thought of as means to rescue the near bankrupt Okinawan economy by reducing the prefecture's population and receiving remittances from the emigrants. Modern Okinawan emigration overseas began in 1899, when the first immigrant group of twenty-six

Okinawans, led by Tōyama Kyuzō, a democratic rights activist from Okinawa, migrated to Hawaii (Sakihara 1981:15). By 1927, while some 32,000 Okinawans were working in industrial areas in Japan proper, some 26,500 had migrated overseas, including 1,369 to Peru and 5,464 to Brazil (Sakihara 1981:15, see also Ishikawa 1973; Tomiyama 1990). From the 1920s, as the US government gradually curtailed, and eventually prohibited, Japanese immigration, the Japanese government encouraged more Okinawans to migrate to Southeast Asia (Singapore, the Philippines, Indonesia), the Micronesia Islands (including Saipan and Palau), Taiwan, and, from the late 1930s to 1940s, Manchuria. Particularly during the 1930s and 1940s, the Japanese government strongly promoted Okinawan emigration to Japan's southern territories. It highlighted Okinawa's history of international trading with Southeast Asia as the historical evidence of Okinawans being "the pioneers of Japanese southward expansion" and Okinawa as "the frontline of *Nanshin* [Southward Advancement] policy" (Ota 1972:327, 325). The emigration from Okinawa Prefecture between 1899 and 1941 was 72,789, consisting of 11 percent of the total number of emigrants from Japan, seconding only to Hiroshima Prefecture (JICA Okinawa 1985:23).

Okinawa's ambiguous position within the Japanese nation-state urged Okinawan émigrés overseas to practice what Bhabha calls "colonial mimicry" (1994), when they encountered Japanese Naichi-jin in their migratory destinations. While Okinawans in Okinawa Prefecture were rigorously made, and self-made, to "become" Japanese under the assimilation policy, Okinawans overseas never escaped the stigma of being "almost, but not quite" the same as the Japanese Naichi-jin. Many historians and journalists (Ige 1981; Miki 1988; Tomiyama 1990, 1996, 1997; Toyama and Ikeda 1981) reported

Naichi-jin prejudices against Okinawans in Osaka, Hawaii, Brazil, and the Micronesia Islands.[11] The case of Okinawans in the Micronesia Islands was particularly revealing of how Okinawans responded to their marginality as colonial subjects. Okinawans in the Micronesia Islands worked in harsher working conditions with lower wages than their Naichi-jin coworkers at sugarcane plantation farms, partly because they were considered by the Japanese bureaucrats to be more similar to the native Micronesians than Naichi-jin. Okinawans, in fact, represented a potential threat for the Japanese colonial society by blurring the clear boundaries between Japanese colonizers and the colonized locals. A Japanese colonial scholar described an Okinawan "problem":

> Okinawans do not win the respect of the islanders because their life style is so shabby. Consequently, the reform of Okinawan education and life styles is an urgent matter for the reform of Japanese colonial society in the south. I realized from my observation in the [Micronesia Islands] how "the problem of Japanese overseas emigration is the problem of Okinawa." [Tomiyama 1997:215-6]

The Okinawan émigrés responded to the Naichi-jin émigrés' prejudice and the Japanese government's doubt not by protesting against the unfair treatment and discrimination, but by trying harder to "become" Japanese. They launched "lifestyle reform" campaigns to self-inspect and erase their Okinawaness from their bodies and behaviors: they prohibited themselves from speaking Okinawan dialect/language or playing sanshin, a traditional Okinawan musical instrument. In addition, they amplified discriminatory behaviors against native Micronesian, in order to demonstrate their proximity to the Japanese colonizers. Their efforts to "become Japanese," however, had contradictory consequences. Through self-inspection and cultural erasure, Okinawans inevitably identified themselves as the colonial Other, who could see themselves only through the eyes of the colonizers, the Japanese Naichi-jin, and through mimicking the Naichi-jin's abuse of native Micronesians, Okinawans actively legitimated the colonial power hierarchy (Tomiyama 1997).

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[11] The massive exodus of Okinawans to Japan proper took place in the 1920s, when the drop of international price for sugar hit the mono-culture agricultural economy of Okinawa. The serious recession was called "Sotetsu Palm Hell," because people in Okinawa suffered from famine and were said to opt for eating inedible Sotetsu palm leaves. See Mukai (1992) and Tomiyama (1990) for causes of the recession and subsequent Okinawan emigration to cities in the Japan proper, such as Osaka and Yokohama.

Okinawans in Bolivia

Okinawan immigration to Bolivia in the prewar era took place within this historical and political context of Okinawa under Imperial Japan. Unlike Okinawan immigrants in the Micronesia Islands, however, Okinawans in Bolivia lived with a much smaller number of Naichi-jin Japanese in Bolivia and with much less involvement by the Japanese government than in the Micronesia Islands or Hawaii. The process of "becoming" Japanese, therefore, was rarely obstructed by the Naichi-jin's "colonial gaze" (Chow 1993:51) that would remind Okinawans of their Otherness. Okinawans in Bolivia could transform themselves into "Japanese" and merge with the rest of the Nikkei community without being marginalized as "not quite" Japanese subjects. Most Okinawan immigrants to Bolivia prior to WW II entered the country via Peru. The first Okinawan immigrants to Peru, thirty-six men under the contract of the Meiji Colonization Company (*Meiji Shokumin Gaisha*) of Tokyo, arrived in Callao in 1906. After struggling to survive with low wages at British-owned sugar plantation farms in coastal Peru, a group of thirty Okinawans left for Bolivia to work for the Inca Rubber Company, a United States enterprise, in 1910 (Tigner 1954:474).[12] In the 1890s, while automobile production in

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[12] While there is no official record of the first Japanese immigrants to Bolivia, it is commonly believed that they were among the first 790 contract labor sent by Morioka Emigration Company (*Morioka Shōkai*), which had been sending contract workers to Hawaii from Japan, to the British sugar plantation farms in the coastal Peru in 1899 (Tigner 1963; Kunimoto 2000). Ill-treatment of the plantation owners and epidemic disease disillusioned Japanese immigrants who fled the farms, or they were fired by the farm owners.

North America and Europe dramatically increased, rubber became a highly desirable commodity (Kunimoto 1990:41). The rubber industry in the Upper Amazon, virtually the only rubber producing area in the world at the time, was booming and attracted workers from around the world. During the peak years of the rubber economy, some forty Okinawans worked in the city of Riberalta and surrounding rainforest in the 1910s.[13]

After the rubber industry collapsed in the mid-1910s, most Okinawans settled in cities like Riberalta, Trinidad, Oruro, and La Paz (Satō 1997:22; Tigner 1954:476). The number of Okinawans in Riberalta reached fifty-five in 1930, among whom only three were women (Shioiri 2000:159; Tigner 1954:475). The growth of the Okinawan population in Bolivia was very limited after the peak of the rubber economy, and many Okinawan immigrants left Bolivia altogether. Those who stayed in Riberalta, La Paz, or Oruro were mainly engaged in retail business, but the population remained small throughout the pre-WW II years: Estimated Okinawan Issei population in 1952 was 94 (74 men and 22 women), with 220 Nisei (Tigner 1954:471).[14] The number of Japanese from Japan proper also remained small throughout the pre-WW II era, largely due to the

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Among them were ninety-one men who entered into the Bolivian upper-Amazon across the Andes, to work in rubber farms. The national border between Peru and Bolivia, however, was not finalized until 1909, so it is doubtful that the early Japanese and Okinawan immigrants realized that they had passed the national border.

[13] Because of the rubber economy, Riberalta attracted a number of foreigners. Germans, French, British, Turks, Greeks, and Japanese were among them (Kunimoto 2000:118).

[14] Responding to the request by the U.S. government, the government of Bolivia, an ally of the United States, captured 29 Japanese immigrants (no Okinawans included) and sent them to the internment camps in Crystal City, Texas, and Santa Fe, New Mexico, in 1943. Seven returned to Bolivia after the internment, and twenty-two requested repatriation to Japan. The Bolivian government also seized the capital assets of Japanese immigrants and restricted their commercial activities as a cooperation effort with the US government. The freezing of asset by the government damaged the retail business of Japanese and Okinawans until the end of WW II (Furuki 2000:140). Among the 29 internees, 22 chose to repatriate to Japan after the war, while seven returned to Bolivia. In 1999, the survivors of the internment received a letter of apology and US$5,000 from the US government as compensation for their mistreatment (Manabe 2000).

practice of *yobiyose* (calling relatives and friends from the homeland). The following is a rough estimate of prewar Naichi-jin and Okinawan immigration prior to the war:

Figure 2: Prewar Naichi-jin and Okinawan immigrant populations in Bolivia

Years	Naichi-jin	Okinawans
1900-15	300 (re-migrants from Peru)	40 (re-migrants from Peru)
1915-41	108 (re-migrants from Peru)	5 (re-migrants from Peru)
	25 (yobiyose from Japan)	29 (yobiyose from Okinawa)
Total	433	126

(Tigner 1954:477)

While historical records of the prewar Okinawan immigrants' experiences were scarce, available accounts indicate that unlike those Okinawan émigrés in Hawaii or the Micronesia Islands, who struggled "due to a combination of racial discrimination [by Naichi-jin] and the belated modernization of Okinawa" (Sellek 2003:79-80), Okinawans in Bolivia neither seemed to suffer from tension with Naichi-jin immigrants, nor did they establish self-segregated ethnic communities apart from them. In fact, unlike other Okinawan émigré communities overseas, Okinawans in Bolivia never established a *Kenjinkai* (prefectural association) in the prewar years, and they instead joined and established equal standing in the first Japanese Association in Bolivia established in La Paz in 1922. All nineteen Okinawans living in La Paz in 1952 were members of the association, and three were also among ten Board of Directors. In addition, business partnership and intermarriage between Okinawans and Naichi-jin were not uncommon. From these records, as Tigner observed in 1954, it is safe to assume that in Bolivia "the Okinawans [had] outgrown the inferiority complex" against Naichi-jin, and Naichi-jin's discrimination against Okinawans was minimal (Tigner 1954:484).

A more pressing issue for Okinawans in Bolivia than the Okinawan-Naichi-jin divide was the sustenance of the Okinawan community that was rapidly diminishing, especially in rural areas, through economic hardships and intermarriages with Bolivians. Among all Okinawans, seventy-six percent of Issei were intermarried, although the rate differed significantly between those in the city of La Paz and in rural areas (ibid:481). While Okinawans in La Paz by the 1930s accumulated enough wealth to bring "picture brides" from Okinawa, the vast majority of those in rural Bolivia intermarried with Bolivian women (Tigner 1954:485, 487-497; Furuki 2000:134-5). In 1952, Riberalta of Baní region, there were thirty-six Okinawan men, of whom thirty-four were married to Bolivian women (Kuniomto 2000:30; Shioiri 2000:164). In the Santa Cruz region of the eastern lowland, fifteen Okinawan men lived, and all were married to Bolivian women. In contrast, among the eighteen Okinawan men who lived in La Paz, only five married Bolivian women (Tigner 1954:471, 485; Furuki 2000:134-5).

Okinawans' socioeconomic statuses also varied significantly between urban and rural Bolivia. Okinawans in La Paz were remarkably successful as retail business owners and professionals during the 1930s and 1940s. James Tigner, of Stanford University, who visited La Paz in 1952, reported that "[Okinawans] living in La Paz and its environs, in particular, have made remarkable progress in the last decade" and "[t]he outstanding characteristic of their occupation pattern is the dominance of urban business pursuits among inhabitants of the *Altiplano* [Bolivian highland]" (Tigner 1954:484). Tigner also reported that there had been virtually no discrimination against Okinawans by Bolivians. Okinawans were called "*paisanos* ('fellow countrymen')" by their Bolivian friends, and Okinawans' social relations revolved primarily around a wide circle of Bolivian friends.

Beginning in the 1930s, those who had saved enough money to stabilize their financial situations sent for "picture brides" from Okinawa. Among Tigner's four interviewees, all Okinawan businessmen in La Paz, three were married to Okinawan women who had come to Bolivia as "picture brides," and the other had been widowed by his Okinawan wife.

The stark contrast with Tigner's accounts of successful Okinawans in La Paz is observed in several reports on Okinawan communities in rural areas. Shioiri cited a Japanese Nisei who recalled that while Japanese in Riberalta had much economic power, the Bolivians did not take them seriously because Japan at the time was "only a small country in the margin of Asia," and they thought Japan was "part of China" (Shioiri 2000:168). Out of shame, some tried hard to assimilate into Bolivian society by changing their family names to Spanish-sounding ones and by not teaching Japanese to their children (Kunimoto 1984). Shioiri also reported that, in the rural Upper Amazon, those who married Bolivian women of "lower social status" failed to gain high economic status, while successful Okinawan Nisei, who had become politicians or high-ranked military officers, were normally children of affluent Okinawan business owners and Bolivian mothers from middle- or upper-class backgrounds (Shioiri 2000:180). It echoes what Okinawans married to Bolivian women said about Bolivian mestiza women, that they chose to marry Okinawan men for economic security. Their mestiza wives, who were usually illiterate or semi-literate, were frequently criticized for "poor housekeeping, and neglect of their children," and for causing "discord in the family" by frequent "dancing, house parties and fiestas" (Tigner 1954:484). Socioeconomic upward mobility of

Okinawans immigrants, in other words, was dependent upon their Bolivian wives' high social class standing in Bolivian society.

These accounts indicate that, unlike Okinawan emigrants in other overseas destinations and Japan proper, Okinawans in prewar Bolivia were not preoccupied with achieving a social status equal to Naichi-jin, but with maintaining their socioeconomic status within urban or rural Bolivian societies. They were also concerned with sustaining their population size as an ethnic group amidst a high rate of intermarriage with Bolivians. It was within this context that the Okinawan colonization project in the 1950s emerged as a potential solution for rescuing not only their homeland from suffering, but also their own communities in Bolivia from disappearance into obscurity. In 1948, informed of the devastation of their homeland and their countrymen's suffering during and after WW II, Okinawan communities in La Paz and Riberalta raised funds to help in Okinawa's recovery from the war. In 1949, President Gushi Hironaga of the Okinawa War Relief Association of Riberalta (*Riberaruta Okinawa Sensai Kyūen-kai*) proposed a plan to build an "Okinawan village" in Bolivia to "truly rescue our Okinawan brothers" and "strive for our everlasting national development" (Gushi, quoted in Aniya 1995:57). Their effort was supported by both Okinawan and Naichi-jin community leaders in Bolivia. After research for an ideal location for settlement in the region of Santa Cruz, the Uruma Agricultural Society (*Uruma Nōgyō Kumiai*) was founded by sixteen Okinawans in 1949.[15] The society purchased 2,500 hectares of land for the colony, hoping that not only new immigrants from Okinawa but also Okinawans from all over

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[15] "Uruma" is an ancient name for the Ryukyu Islands in Okinawan archaic language. "Uru" means coral leaf, while "ma" means "in between." The Ryukyu Islands, therefore, were named as the place surrounded by (in between) coral leafs.

Bolivia would join in the construction of the new Okinawan village. One of the founding members of the Uruma Society expressed his hope for the plan: "The immigration plan is wonderful. For the purpose of raising our successors in this country, this plan must be realized" (ibid). It is important to note that most Uruma Society members, who were eager to bring in new Okinawan immigrants to Bolivia, were from Riberalta and Santa Cruz, rather than La Paz. Facing rapid assimilation into Bolivian society through intermarriages and the decline in their socioeconomic status, the construction of "an Okinawan village" was to rescue declining rural Okinawan communities. Their concern about assimilation into rural Bolivian society also demonstrates that subject-positions of Okinawan immigrants in Bolivia were not constructed around the question of their legitimacy as Japanese subjects, as opposed to Okinawan colonial subjects, but formed around the binary between Japanese and Bolivian nationalities. As Okinawan immigrants' symbolic capital as the subjects of Japan, the world's imperial power, steadily diminished through intermarriage and loss of communal solidarity, they opted to raise the value of their cultural capital by founding of new Okinawan immigrant community.

Postwar Okinawan Immigration to Bolivia

Postwar Okinawan immigration to Bolivia was largely a product of Okinawa's transformation from the colonized territory of Imperial Japan into the US military's mandated territory, and subsequently to a strategic "keystone" for the US under the political climate of the Cold War. The colonization project of Okinawan settlers in Eastern Bolivia was an orchestrated effort by the aforementioned Okinawan immigrants in Bolivia, the US military administration of Okinawa, and Okinawans, many of who had returned from the former Japanese colonies overseas. Okinawans were legally Japanese citizens yet governed by the US military-backed Ryukyu Government, so they pursued an escape from their ambiguous national subject-position by migrating to Bolivia as sponsored colonists.

Postwar Okinawa's Crisis

Japan's surrender to the Allies on August 15 of 1945 ended the tragic Battle of Okinawa, which killed more than one-fourth of the entire population of the Okinawa Island. It also marked the beginning of the transformation of Okinawa into the largest US military stronghold in East Asia.[16] After August 15, 1945, the US military immediately assumed the governance of Okinawa, although the US government was uncertain of whether Okinawa should be permanently separated from Japan proper. In October 1948, the US National Security Council recommended that Okinawa be a strategic "keystone" for the US against the surging communist powers in Soviet Union and China. President Truman followed this recommendation, and in May 1949, he officially decided to retain Okinawa for a prolonged period of time and expand the US bases on the islands.

In December 1950, the US military administration was renamed the U.S. Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands (USCAR), which founded the Government of Ryukyu Islands (the Ryukyu Government hereafter) in 1952.[17] The USCAR was modeled after the US mandate administration of Guam, Puerto Rico, and Samoa; while the US invested billions of dollars in developing Okinawa's social infrastructure and education, the USCAR maintained the administrative, legislative, and judicial authorities of Okinawa. It even switched local currency to US dollars. Unlike the Japanese government before WW II, however, the US had no intention to annex Okinawa into the US or legally naturalize and culturally "Americanize" Okinawans, because the US had neither an urgent need to claim Okinawa as its territory, nor a willingness to provide Okinawans with legal rights as citizens.[18] The Okinawans working at US military installations were not allowed collective bargaining privileges, which were guaranteed by the Ryukyu Government's labor laws, and they held at lower wage standards than the legal minimum wage. It is reported that the minimum wage for American employees at the US base was fourteen times as much as the wage for Okinawans (Oguma 1998:504). Any Okinawans who disobeyed or protested against USCAR's orders were accused of being communist (ibid:474-476).

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[16] During the battle, there were numerous cases of robbery of Okinawan civilians by the Japanese Imperial Army in the name of military necessity, executions of Okinawans by the Japanese soldiers for alleged espionage (often when native Okinawans used their dialect, which the Japanese soldiers didn't understand), and Okinawans' mass suicides (*shūdan jiketsu*), often forced by the Japanese Imperial Army officers.

[17] The Ryukyu Government consisted of locally elected officials and was in charge of administrative and legislative functions of Okinawa, but it was obliged to obey the orders of the USCAR, which also maintained the right to nominate the government's chief. The first four Chiefs of the Ryukyu government were nominated by the USCAR, but the fifth Chief, Yara Tomonae, was elected by the Okinawan people. The Chief Yara was the last Ryukyu government chief before Okinawa's repatriation to Japan in 1972.

In a survey conducted byMitsuru Nakayama et al. (1986:45), approximately ten percent of Issei in Colonia Okinawa stated that their dislike of living under US occupation, particularly working for the US military, as a major reason for their decision to emigrate. Many Issei interviewees during my fieldwork in Colonia Okinawa also expressed their dissatisfaction with life in Okinawa under US rule. An Issei, who immigrated to Colonia Okinawa when he was twenty-eight years old, told me:

> Teachers' salary at Okinawan schools was about 20 dollars, and a general employee for the [Ryukyu Government] offices was 15 dollars. If you worked at the US military bases, your pay would start from 50 dollars, and if you could

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[18] In 1948, the US military administration prohibited intermarriage between American servicepersons and native Okinawans in order to prevent them from legally naturalizing. It was repealed afterwards.

> speak English, you could make 150 or 200 dollars. There was such a big difference! If you didn't speak English, there was no job. So many Okinawans studied English very hard. . . . There was always discrimination against natives [Okinawans], and working for the military made me feel like I was a second-class, third-class citizen.

Meanwhile, the postwar Okinawa's economic and social crisis was compounded by the mass return of Okinawans from the former Imperial Japan's oversea territories. Immediately after the war, approximately 100,000 Okinawans overseas, nearly one-third of the total population of the prefecture at the time, were forced to return to Japan from such places as the Philippines, the Micronesia Islands, and Taiwan by the US military's orders (JICA Okinawa 1985:44). A total number of 56,900 returned to Okinawa, but without any farmland or employment, they had difficulty adjusting to war-torn Okinawa. Many had no choice but to take menial service jobs at the US military bases. It was not surprising, therefore, that the majority of the returnees from the former Japanese colonies expressed their wishes to re-emigrate overseas in the Ryukyu Government's survey (Sellek 2003:86).

Among Okinawan settlers in Bolivia were those returnees from the Micronesia Islands, the Philippines, and Manchuria, who looked to re-emigrate overseas if any chance availed itself. The study by Nakayama et al. (1986:31-2) revealed that nearly one-third of Issei in Colonia Okinawa had once lived outside of Okinawa or Japan proper, among them, three-fourths were returnees from places like Taiwan, Micronesia Islands, and Manchuria. During my own fieldwork, I also met a number of Issei who had spent their childhood in "*Nan'yō* ('Southern Sea Islands,' meaning the Micronesia Islands)" such as Saipan and Palau, and Manchuria. An Issei told me how he attempted to migrate to the Japanese colonies during the war:

> My father had lived in the Philippines when he was young. He used to tell me about his experience [in the Philippines] . . . growing Manila Cotton, the local people's lifestyles, deforestation of rich Mindanao Island, and so forth. As a boy, I listened to his stories and was dreaming, "Someday I will also emigrate." . . .

> During the war, I wanted to go to Manchuria badly, and I wanted to join the Manchuria Colonization Team (*Manshū Kaitaku-dan*). . . . So I always had a dream about 'continental farming (*tairiku nōgyō*).' . . . But before I could actually go there, the war ended. . . . I returned to Okinawa [from Japan proper] a few years after the war ended, I think Shōwa 22 [1947]. . . . I did farming only for a year or so, before I was employed by the military, then I became a Special Police under the US military. . . . Then I heard about the Bolivia immigration project.

Okinawan economy had difficulty absorbing the returnees because much of the island's precious small farmland was taken over by the US military for base construction following the breakout of Korean War in June 1950. In April 1953, USCAR released the Compulsory Land Expropriation order, which permitted the US military to remove Okinawan residents and to seize their land regardless of the landowners' will. During 1953 alone, 447 families were forced to move and 530,000 hectares of farmland were obtained by the US military. By the end of 1953, US bases occupied 14 percent of the entire Okinawa Island, or 42 percent of the island's farmland (Oshiro 1992:99).[19] It was no surprise, therefore, that the land problem triggered island-wide protests from 1953 to 1954. It was against this backdrop that USCAR and the Ryukyu Government sought to ease the social unrest in Okinawa by emigration projects. USCAR and the Ryukyu Government sent James L. Tigner of the Hoover Institute and Library at Stanford University to Latin American countries, in search of possible destinations of Okinawan emigration. Tigner and Paul H. Skuse, the Chief of the Public Safety Division of USCAR, addressed the potential danger of disgruntled Okinawans' turn to communism:

> The Okinawan people are traditionally farmers and ownership of land is one of their most cherished desires in life. Okinawa, with its rising population and decreasing areas of available land, will offer progressively less future for the farming population. Restiveness and dissatisfaction will inevitably accompany

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[19] Under the agreement between the USCAR and the Ryukyu government made in 1952, the landowners were contracted with the chief of the Ryukyu government, and the chief subsequently rent the land to the US military. Since the rent the Okinawan farmers received from the USCAR for their land was extremely low, only two percent of the landowners agreed to the contract with the Ryukyu government. Hence, the USCAR had to resort to the Compulsory Land Expropriation in 1953 (Miyagi 1968:217).

> the waning prospects of land ownership and fading hopes for an adequate livelihood, particularly among the youth of Okinawa. Since Communists appeal to the youth of a nation, and with apparent success in many areas of the Communist dominated world, the youth of Okinawa represent a potentially vulnerable element of the population. The prospects of obtaining large tracts of free land in a distant community as afforded by an emigration program will give fresh hope to the youth and in this way serve to cope with their discontent and susceptibility to the Communist's false promises of reward. [Tigner 1954:522]

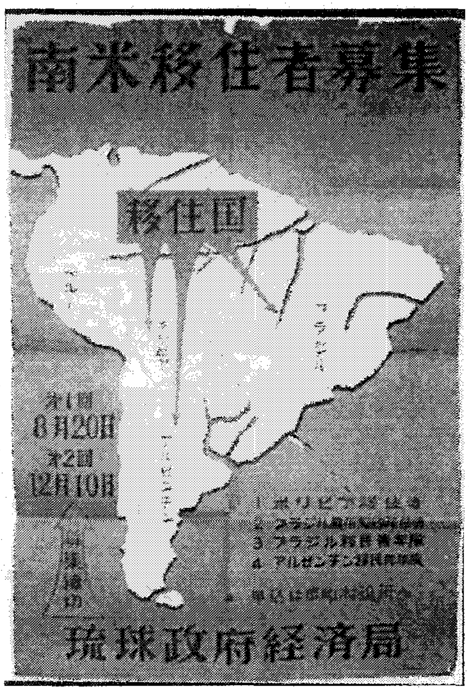
USCAR officials, who were paranoid of the potential spread of communism in Okinawa, needed to find an appropriate outlet for unhappy Okinawans, many of whom were returnees from the former Japanese colonies and worked as low-wage labor for the US military.

Okinawans' Response

Immediately after the war, Okinawans themselves leaned towards the protection offered by the US, rather than the Japanese, government. It was a reasonable reaction by native Okinawans who had vivid memories of the atrocities against them committed by the Japanese Imperial Army during the Battle of Okinawa. Okinawans naively hoped for "liberation" by the US and a better life under the US rule. Hope for a better future under the US occupation quickly disappeared after USCAR abandoned democratic elections for the position of Ryukyu Government Chief, when the first election in 1950 did not turn out as USCAR had expected, and began to handpick the favorable Chief.

Okinawa's future became a hotly debated issue in the early 1950s, and a number of Okinawan intellectuals and journalists argued about whether Okinawa should stay under the US administration or rejoin Japan. The debate over Okinawa's future in the early 1950s not only reflected Okinawans' bitter feelings towards both oppressions by Imperial Japan in the past and by the US military of the present, but also indicated their unwillingness to choose assimilation into either in Japan or the US. Overseas emigration, in such a predicament, was considered an alternative for Okinawans to avoid making a

Figure 3:
Ryukyu Government's recruitment poster for emigration to South America, circa 1952



decision to choose an unattractive future. The sponsored emigration plan, proposed by USCAR and Ryukyu Government, was enthusiastically received by those Okinawanswho were facing a bleak and unpredictable future of their homeland and who were hoping to escape from the present hardship. Responding to the public notice for the sponsored migration to Bolivia that guaranteed fifty hectares of farmland, 3,591 applications were sent to the Ryukyu Government for the 400 slots within only eighteen days (Ishikawa 1995:31). My own interviews with Issei in Colonia Okinawa and Nakayama et al.'s report indicate that many Okinawan immigrants to Bolivia were motivated by their dream to escape from the crowded islands and live in a vast continent (Nakayama, et al. 1986). An Issei interviewee, who had taken various jobs at the military bases before applying for the emigration, told me:

> After graduating from high school, I took jobs here and there [at the military bases]. Then I was attracted to the advertisement that said that I would be given fifty hectares [of farmland]. In Okinawa, there was no landlord who owned fifty hectares. My village as a whole was only sixty some hectare large. When I was coming to Bolivia, I was excited, thinking, "I would become a landlord the land

> as big as my village!" Well, once I came here, [fifty hectares of farmland] was not really impressive at all (laugh).

The "emigration fever" among Okinawans was a reflection of their frustration with Okinawa under the US occupation, where native Okinawans were not granted with full legal rights and were limited in employment choices. In October 1953, twenty-seven regional associations in Okinawa, such as mayors' association and teachers' association, held a "Convention for the Facilitation of Emigration (*Imin Sokushin Taikai*)" in Naha city, and released the following resolutions:

> 1. The Ryukyu Government must soon establish its emigration policy, and hasten its effort to facilitate emigration by organizing administrative infrastructure and opening an emigration bank.
> 2. The government of the United States, who assumes the administrative and diplomatic rights over the Ryukyu Islands and therefore represents the interest of the Ryukyu Islands residents, is responsible for diplomatic negotiation with foreign countries with regard to the accommodation of immigration from Ryukyu Islands.
> 3. We must realize our emigration goals to the Southern Sea Islands [the Micronesia Islands], which are under the United States' governance.
> 4. We hope that there will be special consideration for the United States' immigration quotas for Ryukyuans [Okinawans].
> 5. We hope that the United States bears the expense for Ryukyuan emigrants.
>
> [cited in Oshimoto 1970:76]

The immigration project for Bolivia was proposed amidst this fever among Okinawans, who were desperately hoping to escape from Okinawa overseas, whether it might be Bolivia, the Micronesia Islands, or the United States. The vast majority of Okinawans, in fact, admitted that they had little or no knowledge of Bolivia prior to immigration (Nakayama et al. 1986:37). The migration to Bolivia was not simply an imposed and forced uprooting from their homeland by circumstances created by the US's cold war military strategy, but also Okinawans' desire to escape from their ambiguous legal and socioeconomic citizenship within their own homeland.

Bolivian Government's Intentions

The reason for the Bolivian government's enthusiasm for Okinawan immigration and settlement was clear: it was desperately in need of immigrant workers for carrying out agricultural development in the fertile but sparsely populated eastern lowland of Santa Cruz (Retamoso L and Silva V 1937). Since the end of the 19th century, Bolivia had pursued economic development of the area by encouraging the indigenous population in the western highland area to migrate to the east and by actively recruiting European immigrants to the area. Both plans never materialized because Indian *campesinos* in altiplano were controlled by the owners of *haciendas*, agricultural establishments inherited from the colonial era, and the majority of European migrants to Latin America had chosen Argentina, Chile, and Brazil over Bolivia as their destinations.[20] After the national revolution of 1952, the new government led by the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (*Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionaria*), or MNR, sought to improve Bolivia's much-deprived food supply.[21] The MNR launched a series of agricultural import-substitution measures to reduce dependency on foreign food supplies and to encourage the increase of domestic food production. With rigorous support from the

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[20] In 1937, Ramón Retamoso L, a researcher hired by the Ministry of Agriculture, Colonization, and Immigration (*el Ministro de Agricultura, Colonización e Inmigración*), and Juan Silva V, the head of the National Office of Immigration (*la Oficina Nacional de Inmigración*) already made strong recommendations for immigrant colonists in eastern Bolivia. They wrote: "The immigration of foreign colonists ('*colonos extranjeros*') will be beneficial for the colony. . . . The immigration is an essential necessity. The Colonia Ichiro [an agricultural settlement in Santa Cruz] is too large for the colonization by Bolivians only. Moreover, [foreign] immigrants are always an important factor for stimulation and progress [of colonia]" (Retamoso L and Silva V 1937:87).

[21] In 1952, food imports accounted for 41 percent of all imports and 21 percent of Bolivia's total supply (Gill 1987:31).

United States government, which feared that the MNR-led Bolivia might turn to radical communism if the economy went into disarray, the Bolivian government promoted the colonization of Santa Cruz by foreign settlers, as well as the resettlement of peasants from altiplano (Gill 1987:37; Amemiya 1999:56). The Okinawan immigration plan was an ideal substitute for a failed attempt to develop the area and increase national food production.[22] The Bolivian government's ordinance released in June 1953 reveals its high expectation for Okinawan settlers to become a major agricultural productive force. In the Article 4, the ordinance stated, "Bolivian government demands that all immigrants who would settle as farmers have certain amount of agricultural and agricultural stock raising experience. Those who are not qualified for these standards . . . are subject to repatriate to the homeland at the expense of the Uruma Society" (cited in Oshimoto 1970:75).

In September 1952, USCAR accepted Tigner's proposals for a colonization program in Santa Cruz region, allocating $160,000 to cover the cost of transporting the first four hundred immigrants as a ten year loan. The Bolivian government also granted the immigrants 9,400 hectares in a fertile but heavily wooded land. The Okinawan settlement plan was finalized in June 1953, when the Bolivian President Víctor Paz Estenssoro signed the permission of the entrance of 3,000 families, or 10,000 persons, in a ten-year period. The site of the colonization, called Colonia Uruma, became the pilot settlement site for the first 400 settlers and was supported by the United States Technical

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[22] Japanese government also made an agreement with Bolivian government to send Japanese settlers in Santa Cruz region to found an agricultural colony. The first Japanese immigrants arrived in 1955 and built a settlement called Colonia San Juan de Yapacaní, in northwest of the city of Santa Cruz. For more details on Colonia San Juan's history, see Kunimoto (1984, 1986), Fukaura (2000).

Assistance Mission, as well as representatives of the Bolivian Development Corporation (Hiraoka 1980:48-49).

The first group of 406 settlers arrived in Colonia Uruma August 1954, and immediately began deforesting the jungle, led by those settlers who had faced a similar task in Manchuria and the Micronesia Islands.[23] The first group of settlers suffered from a mysterious epidemic disease, later named Uruma Disease, which killed 15 settlers in the first eight months, and had to move twice before finally settling in the current Colonia Okinawa location. By mid-1958, with steady immigration to the Colonia, the population had increased to 954. The increasing population necessitated the addition of the Colonia Dos and Trés in 1959 and 1961. By 1964, the total population of the Colonia Okinawa reached over 3,200, or more than 500 households.

Without legal authority over Okinawans under US occupation, the Japanese government was unable to intervene in the project throughout the building years of Colonia Okinawa, and was concerned that Colonia Okinawa's failure in Bolivia might damage the reputation of Japan. It assumed that it should exercise its protective authority over Okinawan settlers, but it was also reluctant to actively engage with them for fear of causing waves in the bilateral relationship with the US government. As a result, the Japanese government was largely inactive when it came to providing political and legal protection for the Okinawans in Bolivia. Nevertheless, the Japanese government's concern with the standing of Okinawan settlers in Bolivia was apparent. In July 28, 1954, a Japanese government official on Okinawan affairs wrote, "If, unfortunately, [our fear of failed colonization] became reality, it might result in undermining Bolivians' trust in

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[23] The number of settlers increased from 400 at the time of departure from Okinawa, due to childbirth on the ship and after the group's arrival at South America (Higa 2000:243).

Japanese, and that the reputation of Japanese among Bolivians, which had been nurtured for a number of years, might be tainted" (cited in Tamashiro 1979:96). In 1958, the Japanese Embassy reported to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan: "With regard to the Okinawan settlers, the Japanese and Bolivian governments must agree upon a new immigration treaty, revise the immigration agreement . . . , or allow the Japanese government to take charge of the selection of the settlers. . . . the Bolivian government understands that Japan has potential sovereignty over the Okinawan Islands, and the Bolivian government has no problem with dealing with the Japanese government, because Okinawan settlers in Bolivia were clearly Japanese" (ibid:98). Despite these concerns with Okinawans as a potential threat to the reputation of Japan, the Japanese

Figure 4: Ryukyu Government Sponsored Migration to Bolivia

No.	Households	Persons	Singles	Total	Arrival Year/Month
1	62	215	57	272	1954/8
2	21	113	16	129	1954/9
3	29	109	13	122	1956/2
4	40	209	5	214	1957/12
5	44	215	5	220	1958/5
6	38	213	4	217	1959/1
7	45	242	2	244	1959/7
8	34	207	1	208	1959/9
9	19	124	5	129	1960/4
10	29	175	5	180	1960/6
11	23	156	0	156	1961/4
12	20	138	0	138	1961/6
13	27	185	0	185	1961/8
14	30	198	0	198	1962/4
15	28	193	0	193	1962/5
16	27	116	2	118	1962/7
17	16	120	0	120	1963/6
18	14	71	5	76	1963/6
19	19	98	4	102	1964/6
Total	565	3,097	124	3,221	

government showed reluctance in offering protection for the settlers whenever social or legal problems arose. An Issei who was among the first settlers in Colonia Okinawa bitterly recalled his trip to Sao Paolo, Brazil, when he was refused to enter the country due to his Ryukyu Government-issued travel certificate:

> I went there to visit my relative, but [the Brazilian immigration officials at the airport] told me that my certificate was not valid, because there was no such thing as the country of Ryukyu. I called up the Japanese Embassy in Brazil, but they told me that because I possessed the certificate signed by USCAR, I should contact US Embassy instead. When I contacted US embassy then, they told me that they couldn't help me because I was not a US citizen.

The Okinawans' dissatisfaction with their nation-less status in Bolivia was exacerbated when Japanese government sponsored a separate Naichi-jin migration and settlement in the region of Santa Cruz in 1957. Whereas the Japanese immigrant settlement, Colonia San Juan de Yapacaní, received attentive guidance and assistance by the Japanese government, the US government, who was in charge of Colonia Okinawa's external affairs, never placed a permanent staff person in Colonia Okinawa. The Okinawan settlers' dissatisfaction with the US government's indifference with their needs, and jealousy towards Naichi-jin settlers in Colonia San Juan, fueled their desire to become truly "Japanese" national subjects and receive the legal protection as well as technical, financial, and administrative assistance from the Japanese government.

The request to resolve the ambiguous legal citizenship of Okinawans in Bolivia, whose immigration to Bolivia was carried out by USCAR, but considered to be under the Japanese government's "potential sovereignty," was officially raised in 1966 in the Ryukyu government's letter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. In the subsequent meeting between the Ministry and the US Embassy of Japan, they reached an agreement which included the following measures: a Japanese passport would be issued for Okinawan residents in Bolivia; legal protection of Okinawans overseas would be provided by the Japanese government; and the Japanese government and *Kaigai Ijū Jigyōdan* (KIJ: Overseas Migration Agency), an agency under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which sponsored the Colonia San Juan project in Bolivia, would administer the emigration and immigration of Okinawan residents. On July 1, 1967, the Japanese government and KIJ officially replaced the US Technical Assistance Mission to administer the community affairs of Colonia Okinawa, and opened a KIJ office with permanent Japanese staff in Colonia Okinawa. Consequently, preceding their counterparts back home, Okinawans in Bolivia legally "became" Japanese national subjects five years before Okinawa's reversion to Japan in 1972. This transformation of Okinawan subjects in Bolivia from non-nationals "Japanese" nationals also represents their changing racial citizenship. Their non-national status under US occupation left them in severe symbolic (and economic) disadvantage against US servicepersons in Okinawa, as "second-class citizens", but their migration to Bolivia and settlement in an isolated village in rural area diminished the relevance of their nation-less status, and thereby allowed them to escape from the devalued cultural capital of being Okinawan. The Okinawans' migration to Bolivia and settlement in Colonia Okinawa, in other words, can be viewed as a cultivation process of their embodied cultural capital not by altering their own bodies and habitus, but by changing social environment around them.

Encounters with "Bolivians" from 1950s to 1970s

Okinawan settlers in Colonia Okinawa, as a state-sponsored collective settlement in a sparsely populated area, developed a tight-knit community through mutual assistance and self-government. Even though the postwar Okinawan immigrants had envisioned themselves to be pioneer colonists in the vast jungle, they were placed in complex racial and ethnic conditions of Bolivian society. The Okinawan settlers' subject-position was formed not so much in terms of a Naichi-jin vs. Okinawans polarity as around the ethno-racial categories in modern Bolivia. In addition, the Okinawan settlers socioeconomically transformed themselves from the semi-self-sufficient farmers to the large-scale commercial farm owners, while they were demographically overwhelmed by the influx of highland immigrants during the 1970s.

The relative isolation of Santa Cruz region until this century and its fierce desire to maintain local autonomy from the political authority in altiplano had already created unique ethnic dynamics within the region when Okinawans arrived in 1954. As the region of Santa Cruz experienced the dramatic transformation from a relatively obscure peripheral land of Bolivia into one of the fastest growing economy in South America, the demographics of Colonia Okinawa and the Okinawan settlers' social relations with the local population also changed. Okinawan settlers' subject-positions vis-à-vis other local populations and the cultural and social boundaries of their imagined community have been shaped and reshaped within increasingly complex Bolivian demographics. Changes in local and global political economies from the 1950s to 1970s that influenced demographic conditions of Colonia Okinawa, in addition, preceded the dekasegi migration to Japan from Colonia Okinawa in the 1980s and 1990s by steadily constructing a psychological proximity to Japan (and to some extent, Okinawa) and distance to the larger Bolivian society.

Camba, Kolla, Extranjeros, and Blancos: Ethno-racial categories

The changing racial citizenship of Colonia Okinawans from 1954 to the 1980s was shaped and reshaped by their increasingly diversified Others within Colonia Okinawa. Drawing on Barragán's seminal work on ethnic relations in altiplano (Barragán 1992), Saucedo argues that Andean Bolivian society, in which social hierarchy has provided a series of elaborated ethnic categories, is fundamentally structured around the bipolar relations between "Indians (*indios*)" and "whites (*blancos*)," where the denigration of the former against the latter is reproduced by the Indians' self-devaluation (Saucedo 1996:95).[24] Stephenson argues that such categorical definition of blanco in modern Bolivia does not exclusively refer to skin color or Iberian origin *per se*, but indicates cultural practices and ideological inclinations. It is considered that blancos are those who "speak Spanish, and identify generally with western notions of civilization, progress, (neo)liberal market relations, and citizens' rights," and hold "sway over economic, legislative, and judicial power" (Stephenson 1999:2-3), while indios are thought of as "impoverished, illiterate, and uncivilized subjects" and "situated politically and economically at the periphery of the incipient culture of modernity" (Larson 1995:29). In fact, many mestizos in the twentieth century have tried, and succeeded, to "pass" as blanco by learning to speak Spanish, wearing western clothing, and emulating modern capitalist ideals, thereby claiming their blanco-ness through "*not being Indian*" (Harris 1995, cited in Stephenson 1999:3, emphasis original).

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[24] Saucedo, however, observes that people in Santa Cruz tend to accept the ethnic stratification, because the lower class masses of the eastern lowland regard their relationship with the upper class as a relation between the leaders and followers, who are sharing the same culture, same language and norms, rather than the colonizers and colonized.

Even though such socioeconomic, cultural, and racial constructions of blanconess in Bolivian society originated in altiplano, it has also had a profound effect on ethnic and racial dynamics in the eastern lowland areas, particularly since the 1960s. The Santa Cruz region's predominantly Spaniard white residents' have maintained local autonomy from the highland authorities, such as the Spanish viceroys in Peru during the colonial era and revolving door-presidents of the newly independent Bolivia in Sucre or La Paz, created a small and racially homogenous society. While only 14.6 percent of Bolivian national population was considered white in 1952, some thirty percent of the Santa Cruz population was recorded as white (Hiraoka 1980:26). Its unique history of isolation and ethnic/racial homogeneity until the first half of the twentieth century, and the mass immigration of Indian peasants from altiplano into the region in the 1970s, created two distinct racially and regionally defined ethnic categories, *camba* and *kolla* in modern Santa Cruz society. These categories refer primarily to the two groups' geographical origins, but they also subtly (and in some cases, not-so-subtly) indicate Eugenic assumption of racial hierarchy in Bolivian lowland society.

Camba: First "Bolivians"

Bolivians who are from the region of Santa Cruz are called camba, the term that is believed to have its origin in the Guaraní word meaning "friend." The term initially referred to the peasant class in the region, but it has become over time an inclusive category for the Santa Cruz lowlanders, both peasants and landlords (Stearman, 1985:20). Camba for the most part is mestizo, a mixed descendant of highland Indians (Quechua and Aymara), lowland Indians (Guaraní, Guarayo, Chiquitano, and many more), European (primarily from southern Spain), and perhaps Africans (former slaves fled from

Brazilian plantations). The category, thus, is not predicated on strictly defined migratory heritage or sociobiological notion of race, but "symbolic boundaries" (Barth 1969) that separates the group from others. What defines the ethnic boundary of camba is the contrast with (and antagonism against) the migrants from the Andean highland, called *kolla.* The term is taken from *kollasuyo,* a Quechua word for the Bolivian sector of the Inca Empire (Stearman 1985:20). Kolla category encompasses not only highland Indian groups, such as Quechua and Aymara, but also potentially European-Bolivians.[25] The inclusiveness of this term is primarily due to the fact that it is the lowlanders who primarily use the term to identify the highland migrants. Indeed, unlike camba, the Andean highlanders in Santa Cruz region rarely identify themselves as kolla; they instead call themselves paisanos (Mori 1998a:56).

Historical distrust and antagonism between camba and kolla are found in various stereotypes the groups project on each other; camba would claim that kolla are hard workers but untrustworthy, dirty, shrewd, culturally backward, while kolla may be heard to say that camba are lazy, drunken, and rogue (Mori 1998a:59; Stearman 1985:208). The stereotypes are often extended to phenotypic characteristics of each group; kolla are perceived as having darker skin with flat face, while camba are represented with paler skin and strong facial features. The phenotypic distinctions between camba and kolla indicate subtle genealogical connotations, which are predicated on the supposed differences in the amount of European "blood" and cultural proximity to Europe between the two groups. In a study of interethnic relationships between kolla immigrants and camba residents in the Santa Cruz cities, Stearman observed that many lowlanders considered themselves “racially superior” to highlanders because of a stronger European heritage, citing the history of the first Spaniards arrived in Santa Cruz from Argentina, not from the Andean highlands. She encountered many camba who proudly claimed their “pure Castellan heritage,” even though they were unable to provide any proof (Stearman 1985:20, 208). During my fieldwork, I also heard that camba making derogatory remarks on kolla in the village, such as “Those [kolla] did not even know how to speak in *Castilliano* (Spanish language) until they moved here. They are backward!” Stephenson’s claim that layered pleated skirt of Indian women, or *pollera*, has become a symbol of indio-ness of women who have entered the realm of blanco and mestizo in urban altiplano, also applies to the social contexts of Santa Cruz region (Stephenson 1999:5). Although most kolla in Colonia Okinawa who had migrated from altiplano have adopted to much warmer climate of the Santa Cruz region and often abandoned multiple layers of pollera and manta (shawl), many adult women continue to wear single-layered pollera rather than *vestido* (western dress), thus making visible their cultural difference. Therefore, the term camba refers to a cultural racialization of the Bolivian lowlanders, which not only draws upon the alleged Spaniards’ “blood,” but also their cultural difference from the largely Indian highlander immigrants.

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[25] I have heard camba referred a European-Bolivian from La Paz as "kolla" on several occasions, yet in a joking manner. The vast majority of the migrants from the Andean highlands in Santa Cruz, however, are Quechua and Aymara Indians, so kolla typically refers to highland Indians.

Camba were the first Bolivians whom Okinawan settlers encountered in Colonia Okinawa. Okinawans employed camba laborers for their slash-and-burn production of rice and corn (*maíz*) in the 1950s and 1960s. Hiraoka (1980:97) and Mori (1998a:37-8) report that Okinawan settlers in the late 1950s opted to employ camba as inexpensive labor for clearing fields and harvesting rice. Before the Agrarian Reform in the 1950s, just as peasants (campesinos) in altiplano had been tied hacienda patrones, the poor lowlanders were subjugated to *finca*, the lowland version of hacienda. The lowland patrones depended on inexpensive labor, called *peon*. Stearman states that the patrones in lowland tied peons in their finca "not by a long tradition of servitude" of hacienda, but by debt that no peon could possibly pay off with their low wage (Stearman 1985:28-9). A large number of domestic migrants from altiplano have moved to the lowland since the 1950s, when policies of the MNR's revolutionary government created in a large group of landless campesinos through its insufficient agrarian reform, and unemployed miners in Potosí and Sucre regions due to mismanagement of the national mining corporation (ibid:30). The jobless former miners and the land-hungry peasants from altiplano moved to the eastern lowland and started small-scale horticulture. In the late 1950s, due to the MNR government's further effort to promote the agricultural development in Santa Cruz region, there emerged several voluntary settlements (*colonias*) in Santa Cruz region, which in effect provided Okinawan settlers with the abundant pool of workforce for seasonal labor.

With a lack of knowledge of local vegetation and slash-and-burn techniques, Okinawan settlers relied upon the knowledge of camba, who were attracted to the opportunity to earn cash. Those who were employed by Okinawan farmers were formerly peons for other camba patrones of finca. Unlike hacienda in altiplano, however, Stearman argues, camba peons were not completely subjugated to their employers, the patrones, because they were able to escape into the wilderness and open homesteads for themselves (Stearman 1985:29). Some peons indeed created new farmland for themselves, but many others were content to remain on the finca, which at least offered them some security (ibid). Due to the pre-established socioeconomic labor supply system, Okinawan settlers had little difficulty finding and employing the camba *trabajadores* (laborers) for their farms, despite their minimal command of Spanish language. Issei learned what they called "farmers' Spanish (*'hyakushō Supein-go'*)" to negotiate with the camba laborers with regard to their tasks and wages. This period also established Okinawan settlers as patrones, as they chose some of the most reliable camba workers and their families among the seasonal laborers, and let them live within their residence or farm field properties (Mori 1998a:39). As a result of such close proximity in both residence and workplace, some Okinawan patrones developed decades-long working relationships with camba laborers and their families. Okinawan-Bolivian relations in Colonia Okinawa during the 1950s and 1960s remained relatively simple, despite steadily increasing ethnic and social-class divisions and tensions between them, which were modeled after the existing patrón-peon relationships in the region.[26]

Influx of Kolla

Agriculture in Colonia Okinawa experienced a drastic change in the early-1970s when the Okinawan farmers introduced cotton as their main cash crop and rapidly mechanizing and expanding their farming operations. In search of establishing a marketable cash crop that could stabilize the draught- and flood-prone agriculture in Colonia Okinawa, cotton production was encouraged by the Japanese government, represented by KIJ. After the flood of Río Grande river in 1968, which devastated the northern half of Colonia Uno, the farmers in Colonia Okinawa urgently needed a stable commercial crop. In 1970, KIJ chose cotton as Colonia Okinawa's staple product, and built a cotton processing plant to promote the production among the Okinawan farmers. In short four years, the cotton production area jumped from a few hundred hectares in 1970 to 4,413 in 1974.[27] The cotton production, however, required from farmers more investment, technologies, and, above all, manual laborers. In addition to large machinery for cultivating, sowing, and spraying pesticide, Colonia Okinawan farmers needed several thousand manual laborers for cotton harvesting (Mori 1998b:65). In order to fulfill the need, officials of Colonia Okinawa Integral Agricultural Cooperative (*Cooperativa Agropecuaria Integral Colonias Okinawa*), or CAICO, went to as far as the Chuquisaca and Potosí regions to bring laborers to Colonia Okinawa before the harvest season (Gushiken 1998:96). The "cotton boom" in Colonia Okinawa, and the Santa Cruz region in general, had huge demographic consequences. In 1974, 34,000 peasants from altiplano were brought to work in the cotton farms as pickers, and over half of them reportedly have remained in the lowland area (Stearman 1985:36). Many of the cotton pickers, as Mori (1998a:42) reports, stayed in Colonia Okinawa even after the cotton boom economy ended in the mid-1970s, when the international market price of cotton nosedived. These seasonal workers, who had by then repeatedly stayed and worked in Colonia Okinawa, realized that they could take advantage of abundant employment opportunities year-round at rapidly expanding Colonia Okinawan-owned farms.

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[26] The tension was most apparent in the land disputes, or what Okinawan settlers call "land invasion" by the Bolivians. As the Agrarian Reform laws allowed any landless individuals or farmers union (*sindicato*) to become owners of the unused land if they cultivated and used for agricultural production, many sindicatos near Colonia Okinawa entered the land allocated to Okinawan settlers under the government's agreement in the colonization project. Those Okinawan settlers, whose land was "invaded" by the sindicatos, had difficulty with dealing with Bolivian government officials, who were indifferent to the Okinawans' problems.

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[27] 1 hectare is 2.471 acres.

The new kolla immigrants from altiplano expanded Colonia Okinawans' idea of "Bolivians." Colonia Okinawans also adopted the local ethnic stereotypes ("lazy but easygoing" camba and "hardworking but shrewd" kolla), and, in fact, the very reason that kolla were brought to Colonia Okinawa in the 1970s was their supposed difference in cultural and psychological characteristics. An official of CAICO, who was in charge of recruiting the kolla cotton pickers, stated that camba were "not suited for work that requires patience and attention to details" while kolla were more hardworking and meticulous (Gushiken 1998:96). The stereotypes Colonia Okinawans had for each group are extended to phenotypic characteristics; when I asked Colonia Okinawans how they distinguish camba individuals from kolla, they pointed out the differences between them in skin color and facial features. An Issei told me that even though he and his wife are Catholics, they do not go to church crowded with kolla, because "they smell really badly, because they don't take bath." Another Issei interviewee put the differences between kolla, camba, and whom he calls "whites (hakujin)" in the following way:

> People from the mountains [kolla] are punctual, while camba always say, "mañana (tomorrow)." Where ever you have a hot climate all year and foods are always available, people are easygoing, whereas people who live in cold climates and harsh environments work hard. All kolla can do math, so they don't get duped by whites [farm owners], but people of Santa Cruz [camba] are simple and not educated, so they are easily ripped off by whites ("hakujin"). The whites want to hire those who can do math, but some patrones don't like to hire smart ones. The smart ones may help you, but they may also do something bad to you.

This statement showed his mixed feelings of respect and antagonism towards kolla as hardworking but potentially threatening, smart but culturally alien subjects. Such feelings derive partly from the Colonia Okinawans' uncertainty about their own socioeconomic condition and identity during the 1970s, which coincided with the influx of kolla into Colonia Okinawa. Colonia Okinawans' agriculture drastically changed in scale and style, from small-scale and semi-self-sufficient rice production in the 1960s to large-scale, capital- and labor-intensive, and commercial cotton production in the 1970s. This change their farming income extremely susceptible to unpredictable changes in global agricultural market (Tsujimoto 1998a:281). As the cotton boom economy abruptly ended in 1975, many Colonia Okinawan farmers, who had heavily invested in the cotton production, incurred a large debt. The devastating flood of Río Grande river in 1968, which caused financial damage of approximately US$2,500 for 109 Colonia Okinawan households, spurred the emigration from the Colonia. Combined with the damages they suffered from other draughts and floods that repeatedly occurred from the late 1960s to 1970s, the failed cotton production was a final blow to many struggling Colonia Okinawan farmers. As a result, during this period, hundreds left Colonia Okinawa for cities like Santa Cruz de la Sierra, re-migrated to other Latin American countries, or returned to Okinawa. It is estimated that during the 1960s and 1970s, 1,000 Colonia Okinawans migrated from Colonia Okinawa to San Paolo, Brazil, and 600 left for Buenos Aires, Argentina (Tsujimoto 1998a:280).[28]

Figure 5: Colonia Okinawa Population

Colonias	Nikkei household	Nikkei men	Nikkei women	Nikkei Total	Non-Nikkei Total (estimated)
Okinawa 1	126	232	224	456	4,500
Okinawa 2	59	110	115	225	500
Okinawa 3	29	67	73	73	500
Total	214	409	412	821	5,500

Estimated by Nichibo Kyōkai (1997b)

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[28] It must be noted, however, the emigration from Bolivia to Argentina was an ongoing trend from the 1950s. During the 1950s and 1960s, more than 122,000 Bolivians migrated to Argentina, and from 1970 to 1974, another 39,100 moved to Argentina (Marshall 1981:246).

Kolla immigration combined with Colonia Okinawan emigration dramatically changed the demography of Colonia Okinawa in the 1970s. Between the early 1960s and 1979, the number of households decreased from over 500 to 213, while the resident population declined from 3,200 to 1,344. Kolla immigrants, who symbolized an increasing non-Nikkei Bolivian community in Colonia Okinawa, represented a socioeconomic threat. An Issei elder said:

> Bolivians here . . . by that I mean people of Santa Cruz [camba], only play around and don't know economy. [Kolla] are different. They work very hard. They are economical. [Kolla] are as good as Japanese . . . or even better. . . . They work more and study more. They can concentrate on any goal. They have always suffered in the mountains where there is nothing, you know? From their childhood, they have had tough life. So they are different. People here [camba] could eat even if they were just playing around. . . . Now we [Okinawans] can't be laid-back anymore, or [kolla] will catch up with us. They have figured out that people here [camba] are inept.

In reality, of course, most kolla immigrants, like their camba predecessors, became farm laborers for Colonia Okinawan patrones, construction workers, or small retail business owners in Colonia Okinawa, and were far from being a real threat to Colonia Okinawans' socioeconomic status in the village.

What appeared to be a serious concern for many Issei, however, was the growing presence and influence of non-Nikkei Bolivians and the shrinking Colonia Okinawan population, which, consequently, made their "Okinawan village" no longer looked like *their* community. The Colonia in the 1970s eerily resembled the prewar Okinawan immigrant communities in rural Bolivia. As a small minority group, the prewar immigrants had dissolved into the Bolivian majority through cultural assimilation and intermarriage, and, ironically, initiated the movement to construct an "Okinawan village," which eventually materialized in a form of Colonia Okinawa. Colonia Okinawa was now beginning to face a similar predicament. Dekasegi migration to Japan in the 1980s and 1990s, as we shall see in the following chapter, was a means by which the declining Colonia Okinawa community could boost its economy and strengthen its connection to Japan. Dekasegi migration would provide Colonia Okinawans with an alternative income outside of unstable farming, which by then had become a high-investment and high-risk business, and prevent Nisei from assimilating into the rural Bolivian society. In this way, Colonia Okinawans' dekasegi migration to Japan in the 1980s can be viewed as a means to increase their cultural capital, which had been declining throughout the 1960s and 1970s. By earning income in Japanese yen, a strong currency, and cultivating their embodied "Japanese-ness" by sending young Nisei to Japan, Colonia Okinawans attempted to regain their economic and cultural capital and to prevent themselves from dissolving into the non-Nikkei Bolivian majority.

Conclusion

Prewar and postwar Okinawan immigrations to Bolivia demonstrate how Okinawans, under colonial rule of Imperial Japan and postwar occupation by the US military, were constantly made and remade as legally and culturally ambiguous national subjects. Under Imperial Japan, Okinawan emigration overseas was caused and facilitated by the oppressive economic and land policies imposed on Okinawa by the Japanese government. The forced cultural assimilation of Okinawans created contradictory outcomes for Okinawans as Japanese national subjects. As "children" of Japanese "family state," Okinawans were considered already quintessentially "Japanese" while they were never allowed to be the same as Japanese Naichi-jin, in terms of legal rights and cultural norms. Okinawans who faced Naichi-jin in their migratory destinations, meanwhile, became the subjects of harsh discrimination by the "parent" Japanese, Naichi-jin, and often desperately tried to relinquish their perceived "Okinawan-ness" – whether diet, language, or music – in order to "become" genuine Japanese national subjects. Racial citizenship of Okinawans under Japanese colonialism, therefore, was characterized by Imperial Japan's persistent construction of Okinawans as "almost, but not quite" Japanese subjects, and Okinawans' own attempts to cultivate themselves into "genuine" Japanese.

Okinawans in Bolivia in the prewar years, however, were mostly free of such discrimination and forced assimilation, largely because of the small number of both the Naichi-jin and the Okinawan populations in the country. Moreover, due to the gender imbalance of both Naichi-jin and Okinawans and the high intermarriage rate between these immigrant men and Bolivian women caused the concern among the entire Nikkei community about the rapid decline of Japanese "national" identity. Within this social context, the dichotomy between Naichi-jin and Okinawans became hardly an issue in the Nikkei community, in which intermarriage, business partnership, and Japanese Association leadership were commonly practiced by both Naichi-jin and Okinawans. Okinawan immigrants in prewar Bolivia, therefore, successfully "became" Japanese subjects, and thereby erased their symbolic deficit in cultural capital under Japanese colonialism without relinquishing their embodied Okinawan-ness.

Okinawan immigration after WW II took place under a completely different circumstance, despite the similar economic and social predicament experienced by Okinawans. The devastation of the island as the brutal battlefield during the war and the massive return of Okinawan émigrés in former Japanese colonies created population pressure and economic crisis. As the US military replaced the Japanese government as Okinawa's superior and Okinawans became legally non-national subjects and second-class citizens, the ambivalence of Okinawans' subject-positions shifted its axis from the dichotomy between Japanese and Okinawan to another, between Japanese and American. Okinawan emigration overseas, such as to Bolivia, was a convenient solution not only for the US government, who feared the spread of communism among the disgruntled Okinawans, but also for Okinawans themselves, many of whom had returned from overseas and were forced to take a menial job at the US military facilities. Emigration thus enabled Okinawans to avoid yet another national ambiguity that left them devoid of legal protection from either nation-state. The racial citizenship of Okinawan migrants transformed them from nation-less subjects into "Japanese" through their migration to Bolivia and settlement in a place where they had little contact with Naichi-jin Japanese. By escaping from their national non-belonging and second-class legal and economic status in postwar Ryukyu Islands, and settling in the sparsely populated rural Bolivia, they managed to increase their cultural capital by claiming their "Japanese" cultural, and eventually legal, citizenship.

In Colonia Okinawa, the Okinawan subjects were formed within the dichotomy of Bolivia-Japan nationalities, as well as the ethno-racial dynamics of the lowland Bolivian society. The camba lowlanders initially constituted as the Colonia Okinawans' only "Bolivian" counterparts in the area, whom they relied upon as seasonal laborers for slash-and-burn agriculture. As their farming expanded its scale and capital investment, kolla highlanders greatly increased the non-Nikkei Bolivian population of Colonia Okinawa. Economically, despite the failed cotton production and numerous natural disasters, Colonia Okinawans established themselves and remained as the land-owning patrones, rather than farm laborers. Here, the racial citizenship of Colonia Okinawans in this period was concerned no longer with whether their bodies and behaviors represented "Okinawan" or "Japanese" nationality, but rather with the declined value of their embodied cultural capital as "Japanese" against the overwhelming "Bolivian" majority.

This transformation of the Colonia Okinawan community might seem to have resolved the ambiguity of Okinawans' subject-position – whether or not they were genuinely "Japanese" – which had lingered throughout the modern history of Okinawa, and have shifted the issue to the protection of "Japanese" subject-position within Bolivia. As the following chapters will demonstrate, however, transnational Okinawans, both in Colonia Okinawa and their dekasegi destinations in Japan proper, continued to represent marginal, ambivalent, and largely situational subject-positions that were often projected upon their actions and bodies by their Others as well as themselves. The colonial and postcolonial pasts of Okinawa, in other words, have remained salient in the subject formations of Okinawans throughout their history in Bolivia from the 1900s to 1970s, and the subsequent dekasegi migration to urban Japan from the 1980s.

CHAPTER 3
CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF DEKASEGI MIGRATION

When the Ryukyu government- and USCAR-sponsored immigration ended in 1964, the influx of Okinawans to Colonia Okinawa became very limited. From 1968 to 1984, the total number of new immigrants to Bolivia was only 143 (JICA Okinawa 1985:27). In 1997, the estimated total population of Colonia Okinawa was 6,500, of which more than 5,500 were non-Nikkei Bolivians. 821 people, or 214 households, were members of Nichibo Kyōkai, the Colonia Okinawan community administration.[29] Nichibo Kyōkai was founded in 1978 by separating from CAICO, the agricultural cooperative of Colonia Okinawa, to serve strictly administrative functions of the Colonia Okinawan community. It collects dues from its members and is in charge of road maintenance within the Colonia. It also represents the community residents vis-à-vis state agencies, such as JICA, the Bolivian government, and the Okinawa Prefecture government, and runs the private school in Colonia Uno, *Colegio Particular Mixto Centro Boliviano Japones Okinawa No. 1* (CBJ School hereafter), as well as the hospitals in Colonia Uno and Dos. Although Colonia Okinawa is now merely part of the village (*cantón*) of Okinawa within the Municipality of Warnes, Nichibo Kyōkai has functioned as the de facto government for Colonia Okinawans.

With the decline of the mining industry in the 1960s, the economy of Bolivia today is heavily dependent on agriculture. Agricultural production comprises fifteen percent of Bolivia's national GDP (Nomura 1998:19). In altiplano and *baje* (valley) areas, the majority of farmers are small-scale peasants who run subsistence farming. On the other hand, the eastern lowland area, or llano, where the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra and Colonia Okinawa are located, has a relatively small number of large-scale farmers who run mechanized large-scale farming. As described in the previous chapter, there has been a large number of domestic migrants from altiplano to llano since the 1950s. These domestic migrants, however, normally own less than ten hectares, and are devoid of surplus profit and the means for capital accumulation that are necessary for technological improvement (ibid:20).

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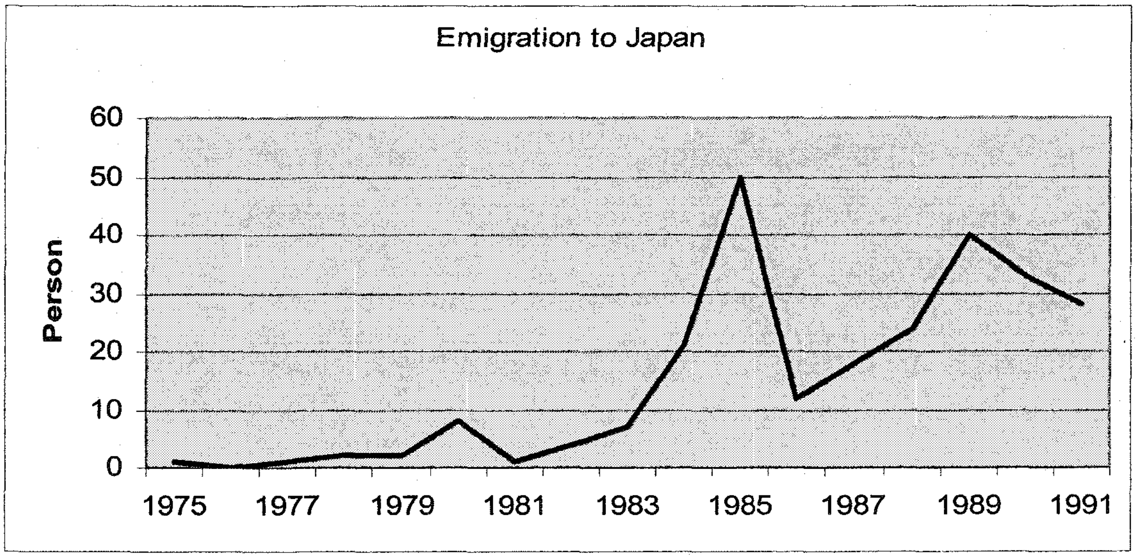
[29] The numbers, however, include temporary residents and more recent settlers who are largely Japanese Naichi-jin, such as the JICA-sponsored Nikkei Society Youth Volunteers and Nikkei Society Senior Experts (See Chapter 5).

The Santa Cruz region had approximately 95,000 hectares of farmland in 1996, almost 63 percent of the entire farmland of Bolivia, and produced 98 percent of the country's soybeans and 80 percent of its sugarcane. Colonia Okinawan farmers are a major force in soybean production. In 1991, CAICO reported that its members' soybean production, 392,000 tons, was approximately nine percent of the entire soy production of the region of Santa Cruz that year, and their wheat production, 48,400 tons, was more than twelve percent of the region's (CAICO 1991). Colonia Okinawa's dominance in Santa Cruz agriculture was also apparent in the amount of land it has under production. In 1996, Colonia Okinawan farmers owned 26,856 hectares of soybean fields, which was six percent of the entire soybean farmland of the nation, and 9,750 hectares of wheat farmland, or seven percent of the national total (Nomura 1998:20; CAICO 1996).

Despite this apparent prosperity achieved by successful soybean farming during the 1980s to 1990s, what characterized the Colonia Okinawan community in the two decades was the decrease of its population, caused by mass dekasegi emigration to Japan. The Colonia Okinawan interviewees generally agreed that the peak years of dekasegi migration to Japan was in the second half of the 1980s. After the mid-1990s, they claimed, there were more of those who have returned from Japan than have left for dekasegi. The available statistics seem to support this impression: It was estimated that approximately 400 Colonia Okinawans left for dekasegi to Japan from the mid-1980s to early-1990s, before it decreased in the mid-1990s.

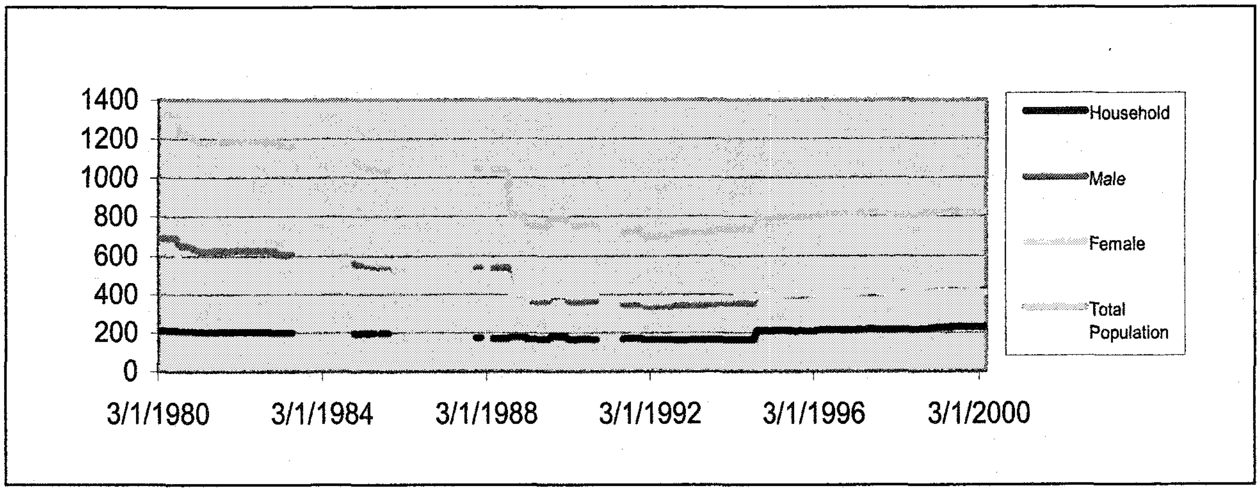
The Colonia population actually increased, albeit slowly, in the second half of the 1990s, although emigration has still continued. After 1995, the total Colonia Okinawan population has been consistently around 800-850, and the population transactions have remained small. In 1997, 23 returned to Colonia Okinawa from Japan, while 9 left for Japan. In 1998, there were 27 returns and 16 departures, and 12 returns and 16 departures in 1999.

Figure 6: Emigration to Japan



Created from the Nichibo Kyōkai documents and Tsujimoto (1998c:316)

Figure 7: Colonia Okinawa Population



(Source: Nichibo Kyōkai population reports)

The most noticeable demographic characteristic of Colonia Okinawa in the late 1990s was the absence of youth, particularly those Nisei residents in their twenties and the thirties. In 2000, more than half of those Nisei between age of 18 and 35 resided in Japan after having left Colonia Okinawa. When I attended a ceremony to celebrate new adults in Colonia Okinawa in January of 2001, only one of seven Nisei who would become twenty-years old was present, while the rest were listed as currently living in Japan and unable to attend.

These demographic characteristics from the early 1980s to 2000 in dekasegi migration and Colonia Okinawa reflect the local and extra-local changes in political economy and population changes. The first wave of dekasegi migrants consisted mostly of Issei, who left their family members back in Colonia Okinawa and used their sojourning as a temporary measure to ease financial problems back home. In contrast, the second wave of the dekasegi in the late 1980s and early 1990s consisted of mostly young Nisei, who joined the mass migration to Japan from Colonia Okinawa. Those who have continued to migrate to Japan from Colonia Okinawa, even after the peak of emigration, were young Nisei who were not far removed from high school, if not high school dropouts, and families with a large debt.

I argue that the general trends in the volume and demography of migration to Japan in the past two decades can be explained by sociological analysis of transnational migrations at macro, intermediate, and micro levels: national and global political economies, interventions by Japanese state agencies, and a generational change among Colonia Okinawan families. As with any other international migrations, macroprocesses of global and national political economies have been a crucial factor shaping Colonia Okinawan dekasegi migration to Japan since the 1980s. Macro-level analysis of transnational migration, influenced by Immanuel Wallerstein's world system theory (Wallerstein 1974), conceives that the different regions of the world fulfill different and unequal roles in the global division of labor, and that international migrations of weaker "peripheral" populations as a consequence of the economic conditions of, and political decisions made in, the stronger "core" regions of global capitalism (Portes and Walton 1981). Within this framework, as Elizabeth Petras (1981) argues, international labor is: a) generated in part by the specific economic and political influences of the stronger core economies over the weaker ones, and the pattern of class formation which results; b) drawn from one labor market to another by variations in the level of real and social wage remuneration to labor; c) recruited across national boundaries from an international pool of reserve labor; d) regulated by state policies which define the conditions of boundary crossing; and e) shaped by the cyclical rhythms and secular trends of the entire world economy. In the case of Colonia Okinawan dekasegi migrations to Japan from the 1980s to 1990s, global capitalism, which functions through unequal power relations, has created and maintained a structural linkage between sending country (Bolivia) of "periphery" and receiving country (Japan) of "core" regions (Sassen 1988; Glick Schiller et al. 1992).

The analysis of transnational migrations at the intermediate, or "mesostructural" level (Guarnizo and Smith 1998) deals with questions that a macro framework cannot adequately answer, such as why certain destinations within "core" regions and nation-states are chosen by migrants, why the migrations persist after the initial causal factors have changed, and why migrants consist of particular gender, class, and ethnic backgrounds (Grasmuck and Pesar 1991; Massay 1986; Parreñas 2001). The intermediate-level approach theorizes migration as an interplay between micro- and macro-processes in the creation and development of migrant communities, in the maintenance or decline of migration flows, and in the functions of political, economic, and social (state and non-state) institutions in the migration processes (Castles and Miller 1998). Wayne Cornelius's concept of "structural embeddedness" (Cornelius 1998) is a good example of intermediate-level analysis of those migrants who overstay their initial expectations and permanently settle in their host country. He explicates the international immigration by highlighting the stability of a migrant community that has existed for a prolonged period. For others, the "socialization of migration" (Yamanaka and Iwanise Koga 1996) becomes a norm as they keep shuttling back and forth between their migratory origin and destination, or, at least, create and maintain strong transnational institutions and connections (Chavez 1988; Glick Schiller et al. 1995; Margolis 1994; Rouse 1991). In the case of Colonia Okinawan dekasegi migration to Japan in the second half of the 1980s and the 1990s, state and community institutions, like JICA and the Colonia's agricultural cooperative, created the socioeconomic conditions within which the mass emigration of Nisei youth from Colonia Okinawa became so commonplace that their decisions to migrate were taken for granted by the community. Such an "intermediate" analysis also explains Colonia Okinawan dekasegi migration from Colonia Okinawa to Japan even when the Japanese economy suffered from a prolonged recession in the 1990s.

The micro-level analysis of migration pays more attention to decision-makings of individuals and families, as reactions to, and tactical maneuvers within, macro-level and intermediate-level factors and forces (Portes and Borocz 1989). By and large, this approach focuses on family and personal network building, everyday economic and social activities, and psychological processes of transnational migrants within given macro-level political and economic structures (e.g., Boyd 1989; Chen 1992; Sorensen 1998; Stoller 1996). In the case of Colonia Okinawan dekasegi migration in the 1990s, the generational change among Colonia Okinawan families, the Issei's desire to "educate" and discipline their Nisei children by sending them to work in urban Japan, and the growing personal networks to family, relatives, and friends who had previously moved to Japan, have been major factors in the dekasegi migration of Nisei to Japan.

I rely upon these three levels of analysis to explain the two decades of dekasegi migration from Colonia Okinawa to Japan from the early 1980s, which has changed its character in demography and motivation of the migrants. The factors in three different levels of scale have contributed to the dekasegi migration by the older Issei in the early 1980s, the mass emigration of young Nisei from the mid-1980s to the early 1990s, and gradual return of the dekasegi migrants to Colonia Okinawa and yet continuing emigration of young Nisei to Japan in the recent years.

From 1982 to 1985: First Wave

When the first group of Issei from Colonia Okinawa went to Japan for dekasegi in 1982, Bolivia was in the midst of hyperinflation while Japan was surging as the world's economic powerhouse with the growth of manufacturing and construction industries.[30] Suffering from the decline of the mining industry, which had generated the largest portion of foreign currency income of Bolivia, President Hernán Siles Zuazo's regime increased currency circulation by over 1,000 percent between 1980 and 1984. Inflation promptly jumped to three digits in 1983, and to an annual 2,177 percent in 1984. Incredibly, the inflation rate continued to rise to 8,170 percent in the first six months of 1985, before Siles Zuazo relinquished his presidency (Klein 1992:272). The subsequent president, Victor Paz Estenssoro (in his second term), implemented the aggressive "orthodox shock" with the so-called New Economic Plan in 1985, which included currency devaluation, the establishment of a floating exchange rate, fiscal control of the national and local governments, tax reform, and the dismantling of nationally owned corporations and their labor unions. The immediate outcome of the economic reform was a decline in the inflation rate, but also a sharp rise in unemployment to over 20 percent (ibid:277).

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[30] Tsujimoto (1998c, 1999) reported that the first group of Colonia Okinawan dekasegi migrants went to Japan in 1983, but I met several returnees from dekasegi in Japan who had left for Japan in 1982. The deference is likely due to the definition of 'dekasegi' migration. For the discussion on temporary vs. permanent migrations, see Gmelch (1981).

Meanwhile, the Japanese economy experienced unprecedented economic growth from the 1970s to 1980s, particularly in the manufacturing and construction industries. Throughout the 1950s to the 1970s, Japan achieved rapid industrialization without the introduction of an immigrant labor force, thanks largely to the development and use of labor-saving technologies and a large rural labor force. By the 1980s, however, the untapped sources of labor, such as rural labor and women, were mostly exhausted, leaving little room for further significant increases in labor supply. In 1989, it was reported that 46 percent of companies in the manufacturing sector were suffering from labor shortages, and small-scale subcontractors in manufacturing and construction became so desperate that they began to employ illegal (i.e., without working visa) foreign workers from South Asia, such as Pakistan, Iran, and Bangladesh (Tsuda 1999; Yamanaka 1993). In the late 1980s and the early 1990s, some Japanese firms actively contacted Colonia Okinawa for possible labor recruitment. In July of 1990, for instance, an executive of U corporation of Tokyo, a distributor of office supplies and electronic appliances, sent a letter to Nichibo Kyōkai, in which he stated:

> The U Corp. . . . has approximately 200 subcontractors and related firms under its management, and all of these firms are suffering from labor shortages, particularly in the simple labor sectors. Thus, if your circumstances allow it, we are planning a brokerage between your community and these firms by introducing workers to these viable companies – though some of them are very small-scale and close to being family-owned factories – and in so doing, our company can benefit from the increased productivity of these firms. As we prepare for this project, we would like to ask you a question below, in order to understand your community's current situation.
>
> 1. How many would like to work for the benefits and in the situations stated below?
>
> (1) Locations: Small to middle-scale manufacturers or warehouses in Tokyo and Osaka, or their vicinities.
> (2) Job descriptions: Simple labor, such as warehouse guards or as delivery truck assistants.

(3) Salary and benefits: Though undetermined, estimated to be 100,000 to 150,000yen per month. Room and board will be provided (room: free; meals: three provided per work-day).
(4) Eligibility: Healthy males up to 50 years of age.
(5) Transportation to Japan: Self-expense.

More aggressive recruitment of Nikkei South Americans by brokerage firms took place in Brazil in the 1980s and 1990s to fulfill the desperate Japanese manufacturers' need for a labor force (Mori 1992, 1994; Roth 2002), even though most Colonia Okinawans, with their Japanese passports, language skills, and kinship connections with Japanese (Okinawan) relatives in Okinawa Prefecture and Japan proper, rarely took advantage of the efforts by these active suitors. The rise of the Japanese economy accompanied the upward revaluation of the Japanese yen, especially after the Plaza Agreement in 1985, which fueled the increasing wage difference between Japan and the developing nations.

It was against this backdrop of political and economic chaos in Bolivia and Japan's booming economy that several Colonia Okinawans from Okinawa Uno decided to migrate to Japan in 1982, which created the Colonia Okinawan communities in Yokohama and other cities in Kanagawa Prefecture. Upon their arrival, these first Colonia Okinawans dekasegi migrants called the phone numbers from job advertisement flyers to find work, until eventually finding assembly plant jobs at an auto manufacturer in the Tochigi Prefecture. Their hard work at the factory impressed their employer, and they were asked to recruit their friends from Bolivia. Tsujimoto counted at least thirty-six Colonia Okinawans who had worked in this factory, all of whom were from Okinawa Uno (Tsujimoto 1998c:318; Ikuno 2000:295). From the first group of dekasegi Colonia Okinawans in the Tochigi Prefecture, some moved to the Kanagawa Prefecture, such as the Tsurumi district of Yokohama, around 1987. The oceanfront area of Tsurumi is known for the presence of a large Okinawan population since the 1910s. Many Okinawans settled in the heavy-industrial center, between Tokyo and Yokohama, called the Keihin industrial zone, to seek jobs during the severe recession and famine in Okinawa during 1910s and 1920s (Tomiyama 1990; Mukai 1992; Ikuno 2000:305). In the post-WW II era, as Japan's heavy manufacturing industry grew dramatically from the 1950s to 1970s, Okinawans in Tsurumi formed *Okinawa Kenjinkai*, or the Okinawa Prefectural Association, which has organized cultural events like the Okinawa-style sumo tournament that still continues today. The dekasegi Colonia Okinawans I have talked to, however, did not consider the area's history as an Okinawan enclave an important factor for their decision to settle in the area. Nonetheless, the Tsurumi district became a major destination for dekasegi migrants from Colonia Okinawa during the 1980s and 1990s, as one interviewee in Colonia Okinawa jokingly called it "Colonia *Quatro* (Colonia No. 4)."

Colonia Okinawan farmers were still recovering from the failed cotton production of the 1970s, and a number of them abandoned their farms and fled the Colonia without paying off their debts. The hyperinflation, in the 1980s, in addition, was a devastating blow for wage-earners whose income was paid in Bolivian currency (Higa 2000:253). Those who migrated to Japan in the early 1980s were, therefore, mostly middle-aged wage-earners or small-scale farmers who could not generate enough income from farming. They left their families back in Colonia Okinawa and intended to work in Japan for several years and send remittances to Bolivia (ibid:258; Ikuno 2000:295).

Mr. Ota Takaki, an Issei who had immigrated to Colonia Okinawa in 1958, was among the dekasegi pioneers. Mr. Ota had owned a small farm, but he had also worked at the Colonia's agricultural cooperative to support his large family (his wife and ten children). His farming operation suffered from poor production in the early 1980s, and the hyperinflation aggravated his family's financial woes. Selling his farmland and going to Japan, it seemed to him, was the only solution: "Even my family understood why I had to go to dekasegi. My wife was not working, so my entire family [in Colonia Okinawa] was dependent upon my remittances from Japan. . . . All I had in my mind back then was how to survive the emergency my family was in, rather than what I would do in the future. I knew it was impossible to move my entire family to Japan, so I went there alone." He left Colonia Okinawa in 1982, and first worked in Saitama Prefecture, because his uncle and aunt, who had moved from Okinawa Prefecture, lived there. He then moved to Hiratsuka city of the Kanagawa Prefecture to work on the assembly line of a subcontractor for Nissan Motors. He was the only Bolivian at his workplace and had few acquaintances in the area: "There were still few of us who went to dekasegi back then, but it began to increase after I returned here [in 1985]." He decided to return to Bolivia in 1985, when he turned 45 years old: "Normally, good companies only hire those who are under 45. I could still find a job, but if I get paid only 170,000 or 180,000 yen a month, it would be very difficult to get by, much less to send remittances." Thanks to the money he saved from dekasegi to Japan, Mr. Ota managed to pay off his debt. After his return to Bolivia, he worked at Nichibo Kyōkai, CAICO, and other clerical positions within Colonia Okinawa, but did not consider purchasing new land. Despite the low wage he earned at these jobs, he never considered going back to Japan, because he thought that he was "too old" and that, for him, dekasegi was only "a means for [financial] emergency."

From 1985 to 1993: Socialization of Migration

Despite the economic and political chaos it created, the hyperinflation in Bolivia throughout the 1980s, in fact, was a blessing for most Colonia Okinawan farmers, who were trying to pay off large debts they had accumulated in the 1970s.[31] As the Colonia Okinawan farmers borrowed Bolivian pesos from JICA (via CAICO) for their cotton production, the hyperinflation in the 1980s, which reduced the peso's value significantly against the US dollar, in effect, dramatically reduced the financial burden for Colonia Okinawan farmers whose accounting remained in US dollar-based. One Colonia Okinawan farmer I interviewed boasted that he had debts (in pesos) of almost US$ 100,000 before the hyperinflation, but he paid it off with approximately US$2,000 in 1986. In the second half of the 1980s, the agriculture of Colonia Okinawa also shifted its main cash crop from cotton to soybean, which was becoming the major export product of the Santa Cruz region. The few positive legacies of cotton production in the early 1970s were the expansion of individual farm size and the introduction of farming machinery, both of which were essential for commercial soybean production. As many Colonia Okinawan farmers had abandoned their farms and fled to Brazil, Argentina, or Japan in the 1970s, those who stayed in Colonia Okinawa could expand their farms by purchasing this newly available farmland for low prices. In 1987, with financial aid from the Okinawa Prefecture government, CAICO built a massive oil extraction plant to promote profitable soybean production. Coinciding with the sharp rise in the international market price of soybeans in the late 1980s, caused by sluggish soy production in North America,

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[31] In 1975, the total amount of Colonia Okinawan farmers' debt reached 1.3 million US dollars due to the failed cotton production (Higa 2000:252).

Colonia Okinawan farmers enjoyed unprecedented economic prosperity and financial stability for the first time in their forty years in Bolivia.

Curiously, the prosperity of Colonia Okinawan farmers did not result in the decrease of dekasegi migration to Japan; instead, this period is what Colonia Okinawans today call the "dekasegi fad" among young Issei and Nisei. This "fad" was largely due to the generational changes among Colonia Okinawan families. As those Issei who were born in the Ryukyu Islands but grew up in Colonia Okinawa, and Nisei who were born in the Colonia in the 1950s and 1960s, reached their adulthood in the 1980s, Colonia Okinawan families needed to make decisions about their future. More importantly, as Colonia Okinawans' farming had become large-scale and mechanized operation, with the use of abundant and cheap non-Nikkei Bolivian laborers, each household needed only one child to inherit the family farmland and continue the business. The oldest son typically took over his father's farm, and the other siblings were left to simply assist their elder brother or to find work. After graduating from high school, many Nisei were hoping to study at universities, as suggested by their Issei parents. Amidst the economic and political and turmoil of the 1980s, however, many public universities were paralyzed by frequent strikes by faculty and staff. With no other viable options – "What could you do if there is no job or school?", as one Nisei returnee from dekasegi told me – most Nisei decided to join their family members or friends who had already moved to Japan. By and large, the Colonia Okinawa's Issei leaders understood Nisei's dekasegi migration as an inevitable consequence of generational change. Indeed they often embraced it as a positive experience for young Nisei to "see and live in the country their parents and grandparents came from" (Gushiken 1998:202). Their approval of Nisei's dekasegi as a prolonged fieldtrip to Japan for "broadening their worldview" (Higa 2000:259) outside of the rural village further spurred the "dekasegi fad" the late 1980s. It was estimated that approximately 400 Colonia Okinawans left for dekasegi in Japan from the mid-1980s to early-1990s. Due to the rapid decrease of young Nisei during this period, as many Colonia Okinawa residents recalled, community events were downscaled. The Colonia Okinawa Youth Association, consisting of unmarried Nisei over eighteen years-old, became defunct from 1993 to 1995 from lack of membership.

When I asked those Nisei who had returned from dekasegi in Japan why they had decided to migrate to Japan, I was struck by how casual their decisions seemed to be. The taken-for-grantedness of dekasegi migration during its peak years, which took place within macroprocesses of global and national economies, indicates the steady socialization of the dekasegi migration by Nisei, who no longer felt a distinct "need" for emigration. Many of them, in fact, could not recall a specific reason why they wanted to go to Japan, claiming that it was simply because "it was easy to go," they felt it was "a natural thing to do," "everybody else was going," or they were "just curious." Mr. Gima Tadashi, a Nisei born in 1971, left Bolivia for Japan in 1989 three months after he had graduated from high school in Montero, Santa Cruz. He is the youngest child among four Nisei children with an elder brother and two elder sisters. When asked why he went to Japan, his reply was: "Because my friend, Shiroma Chotoku, was already in Japan. He had left for Japan a year before, after he had graduated from high school. So, I intended to go there as soon as I finished school." Out of the seven other classmates who graduated with him from CBJ School in 1984, only one stayed in Colonia Okinawa, while six left for Japan, mostly to the Kanagawa Prefecture. He returned to Colonia

Okinawa "before reaching 30 years old" in 1996; the other six CBJ classmates remained in Japan. He admitted that he was among the minority who had actually returned to Bolivia. When I asked him why most of his friends still lived in Japan, he said, "I knew everybody wants to come back here, too. But you have to know what you will do after returning here, and those who still live in Japan don't know what they want to do after coming back. Or, [in order to return to Bolivia,] you just have to tell yourself at one point, 'That's it. I am going home,' and just do it. I always thought that if I come back to Bolivia before thirty, I could restart my life here. I don't have debt, and I have my father's small lot [50 hectares] to use. I don't want to borrow a large amount of money to start [large-scale] farming, either, so I will stick with [raising] hogs and a little bit of farming, using my friends' [farming] machines."

Others had more concrete motivations, such as generating sums of cash through dekasegi in order to return to Colonia Okinawa to purchase their own farmlands and begin farming. Dekasegi was considered a preparation period for young Nisei to save up enough money for their farming operation in the future. Mr. Gushiken Kōtei, the former CAICO president, estimated that US$330,000 was necessary for starting a new farm in Colonia Okinawa in 1997; while US$50,000 was required for the purchase of land on which to build a house, US$30,000 for vehicles, US$150,000 for 150 hectares of farmland, and US$100,000 for farming machines and equipment (Gushiken 1998:203). JICA provides loans of US$50,000 to $80,000 for newly independent farmers, and typically their parents could provide US$20,000 to $50,000. If a Nisei dekasegi migrant managed to save US$100,000 during his three to five years of working in Japan, Gushiken estimated, CAICO could provide the rest of the necessary capital, US$120,000 to $130,000, in the form of a farming operating loan (ibid:204).

Mr. Higa Mauricio, a Nisei born in 1956, had worked in Japan from 1982 to 1996. When he married another Nisei woman in 1981, he was still helping his father's farming enterprise, but he wanted to become independent and start his own farm. He therefore "needed a sum of money," knowing his younger brother would take over his father's farmland. Back then, the real estate price around Colonia Okinawa was much lower, so he estimated, "If I made 15,000 dollars, I would be able to buy land, somehow." He had no clear idea how long it would take him to save that amount of money, but he hoped it would be five years or so. Six years later (1988), he sent US$22,000 to his parents in Colonia Okinawa to buy farmland: "As long as you had your own land, you could go home with your hands empty." He believed that those who were able to return to Colonia Okinawa were those who had purchased farmland earlier and asked their family members to manage it until their return. He said, "50 hectares of land used to cost only $30,000, but now the same land may cost $60,000 or $70,000! No wonder it is impossible [for those who still lived in Japan] to return and start farming." He wished he had decided to return to Bolivia in 1992 or 93, because it has become "more and more difficult to come back" in recent years due to the increasing cost of farmland and farming, in general. After his return, Mr. Higa used his father-in-law's small lot for producing soybeans while he was in the process of purchasing his own farmland on the opposite side of the Río Grande River. The land was a bit far from the centro of Colonia Uno, where his family lived, but it was increasingly difficult to find reasonably priced farmland within the

Colonia. Still, he was "very happy" that he was able to return to and resettle in the Colonia, which few Nisei around his age, he said, had been able to achieve.

From 1993 to Today: Structured Embeddedness

Many Colonia Okinawan interviewees agreed that the "dekasegi fad" visibly slowed down by 1993, and that those who had left for Japan in the 1980s gradually began to return to Bolivia. The decline of "dekasegi fad," however, neither entirely stopped the young Nisei's emigration from Colonia Okinawa to Japan, nor caused the mass return of the dekasegi migrants from Japan, as evidenced by the continuing emigration from Colonia Okinawa and the small number of returnees in the late 1990s. Macro-level economic factors were the most critical for the end of the "dekasegi fad" in the early 1990s, but the structured embeddedness of dekasegi migration, which had been established during the 1980s, sustained the dekasegi emigration flows even after the mass exodus had ended. In 1991, Japan's so-called "bubble" economy, which was predicated on excessive and speculative investment in real estate and stocks, abruptly collapsed, and a recession slowly ensued. Although the prolonged recession since then has indeed reduced the shortage of laborers in larger companies and white-collar sectors, the labor deficit in manufacturing and construction industries has remained high and chronic (Tsuda 1999:695; Tsujimoto 1998c:315). In fact, as Japanese companies have tried to "restructure" (called *risutora* in Japanese) their employment practices as a cost-cutting measure, relatively cheap and expendable wage laborers like South American Nikkeijin, including Colonia Okinawans, have become an even more valuable source of flexible labor (Tsuda 1999:696). As a result, despite the gradually increasing unemployment rate and stagnant consumer demand throughout the 1990s, Japan's recession did not eliminate the labor shortage in the manufacturing and construction industries. The outcome of this trend in the Japanese economy and labor market was the deterioration of Colonia Okinawan dekasegi migrants' working conditions and job security, even if the demand for manual laborers like them was never completely eliminated.

Furthermore, the aforementioned local economic situations of Colonia Okinawa that created the "push" factors for dekasegi emigration of Nisei in the 1980s, such as its lack of local employment for Nisei and the rising cost of farming (land and machines), did not change after the collapse of Japan's "bubble" economy. In fact, the Colonia's prosperity in the early 1990s was already in doubt in the second half of the 1990s. Due to the widespread and prolonged recession in East Asia that reduced the demand and influx of cheap North American products into the South American market, the sales price of soybeans dropped dramatically (Higa 2000:259). Periodic floods and draughts have also threatened the stability of Colonia Okinawans' farming production and income. The flood of the Rio Grande River in early 1997 damaged 5,000 hectares of farmland in Colonia Okinawa, which caused more than one million dollars in damage to Colonia Okinawan farmers' properties (Gushiken 1998:320). High capital investment and large scale farming operations have made their business, as many of them admitted, a "gamble" that could instantly create a large fortune or debt, depending on the unpredictable international agricultural market and volatile local weather of the Santa Cruz region (Tsujimoto 1999:13).

The "high-risk and high-return" nature of Colonia agriculture has continued to jeopardize Colonia Okinawan farmers' livelihoods. A report by JICA in 1994 revealed that the Colonia Okinawans' average debt was 10,097,000 yen, or US$99,777 (JICA

1994). Due to high interest rates of commercial banks in Bolivia, which from the late 1990s to 2001 stayed around sixteen to eighteen percent annually, most Colonia Okinawan farmers have relied upon loans offered by JICA and CAICO. Currently, a Colonia Okinawan farmer can borrow as much as 10,000,000 yen (US$80,000), but an inexperienced farmer, such as those who wish to begin their own farm, can normally receive only US$50,000 in loans. CAICO, on the other hand, offers a barter system through which a member can take a farming operation loan from the cooperative and, in return, the member pays back with his own crops shipped directly to CAICO after harvest. The loan amount for each farmer is determined by CAICO, based on the sales price of each product to local dealers. For instance, in 1999, CAICO set the limit of US$171 for one hectare of a soybean field, US$200 for one hectare of a wheat field, and US$126 for one hectare of a sunflower field (CAICO 1999). Unlike JICA's long-term loans, CAICO's loans must be paid upon harvest. After the half-year, thus, the borrowers have to pay the principal and its fifteen percent interest with their harvested crops. Below is a simplified copy of one CAICO member's transaction record in February to March in 1993.

From the table below, we can see that this member had purchased fuel ("*diesel*") and paid shipping costs for his harvest, while making his payment by giving his harvest, such as soy seeds ("*semi soya*") to the cooperative. Despite the payment with his harvest, however, his debt increased by 1,000 dollars by the end of the period, largely due to the loan interest from the previous term and seed purchase for the next production cycle. In addition, he applied for the maximum amount of the loan from the cooperative for the

Figure 8: A sample of CAICO transaction record from 1993

MONEDA → *** DOLARES ***			SALGO A PRINCIPIO DE MES:		84,539.58 D	
FECHA	NRO.DOCUMENTO	REFER.	CONCEPIO	DEBE	HABER	SALDOS
2-02-93	T-xxxxxx	1	400 lt diesel	149.51		84,689.09 D
17-02-93	T-xxxxxx	35	ajuste 2da quincena nov/92		919.58	83,796.51 D
17-02-93	T-xxxxxx	30	vta 717 qq semilla como grano		5,936.76	77,832.75 D
17-02-93	T-xxxxxx	30	vta 355 qq semilla cristalina		4,409.10	73,423.65 D
17-02-93	T-xxxxxx	68	manipuleo transp vta sem crist	114.31		73,537.96 D
18-02-93	T-xxxxxx	4	20 qq semilla ocapar	242.80		73,761.76 D
24-02-93	T-xxxxxx	3	cargo 151 qq por devolecion	2,663.48		76,421.24 D
24-02-93	T-xxxxxx	3	151 qq semi soya como grano		1,250.28	75,170.96 D
27-02-93	T-xxxxxx	19	445 bol utiilza en semilla	124.60		75,295.56 D
08-03-93	T-xxxxxx	5	1,000 lt diesel	371.08		75,666.64 D
26-03-93	T-xxxxxx	6	por repuestos en taller	48.00		75,714.64 D
29-03-93	T-xxxxxx	2	1,000 lt diesel	368.42		76,083.06 D
31-03-93	T-xxxxxx	1	pago fiete 1 C 5 AD	77.53		76,160.69 D
31-03-93	T-xxxxxx	1	pago fiete 1 C 5 AD	119.13		76,279.82 D
31-03-93	T-xxxxxx	42	insumos camp ver al 31/03/93	10,530.05		86,809.87 D
05-04-93	T-xxxxxx	3	aporte s/vta soya CAICO	18.61		86,828.48 D
05-04-93	T-xxxxxx	9 7370 kgr	vta 1 C soya CAICO		1,124.05	85,704.43 D
				99,344.20	13,639.77	85,704.43 D

(*Fecha* is transaction date, *concepio* is item of transaction, *debe*: debt, *haber*: payment, and *saldos*: account balance).

projected 200 hectares of his farmland, which he intended to use for soybean production in February (CAICO 1993). For some, like this farmer, keeping up with debt payments has become an almost impossible task.

Delayed payments by CAICO members were a major problem for the cooperative. Hushed rumors circulated within the Colonia Okinawan community often evolved around which farmers were in serious debt. Even children, housewives, and Issei elderly women I met told me about the debt crises of other farmers. One day at school, a second-grade girl surprised me by candidly telling me that one of her friends' families had "a huge debt" and therefore the whole family, including her friend, had left for Japan a few months before. A Nisei woman, the housewife of a Nisei farmer in Okinawa Uno told me, albeit jokingly, "My husband was saying, 'Well, soon we will probably have to flee by night [because of his debt], so be ready.'" Mrs. Shinjo Yoshiko of Okinawa Uno, in her seventies, told me that the biggest problem of Colonia today was the Colonia Okinawan farmers' debt. She explained:

> There seem to be so many people suffering from debt. [Lately] we have had flood and strong wind, which reduced our wheat harvest to one third of the normal [production]. Meanwhile, the prices of pesticide and diesel have risen. Some [Colonia Okinawan farmers] literally ran away from here overnight [due to their inability to pay the debt]. There are some families here in trouble because they signed a loan contract as a guarantor for those who fled without paying it. In the past, men just took a big loan, and their wives didn't know about it, but now both husband and wife have to sign the CAICO loan contract. [CAICO] rarely took over the members' land or machines, but lately it does. Among the CAICO members, some sell their crops to buyers other than CAICO, because they don't want them to be taken away as debt payment.

The destination of those who leave – or "run away from" – Colonia Okinawa because of severe cash flow problems or a poor harvest is, of course, Japan. Whether or not Colonia Okinawans actually publicly acknowledged financial need as a primary reason for migration to Japan, it is undeniable that the majority of them operated their farming with large debts and many of those who had left for Japan were struggling with payment. An Issei retiree who was visiting his daughter in Yokohama in July 2001 told me how serious the debt problem was among the Colonia Okinawan farmers:

> Before I came here [Japan], several people from banks came to my house and asked me to find out addresses of some people from the Colonia who had left there without paying off their debt. [The creditors] are now searching for them outside the country. . . . People can no longer just escape from debt by coming [to Japan].

The large financial assistance by JICA, in the form of farm operational loans, enabled the Colonia Okinawans to become large-scale commercial farmers, but it also contributed to establishment of the structured embeddedness of their dekasegi migration to Japan. It created a large debt for many Colonia Okinawans, which directly or indirectly pushed them into migrating to Japan. As a result, there were not only many repeat-dekasegi migrants from Colonia Okinawa to urban Japan, but also some returnees in the Colonia were contemplating migrating to Japan again, even after purchasing farmland and starting their own farming operations. Asked about his intension to go to Japan again in the future, Mr. Nakasone Shinji, who had had three dekasegi stints, said, "I really don't want to [go to Japan for dekasegi again], but who knows? If it becomes necessary, I will have to, won't I?" Therefore, despite the commonly used term, "dekasegi," which implies temporality and brevity of the migration, Colonia Okinawans' migration to Japan, and return-migration to Bolivia by some, is a continuing and open-ended social process which might or might not really ever *end*. These contradictions and uncertainty involved in the dekasegi migration of Colonia Okinawans to urban Japan, as we shall see in next chapter, are magnified by the situation in which the dekasegi migrants were placed in the labor market of urban Japan.

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to outline the complex and changing mechanisms of dekasegi migration to Japan from the early 1980s to today. Despite the relatively short period of migration, dekasegi migration's causal factors and demographics have changed so drastically that neither macro-level political economic processes nor micro-level communal and familial conditions provide adequate explanations by themselves. The motivation of the first group of dekasegi migrants was strongly influenced by the economic and political chaos of Bolivian society under hyperinflation, its aftermath in the early 1980s, and the high demand for manual laborers by manufacturing and construction industries in Japan.

The global and national economic situations, however, were not the only reason that dekasegi migration became popular among young Colonia Okinawans. As they were coming of age in a farming village in rural Bolivia, amidst a high unemployment rate and frequent university strikes, young Nisei, who were not successors of their families' farming operations, considered dekasegi migration to Japan the most attractive, if not the most realistic, way to make their own living. The dekasegi migration flow was further facilitated by the developing communities of Colonia Okinawan dekasegi migrants in Japan, in such areas as Tsurumi district of Yokohama and Hiratsuka city of the Kanagawa Prefecture. As a result, the second half of the 1980s witnessed the socialization of migration between Colonia Okinawa and urban Japan, creating the "dekasegi fad" among young Nisei, most of whom had no clear plan for their future.

Despite the collapse of the Japanese economy in the early 1990s, the flow of dekasegi migration never ceased, much less reversed itself, despite the prolonged recession. The dependency on expendable and flexible manual laborers by the manufacturing and construction industries in Japan, as well as the unstable agricultural economy of Colonia Okinawa were major factors for the continued, if slowed, dekasegi migration flows. More important factors, however, are how the migration from Colonia Okinawa to Japan had become structurally embedded in the existing and developing socioeconomic systems in local and international scales, in the last two decades, and how the crucial roles state and community agencies, JICA and CAICO, played in the process. With the capital-intensive style of their commercial production, operating with large loans from JICA and CAICO, seemingly affluent Colonia Okinawan farmers were, in fact, only a few incidents, such as natural disasters or significant drops in the international market prices of their products, away from bankruptcy. Indeed, in the late 1990s, not only young Nisei went to Japan for dekasegi, but also several middle-aged household heads left for Japan, sometimes fleeing with the entire family, to escape from debt.

The transnational Okinawan communities have been built through these different but continuing migration flows in the past two decades between Colonia Okinawa and urban. The transnationality of their communities and families across national borders, however, produces different implications for subjectivity formations in Colonia Okinawa and urban Japan. As I will discuss in the next three chapters, Okinawan transnationality, which has created, and been created by, the web of local and global political economies, state and non-state institutions, and Colonia Okinawans' own practices and aspirations, constituted the differing subject-positions they occupied in the two locales.

CHAPTER 4
ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS: PATRONES JAPONESAS OR NIKKEIJIN RŌDŌSHA

The first thing I noticed when I arrived Colonia Okinawa from the nearby city of Montero was that the village had nothing that particularly reminded me of the Ryukyu Islands or Japan. Except for a steel arch that says "*Okinawa Nihon Boribia Kyōkai – Asociación Boliviana-Japonesa de Okinawa*" at the entrance to the Nichibo Kyōkai building, it was difficult to find anything that distinguished Colonia Okinawa from other villages in the rural Santa Cruz region. What I *did* notice immediately upon my arrival, though, was obvious contrast between the houses with white-painted walls and orange-tiled roofs and simple wooden houses with roofs made of palm, locally called "*motacú*," leaves. The modern houses, which were often secured with high walls lined with spearing irons, were owned by Colonia Okinawans, while most wood-and-motacú shacks were inhabited by non-Nikkei Bolivians. The same contrast was seen in their automobiles. Whenever I saw a new, slick *camioneta* (pickup truck) or a motorbike passing by, the drivers were more likely to be Colonia Okinawans, while those riding old bicycles or beat-up motorbikes, or driving a huge *camion* (dump truck) with agricultural products in its cargo space, were normally non-Nikkei Bolivians.

On the other hand, as you walk eastward from the Tsurumi Station in Yokohama, Japan, it is easy to notice the dramatic changes in social class and ethnic characteristics in the areas. The first few blocks from the Tsurumi Station are a busy commercial district, followed by a business area crowded with large office buildings. After you cross the national Route 15 and the Tsurumi River that parallels it, you enter into the Nakadori-Ushioda neighborhoods, where hundreds of South American Nikkeijin reside. Instead of the fashionable boutiques, franchise eateries, and office buildings that occupy the Tsurumi Station area, an ensemble of small factories, mom-and-pop grocery stores, and, most noticeably, Okinawan and South American restaurants inform you that this is not only a working class neighborhood, but also an immigrant enclave. This Nakadori-Ushioda neighborhood is what some Colonia Okinawans call "Colonia Okinawa *Quatro.*" These noticeable indications of Colonia Okinawans' class positions in Colonia Okinawa and in Tsurumi (and other Japanese cities) are the subject of this chapter. Labor market and workplace are one of the three "critical sites" (Cornell and Hartmann 1998:154) through which I approach subject formation processes of transnational Okinawans, in which various actors make claims and definitions of Self and Others.

My approach to the subject is predicated on the assumption that race and class are mutually constitutive and constituted, rather than disparate or independently articulated domains. While numerous sociological studies have tended to regard race as a byproduct of class formation, either as the result of social stratification (Wilson 1978), labor market segmentation (Reich 1981), or a split labor market (Bonacich 1972, 1976), Hall (1996a) argues that class and other social differences, including race, are complementary to each other: "[The law of value] operates through and *because* of the culturally specific character of labour power, rather than . . . by systematically eroding those distinctions as an inevitable part of a world-wide, epochal historical tendency" (Hall 1996a:436, emphasis original). Hall calls for empirically grounded inquiries into the culturally specific quality of class formations in historically specific conditions, which enable us to understand how "the regime of capital can function *through* differentiation and difference" of race and ethnicity (ibid, emphasis original). More recent ethnographic studies (Charles 1992; Bourgois 1995; Kwong 1997) have attempted to demonstrate how class and racial formations take place simultaneously, as Charles observes in Haitian society, where "blackness mediates class, class always qualifies race/color" (Charles 1992:107).

In the process of the mutual construction of class and race within nation-states, state institutions play a crucial role. Omi and Winant (1994) demonstrate how state institutions, such as education, family law, immigration law, census, or criminal justice system negotiate racial formations within the nation-state, and Lowe argues that a modern liberal state has served as a guarantor of civil society, and, therefore, its function has been to "*reproduce* capitalist relations of production as *racialized gendered relations*" (Lowe 1996:14, 22, emphasis original).[32] The interventions by JICA and the Okinawa Prefecture government into Colonia Okinawa's economy, as I illustrated in the previous chapter, have been responsible for facilitating the emigration of the Nisei from the Colonia to Yokohama since the 1980s. The Japanese government's nationality laws, meanwhile, enabled second-generation Nikkeijin to obtain Japanese nationality and passport, with which the Colonia Okinawans could enter and work in Japan with few legal obstacles.

Labor market and state interventions are primal forces that create particular class and racial subjects, but it is individual subjects' interpretations and practices that actually *make* human bodies visible representations of race and class. The "racialization" of labor, in other words, is not a mere structural segmentation of labor market and relations of production based on predefined racial and ethnic groups, but it is a process of active interpretation, practice, and performance by individuals, whose bodies are understood as the "natural" embodiment of their class belongings. Through capitalist disciplines of individual laborers' bodies (Ong 1987), symbolic enforcement of class structure (Willis 1977), or individual subjects' positioning in multiple axes of dominations (Hall 1991), human bodies are actively "made" – interpreted, coded, and represented – to fit into particular positions within capitalist labor market.

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[32] See Cornelius (1994), Hing (1993), Lesser (1999), and Yamanaka (1996) for how immigration policies of the US, Brazil, and Japan have constructed and transformed racial and ethnic groups' subjectivities. Also see Nobles (2000) for the US and Brazilian governments' use of census as a means to construct significance of race in nation-states.

I begin this chapter with describing the class positions and labor conditions in which transnational Okinawans are situated in the two locales. I then illustrate how different class positions of transnational Okinawans are performed and interpreted by themselves and their Others (non-Nikkei Bolivians and Japanese Naichi-jin) in everyday working sites, such as farm fields in Colonia Okinawa and construction sites in Yokohama and Tokyo. Finally, I demonstrate how these class differences and labor relations that are produced and reproduced, as well as performed and interpreted in everyday working situations, are naturalized and projected onto the bodies and behaviors transnational Okinawans. I argue that as their differences from local Others are conceived as both *reasons* and *manifestations* of their different national origins and characters, their differences become racialized. Their transnational migrations between the two locales are also the class changes through which the subject-positions are defined and naturalized as "*patrones japonesas*" and "Nikkeijin *rōdōsha* (laborers)."

Patrón Japonés in Colonia Okinawa

Economic and political interventions by the Japanese government (via JICA) and the Okinawan Prefecture government to Colonia Okinawa's labor relations have produced and maintained Colonia Okinawans as rural upper-class in Colonia Okinawa vis-à-vis non-Nikkei Bolivians. In 2000, members of Nichibo Kyōkai in Colonia Okinawa owned a total of 51,250 hectares of farmland (Nichibo Kyōkai 2000:4).[33] JICA reported in 1994 that among 99 sample households they chose, the average landholding was 403.8 hectares, of which 323 hectares were used for agricultural production (JICA 1994:36). In 1998, Colonia Okinawans owned more than 95 percent of the land within Colonia Okinawa. Mori reported that Colonia Okinawans in Colonias Dos and Trés had prevented non-Nikkei Bolivians from living in the centro areas by limiting land sales among Colonia Okinawans, and reporting to police authorities whenever they found a non-Nikkei Bolivian squatter in their properties. As a result, even during my residence in Okinawa Dos and Trés in 2000-2001, I saw very few non-Nikkei Bolivians near the centro areas of Okinawa Dos and Trés, except for those who were employees of Colonia Okinawan patrones and lived inside their properties (Mori 1998b:67).

According to the 1996 JICA report, the average Colonia Colonia Okinawan household's net farming profit was 2,779,000 yen (US$27,461), and net non-farming income was 519,000 yen (US$5,130), which made its net income 3,298,000 yen (US$32,590). A capital-intensive and highly mechanized style of agriculture in Colonia Okinawa was apparent from JICA's statistics from 1994, which reported Colonia Okinawan farmers owned an average of three tractors, one combine (harvester) machine, two automobiles, and three other machines, such as grass-cutters and pesticide and herbicide sprayers (ibid:37). In total, the CAICO members owned 222 tractors, 76 combines (*cosechadoras*), 120 sowing machines (*sembradoras*), 95 pesticide sprayers (*fumigadoras*), and 120 cultivators (*cultivadors*), among other machines (CAICO 1996). However, these large assets and income of Colonia Okinawan farmers, as I described in the previous chapter, can be misleading. Not only is income variation among Colonia Okinawan farmers significantly large, but also the average farmer has debt which is worth approximately a quarter of their assets; it was reported that while Colonia Okinawan household's average assets were 40,416,000 yen, or US$399,367, their average amount of debt was 10,097,000 yen, or US$99,777.

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[33] It is commonly known among Colonia Okinawan farmers that the official figures of individual landholding are much smaller than the reality. In order to reduce the amount of annual membership charge for Nichibo Kyōkai, which is based upon the self-reported property value of each member, most members report the size of their land as being smaller than it really is. One Nichibo Kyōkai official told me that actual average size of farmland would be about 300 hectares, while approximately ten farmers possessed more than 1,000 hectares.

In contrast with the substantial wealth of Colonia Okinawan patrones, the vast majority of non-Nikkei Bolivians are landless farm laborers or wage workers, and are economically dependent on Colonia Okinawan patrones and their community institutions. Though there are no official figures for the annual income or landholding of the non-Nikkei Bolivians in the village, the average landholding of non-Nikkei Bolivians near the Colonia was reported to be 30 hectares (JICA 1992:6). Mori's survey of occupations of non-Nikkei Bolivians in Okinawa Uno centro area revealed that among 401 household heads of non-Nikkei Bolivians families, 147 were engaged in agriculture-related work.

Figure 9: Income distribution among Colonia Okinawans in 1992-3

Income (1000 yen)	~500	500~ 1,000	1,000~ 1,500	1,500~ 2,000	2,000~ 2,500	2,500~ 3,000	3,000~ 3,500	3,500~	10,000~
Households	8	15	12	9	9	10	2	34	2
Percentage	8.1	15.2	12.1	9.1	9.1	10.1	2.0	34.3	2.0

(JICA 1994)

The vast majority of them worked as farm field wage laborers, or *chacos* (117 people), while only 12 of them were autonomous farmers (Mori 1998b:54). The second largest occupational group, 63 people, consisted of employees of public or semi-public institutions, such as schools, Nichibo Kyōkai, CAICO, and hospitals. In 2000, the Nichibo Kyōkai administrative office employed 12 non-Nikkei Bolivians, while CBJ school had thirteen non-Nikkei Bolivian teachers. Other noticeable jobs of non-Nikkei Bolivians included construction-related work, or *carpinteros*, and truck drivers and farm machine operators, or *choferes*. There were 62 carpinteros and 43 choferes residing in the centro area of Okinawa Uno who worked for (Nikkei- or non-Nikkei) farm owners (ibid:55).

Sponsored Patrones: Japanese Government's Assistance

This significant difference in wealth – assets and income – between the two local groups in Colonia Okinawa is largely a consequence of the active assistance for the Colonia Okinawan community provided by the Japanese and Okinawan state agencies. When I first went to Colonia Okinawa in December of 1997, Mr. Murayama, then the secretary general of Nichibo Kyōkai, drove me around the three Colonias, and gave me a brief outlook on the community. He pointed at major social service facilities, such as hospitals in Okinawa Uno and Dos, gymnasiums/auditoriums in all three Colonias, and schools in Okinawa Uno and Dos. Mr. Murayama, in his monotone voice, said matter-of-factly: "Well, if not for the help from the Japanese government, this Colonia would have disappeared a long time ago." Although Nichibo Kyōkai has been trying to operate within a budget based only collected dues from members, he said, it was impossible for Nichibo Kyōkai to deal with expensive civil engineering projects, such as road pavement and maintenance, and bridge construction and repair. In agriculture, medical service, education, and social infrastructure, the financial assistance by the Japanese government and the Okinawa Prefecture government was omni-present in the everyday life of Colonia Okinawans. This pervasive state influence of Japan and Okinawa, which was far more encompassing than that of the Bolivian national or local governments, was the single most important force that has reinforced the drastic class differentiation between Colonia Okinawans and non-Nikkei Bolivians.

All major institutions in Colonias Okinawa were, in varying degrees, funded by JICA, through the Nichibo Kyōkai budget. According to the 1998 annual budget plan of Nichibo Kyōkai, US$337,900 of the estimated total revenue of the association for 1998 would be provided by JICA as financial assistance (Nichibo Kyōkai 1998b:4). It was worth approximately thirty percent of the entire revenue. Approximately thirty percent of the Okinawa Hospital's operating budget in 1997, including the staff salaries and maintenance cost for medical equipment, was provided by JICA, through Nichibo Kyōkai (Nichibo Kyōkai 1998a:17). For CBJ school, 22 percent of the entire revenue came from the JICA's direct assistance and Nichibo Kyōkai expenditure, which was also originally provided by JICA.

In addition to social infrastructures and loan packages, Colonia Okinawan farmers have been repeatedly rescued by Japanese state agencies, especially when natural disasters caused serious damage in their farms. Each time floods have hit Colonia Okinawa, Nichibo Kyōkai promptly reported the event to the regional office of JICA and the Japanese Consulate General in Santa Cruz de la Sierra, or wrote to the Governer of Okinawa Prefecture for emergency loans to repair roads and drain farmland. In early

Figure 10: List of major facilities that received funding from JICA, Japanese government, or Okinawa Prefecture for construction and/or administration

JICA or Japanese Government
Okinawa Uno auditorium; Okinawa Dos auditorium; Okinawa Trés auditorium; Okinawa Uno gymnasium; Okinawa Uno Youth Association building; Hospital Okinawa (Colonia Uno); Hospital Okinawa Dos clinic[34]; Colegio Centro Boliviano-Japones de Okinawa Uno (private elementary and middle school); Colegio Evangelica Metodista (church and school buildings); Colegio Nueva Esperanza (public elementary and middle school); Police station buildings (Okinawa Uno, Dos, Trés); Police chief residence (Okinawa Uno); CETABOL (Centro de Technología Agriculture de Bolivia; Okinawa Dos);
Okinawa Prefectural Government
Nichibo Kyōkai headquarters building (Okinawa Uno); Okinawa Dos Gymnasium

1992, for example, a devastating flood hit Colonia Okinawa, and the region of Santa Cruz in general. Colonia Okinawa recorded more than the average total annual rainfall of 1,000 millimeters by the end of April, and the figure reached 1,300 millimeters in May. The flood of the Rio Pailón river, which runs in the west end of Colonia Okinawa, caused major damage for Colonia's farms and ranches. A bridge over the river, which connects the only national road between Colonia Okinawa and Montero, fell off, and the Colonia was virtually isolated from Montero and Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Nichibo Kyōkai reported that between January 10th and May 31st, there was an estimated total of US$3,665,530 in damage for the farming and ranching businesses of the association's members. Mr. Gushiken Kōtei, the president of Nichibo Kyōkai at the time, detailed his efforts to obtain emergency aid from Japan:

> Nichibo [Kyōkai] repeatedly asked the municipal transportation authority to repair the [Pailón] bridge, but their answers were, 'There is no budget' and 'We have machines but no fuels.' . . . On June 4th, Nichibo [Kyōkai] held a board meeting regarding the flood emergency, and reached the decision to ask the Japanese government for help. Then I first visited Mr. K, the head of the JICA regional office in Santa Cruz, and asked his advice for where and how Nichibo [Kyōkai] should send a request for assistance. . . . On June 18th, Mr. CM and Mr.

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[34] There is one resident nurse Okinawa Dos Hospital, and a doctor from Okinawa Hospital in Okinawa Uno made two weekly visits to the Okinawa Dos clinic for the residents' convenience.

> KM, the president and the owner of CAICO, Mr. WD [non-Nikkei Bolivian], the principal of Metodista School, and I flew to La Paz [to meet the ambassador of Japan in Bolivia]. We asked Mr. WD to join us as a representative of the residents of sub-municipal of Okinawa. . . . Later, Nichibo Kyōkai planned a repair project of the national road between Okinawa and Montero, in collaboration with the consulate general, the embassy, and JICA. [Gushiken 1998:251-256]

Nichibo Kyōkai's next target was the Bolivian government. He again headed to La Paz with the president of ANAPO, the national farmers' association based on the region of Santa Cruz, to pressure the government through the Santa Cruz-elected congressmen. In this case, again, the Japanese government's sponsorship for Colonia Okinawa provided him with strong leverage to negotiate with the Bolivian government. He explained his intentions:

> In the case of Bolivia, the country seeks to improve agricultural production, farmers' associations have such a strong influence in the government. . . . If the Japanese government is to provide development aid for Bolivia, official requests from the Bolivian government would be indispensable. This was in fact the advice from the Japanese embassy. Thus, we first have to drag the Bolivian government into this project, and let them make an official request the development aid to the Japanese government. And Japan, responding to the request from Bolivia, would provide help. The bridge constructions and research for flood prevention are not only projects for Japanese settlers, but also for the life of local residents in [Colonia] Okinawa and its vicinities, and industries of Region of Santa Cruz as a whole. [ibid:256-7]

With Nichibo Kyōkai's persistent and crafty efforts, in March 1993, Japanese government granted JICA to provide approximately US$220,000 for the reconstruction of the roads. In addition, the Japanese government decided to fund the construction of seven concrete bridges between Okinawa Uno and Montero, for total of 315 meters, as part of ODA for the Bolivian government. The construction of the bridges began in 1995 and was completed in May of 1997, with a festive inauguration ceremony that included the participation of President Sanchez-Rosada and the Japanese ambassador.[35]

The state-sponsored economic domination by Colonia Okinawans extends to land ownership. From 1960s, Colonia Okinawans have struggled with what they call "land invasion" by non-Nikkei Bolivians who migrated into the area. The problem began as early as 1963 in Okinawa Trés, when some non-Nikkei Bolivian landowners, who claimed the title of the land, despite the agreement between Bolivian and Ryukyu governments to allocate the land owned by the Bolivian government, demanded their return. With unreliable practices of land entitlement in Bolivia, particularly after the agrarian reform by the MNR-led government in the 1950s, it was not uncommon to have multiple legal land titles for the same lot (Higa 2000:251). In 1964 and 1965, Okinawa Trés was forced to return the land of 750 hectares and 1,550 hectares, respectively, to the alleged former landowners. The dispute continued until the 1970s, forcing Okinawa Trés to lose more than 10,000 hectares to non-Nikkei Bolivian landowners and peasants' unions. What complicated these land disputes was Article 77 of the Agrarian Reform Law of 1953, which guaranteed any individual land entitlement if s/he has cultivated, or intends to cultivate, the unopened land, even if the legal title belongs to others. Even with the bilateral agreement between the Japanese and Bolivian governments to grant the land to Okinawan settlers, therefore, peasants' unions have repeatedly claimed land ownership through squatting and filing lawsuits.

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[35] The project was, not incidentally, contracted by Fujita, a Japanese construction firm. The state-industry congruence in Japanese – or any other advanced capitalist states' – oversea aid projects has created major controversies, but such topic would be beyond this dissertation's scope.

Mr. Kuniyoshi of Okinawa Trés told me that the name of the township nearby Okinawa Trés, "Malvinas," derived from the Malivinas (Falkland) War between the United Kingdom and Argentina in 1982. In the same year, a large number of non-Nikkei Bolivian squatters, who formed a peasants' union called "Villa Barrientos," marched into this area and opened up their own farmlands, despite the legal land title of Colonia Okinawan farmers. Mr. Kuniyoshi told me, "We used say, 'We are having a war here, too.'" In 1984, as lawsuits against the union dragged on, the CAICO president sent a letter to Bolivia's Minister of Peasants and Farmers Affairs in La Paz. In the letter, the president stated:

> As the President of Cooperative . . . , I promise to develop ("*explotar*") the 1,700 hectares of land in conflict within three years. This land will be converted into fields for grain cultivation and meadows for cattle breeding, and in so doing, it will contribute to the acceleration of the country's food production that currently falls short. . . . Colonia Okinawa Trés was granted 18,791 hectares of land by the Bolivian government in 1961, on which the Colonia was founded. Nevertheless, after the Japanese settlers ("*colonos*") opened and improved the main roads and streets with so much sacrifice and effort, [the peasant union's] land acquisition began. It caused tension and anxiety for the Cooperative members, a feeling of insecurity in their investment, and it spoiled their motivation for production, because of the lack of security for their private property. . . . Of 10,458 hectares taken [from Okinawan settlers by the peasant union], only 20 percent was cultivated. The rest was abandoned and has no social function. . . . Thus, I earnestly request you to guarantee our property rights and to secure our possessions of the aforementioned lands with your authority. It will enable the members of the Cooperative to work in a stable and peaceful social climate, which is a crucial factor for the farmers to work with enthusiasm and hope. [Nakada 1984]

After the unsuccessful effort to resolve the issue through an open hearing and inspection in front of a judge from National Committee of Agrarian Reform, the Colonia Okinawans turned to a political resolution, rather than legal one. CAICO and Nichibo Kyōkai pressured the Japanese General Consul and ambassador to persuade the Bolivian government, President Paz Estenssoro in particular, to release the Executive Order to secure the land ownership of Okinawans. The dispute was tentatively resolved by executive order from the President in 1985 – Mr. Kuniyoshi's farmland was also saved by this measure – but until the late 1990s, "land invasion" problems periodically surged.

In 1994, for example, a non-Nikkei Bolivian man claimed 500 hectares of Mr. Yara Satoshi's property in Okinawa Uno. Both seemed to have legal land title of the disputed lot, so it appeared an unfavorable situation for Mr. Yara. This time, action of the Colonia Okinawan community was swift. Mr. Gushiken Kōtei, the president of Nichibo Kyōkai at the time, sent a letter to the Japanese Embassy in La Paz, in which he wrote, "This [land invasion] problem offends not only the property of Mr. Yara, but also the social rights of all Japanese residents in Bolivia" (Gushiken 1995). After two years of lawsuits and Nichibo Kyōkai's negotiation with the Japanese Embassy, the petition from Nichibo Kyōkai was brought to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Japan by the Japanese ambassador to Bolivia. In October of 1996, the Foreign Minister of Japan, persuaded by the Japanese ambassador, raised the issue when President Sanchez de Lozada and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bolivia made an official visit to Japan. According to Mr. Yara, the Minister of Japan "implied a possible cut or end of Japan's ODA for Bolivia," and the Bolivian minister and President agreed to resolve the issue with "administrative rather than legal means." Eventually, the Executive Order that warranted Mr. Yara's land title was signed by President Sanchez Lozada in March 1997.

The financial aid for the damages caused by floods in Colonia Okinawa and the handling of the "land invasion" problem epitomized the Colonia Okinawans' dependency on the Japanese government's economic and political power, without which Colonia

Okinawans' class privilege could be easily taken away. With the state sponsorship that was unattainable for the non-Nikkei Bolivian population, Colonia Okinawans have been able to retain substantial economic advantage over non-Nikkei Bolivians and distinguished themselves as the ruling class.

Limited Mobility: Struggles in Urban Bolivia

Despite their economic dominance within Colonia Okinawa, Colonia Okinawans have struggled to achieve the same degree of upward class mobility in urban Bolivia. As described in the previous chapter, many Nisei who were born and raised in Colonia Okinawa reached their adulthood in the 1980s chose to migrate to Japan for dekasegi, instead of pursuing professional careers in Bolivia. Some Nisei from Colonia Okinawa have become successful professionals in cities like Santa Cruz de la Sierra, such as lawyers, dentists, and doctors. Bolivia as a whole, however, remains one of the poorest countries in the world, with only $770 annual GNP per capita in 1993, and its national population is divided into a small economic and political elite and the low-income majority. In 1993, the top 20 percent of the national population possessed 55 percent of GDP, while the lowest 40 percent produced 15 percent. In urban centers, like La Paz, the gap between the rich and poor is even more pronounced: while 8.7 percent of La Paz's population earned more than US$1,000 a month, 46 percent earned less than US$150 (Nikkei Bolivia 1997a:10). Within the skewed economic structure, white-collar professional jobs in urban Bolivia have remained scarce, and Nisei have struggled to make their livelihood in urban Bolivia.

On top of the scarcity of professional jobs, the Bolivian higher education demands a huge commitment by Nisei and their families. Nationwide, public universities, which were generally considered far more prestigious than private schools in Bolivia, produced only 294 graduates in 1994, and it took an average of 13 years for them to complete degrees (Gekkan Boribia 1996:10). After Issei took a huge financial burden to make their children gain higher education in city, and Nisei spent more than a decade to gain their degree, Nisei can seldom find well-paid professional jobs other than a few positions at the Japanese governmental agencies or Colonia Okinawa-related institutions, small, Nikkei owned businesses, such as travel agencies and auto repair factories in Santa Cruz de la Sierra. As Colonia Okinawans realized the situation, many parents paid less attention to their children's academic performance at high schools, but rather recommended their children to gain vocational skills, such as auto repair and sewing. Nisei's inability to become urban professionals in Bolivia, where a small group of urban, elite Bolivians dominated, turned them to dekasegi to Japan (Mori 1998c:114).

Colonia Okinawans' upper-class status in Colonia Okinawa, in short, has failed to translate to their upward class mobility in a larger Bolivian society. Many Nisei, who had tried to gain college degrees and work in urban Bolivia before migrating to Japan, were acutely aware of their limited class mobility outside of Colonia Okinawa. Mr. Ota Takemitsu joined the "dekasegi fad" of the late 1980s and left for Japan in 1986 and then returned to Bolivia in 1990. He saved some money for education, so he entered a university in Santa Cruz de la Sierra upon his return, and majored in information science. He did not, however, finish the degree after using up all the money, and started his own business in 1996 producing detergent. The business did not go well, so he had to leave for Japan in 1998. Although Mr. Ota was reluctant to go back to Japan, Takaki, his father, had another idea. When Takemitsu consulted him whether he should stay in Bolivia or go to Japan, Takaki told him he should live in Japan rather than in Bolivia. He explained: "He doesn't have any foothold in Bolivia, so it is safer to live in Japan. Without any social safety net, the weak cannot survive in Bolivia." In addition, he claims, Colonia Okinawans cannot compete with other Bolivians in the urban labor market: "Once you are in Santa Cruz [de la Sierra], [Colonia Okinawans] cannot win in competition with 'Bolivians ('Boliviajin').' I think Japanese citizenship becomes an obstacle. When many applicants are competing for one position, the employer chooses a Bolivian [over a Japanese]." Takemitsu, though, still hopes to return to Bolivia soon. Takaki said: "[Takemitsu and his other children] think that their home, the place they want to have their livelihood, is here. . . . Takemitsu used to say, though, 'I am viewed as Bolivian in Japan, but I am considered Japanese in Bolivia. Sometimes I don't know who I am.'"

Mr. Nakasone Shinji is another Nisei who went to Japan for dekasegi in 1983, after studying for a year at a strike-prone university. He made a total of three dekasegi stints in Japan between 1983 and 1995, taking turns with his elder brother, Masaru, to look after the family's farming business in Colonia Okinawa. He hoped that his two sons in elementary school and preschool would not repeat his mistake and would choose something other than farming as their careers:

> More [Colonia Okinawan] kids are going to colleges today than ten years ago. The first half of the 1980s was the most difficult period to go to college. . . . It's been 45 years [since the foundation of Colonia Okinawa], so there will be more of those who choose other jobs than agriculture from now on. Maybe one [of the siblings] will succeed the family farm, but the rest will have other jobs. . . . The problem is that it is unlikely for Bolivia to change dramatically, and it won't industrialize anytime soon. That's why having higher education is not useful here. . . . The [regional] population is small, so the market is too small for us to start a commercial business. . . . Besides, if you are farming, it is hard to start a business; because if you have a business [unlike farming], you have to work everyday! I am still interested, though. My friends and I often talk about a possible new business, but there are few who have actually started one. . . . It is

> difficult to develop a market, you know? I feel discouraged whenever I hear [other Nikkei entrepreneurs in Santa Cruz de la Sierra] are struggling.

Nisei in Colonia Okinawa today are painfully aware of the instability of the agricultural business and limitation of class mobility for farmers in a larger Bolivian society. They hoped their Sansei children would break through the social barrier and compete against urban elite in Bolivia. Mr. Aniya Hiroshi, a Nisei returnee from dekasegi in Japan, expressed hope for his eight-year old son: "It would be better for Sansei to stay here and succeed in Bolivia. Until they get into politics and other sectors, Colonia won't develop, either. I want my children to work hard in Bolivia. . . . I don't want my son to take over my farming, because – how can I put this? – farmers here belong in the 'lower layer ('*shita no hō no sou*')' of society. I want him to become a professional instead."

Younger Nisei today are more hopeful about becoming a professional in Bolivia, as the universities today are more stable than they had been in the 1980s. Shiroma Ken, a nineteen-year old Nisei who just finished his first year of National University of Gabriel René Moreno in Santa Cruz de la Sierra said that some of his friends from Colonia Okinawa were currently studying in universities in Santa Cruz de la Sierra, La Paz, and Cochabamba, although many were working in Japan: "[His friends living in Japan] come back here on certain occasions, like community events and festivals, and stay for one or two months before going to Japan again. It is like when they get tired of life in Japan, they come back here for rest, and then go back there again." He hoped to complete not only a bachelor's but also a master's degree in veterinary medicine and become a veterinarian. Among his Colonia Okinawan and non-Nikkei Bolivian classmates at the high school in Santa Cruz de la Sierra, most of his non-Nikkei Bolivian friends entered universities and studied electrical or mechanical engineering: "You must have [personal] connections [with the university administrations] to enter universities. So those kids who were able go to universities are from rich families."

While some Colonia Okinawans insisted that today's young Nisei should go to colleges rather than to work in Japan, there were still only a handful who actually completed higher education and found professional jobs. Even though young Nisei were eager to study at college and work in Bolivia, as another Nisei college freshman in Santa Cruz de la Sierra told me, it was still "very difficult to survive" in urban Bolivia even with an advanced degree. In a society which consisted of a small group of wealthy elites and a poor majority, and the domestic market remained weak, upward class mobility was difficult to attain through higher education. Colonia Okinawans' upper-class positions in Colonia Okinawa, therefore, was unable to help Nisei to succeed outside the Japanese government sponsored village, as they were no longer privileged by their nationality in urban Bolivia.

From Patrón to Rōdōsha: Class Trans(national)formations

Once Colonia Okinawan Nisei moved to urban Japan, they found jobs in the manufacturing and construction industries through personal networks. The labor market in urban Japan they were incorporated into was highly hierarchized and segregated not only by industries' labor structures, but also by ethnic segregation within the market. The Colonia Okinawan migrants, as a result, became blue-collar laborers with little upward class mobility.

In the Tsurumi district, the majority of Colonia Okinawans live in Nakadori and Ushioda neighborhoods. Tsujimoto also counted 21 small businesses in the Tsurumi district run by Colonia Okinawans from Colonia Okinawa, among which were two restaurant serving Latin American and Okinawan food and 15 electrical installation firms (Tsujimoto 1998c:320). Tsujimoto cited that a relatively small cost for starting up a business and the pre-established networks of Colonia Okinawan electricians in the area as the major reasons for the large number of electrical installation firms owned by Colonia Okinawans in Tsurumi. Indeed, many of Colonia Okinawan electrical installation firms in Tsurumi were founded by former employees of the same electrical installation firm, and they began their own electrical installation business, using their apartments as office space and employing their friends from Bolivia as electricians. Two of the electrical installation firms I came to know during my fieldwork employed thirteen and ten electricians, respectively, and both used their own private homes as the company office.

Electrical Installation: Subcontracting Pyramid

The electrical installation industry is structured under a multiple outsourcing system. The construction industry of Japan is heavily dependent on small-scale firms under 300 employees, consisting of 99.7 percent of the total industry, most of which are sub-contractors for large-scale general construction, or "*zene-kon*," firms (Sano 1995:324). Normally, when a major zene-kon firm receives a project, it is in charge of designing the building and overseeing the construction process. The zene-kon firm then appoints the actual construction duties, such as steel frame building, cementing, electrical installation, painting, and interior design and furnishing, to specialized contractors. An electrical installation firm – sometimes more than one – that has received the project from its "parent" zene-kon firm, finds one or more subcontractors who actually send electricians to the construction sites.

As Sano (1995) and Tsujimoto (1999) describe, the indirect employment practiced in the electrical installation industry, and the construction industry in general, is further classified into subcontracting ("*ukeoi*") and staffing ("*haken*" or "*ouen,*" which means "support"). Subcontracting is an outsourcing practice through which the "parent" company allocates a certain amount of work to a subcontractor, which directs and supervises its own employees. In contrast, staffing is defined as the supply of workers provided by a subcontractor to the "parent" company, which maintains its control over the supplied workers at the work site. Although such staffing practices are prohibited by the Labor Staffing Law (*Rōdōsha Haken-hō*), Sano (1995:112) found that the vast majority of South American Nikkeijin workers in small-scale manufacturing, construction, and specialized construction – which includes electrical installation – were employed through this staffing system. In the electrical installation industry, these staffing firms disguise themselves as subcontractors by providing construction materials and tools, such as electric cables, nuts and bolts, and power tools. The self-supply of the materials and tools makes them exempt from the aforementioned law, even though, in reality, the electricians from these firms are normally directed and supervised by their "parent" company staffs at the construction sites. It is not uncommon that one construction project creates four or five layers of "parent-child" subcontracting arrangement (Tsujimoto 1999:77).

For the construction project I worked on in August of 2001, my employer sub-subcontracted an electrical installation project from the S Kensetsu zene-kon firm. F Denki was contracted as the supervisor of the electrical installation work for the project, and it appointed three subcontractors, among which was D Denki. The president of D

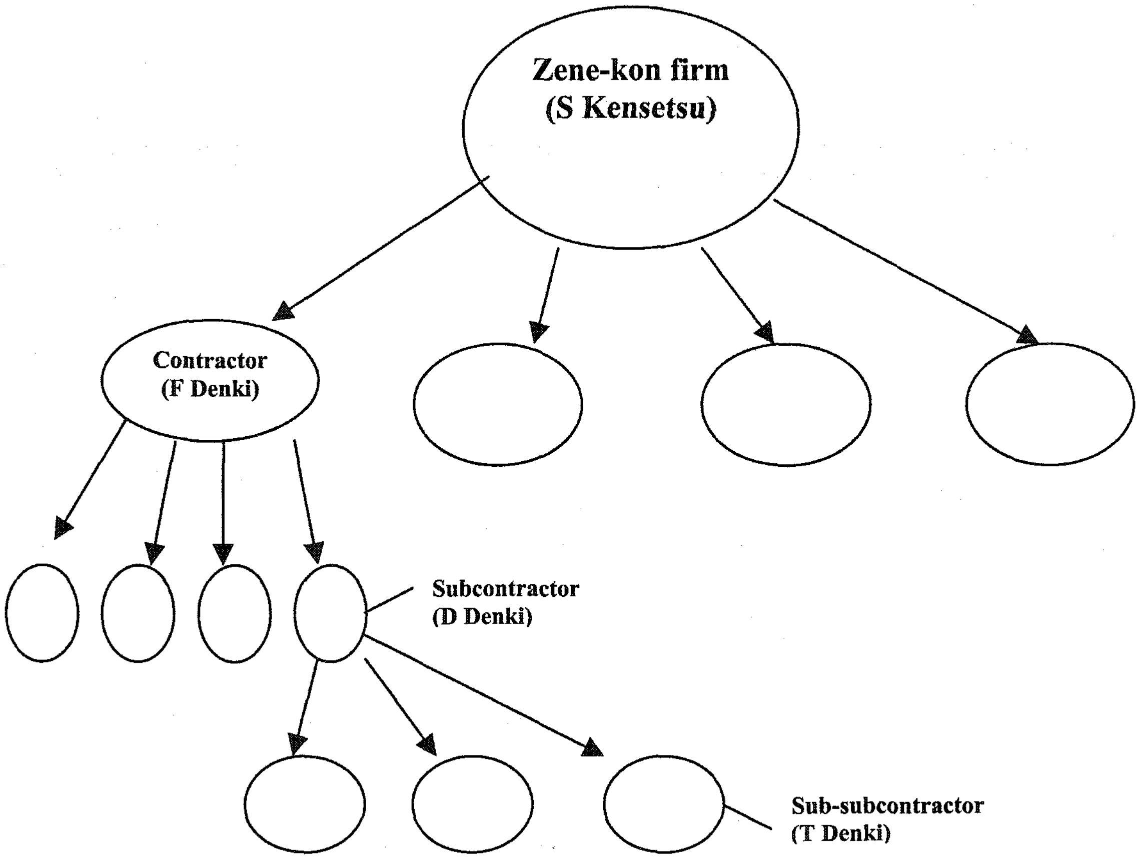
Denki is a friend of Mr. Tamashiro Hiroshi, the T Denki president, so T Denki sent a certain number of electricians to the site each day to work for D Denki. At the bottom of this subcontracting pyramid of construction industry, as I will illustrate, Colonia Okinawan dekasegi migrants were placed in extremely vulnerable position with little financial stability, job security, or class mobility.

Economic Instability

Within the subcontracting system of the construction industry, it is not uncommon that the zene-kon firm's delayed payment to its contractors, and its subsequent payment to subcontractors and sub-subcontractors. As a result, T Denki's electricians often suffered from delayed payment. As the cost of labor, T Denki typically requested its "parent" firm 18,000yen per day-person, but the payment terms were neither clear to the T Denki employees, nor were they subject of negotiation. Shortly after I began working at T Denki, my coworker told me that I should negotiate with T Denki president, Mr. Tamashiro Hiroshi, about my salary, because there was no fixed pay scale. It turned out later that T Denki's base salary was 12,000yen, approximately US$100, a day. Those who had working experience as an electrician could make 15,000 to 16,000yen a day. A veteran T Denki electrician, when asked if his salary was enough to feed his wife and two daughters, said, "We are all right. If I work 20 to 24 days a month . . . (calculating) it will be more than enough for all of us to live." Although T Denki electricians could theoretically make 350,000 to 400,000yen each month, and indeed some of them told me they used to, though, due to irregularity of payment, they often had a much smaller income. As T Denki electrician told me:

> I used to make around 440,000 to 460,000yen when I worked three overtime hours each day and five or six days a week. Recently, I hadn't received any chunk of money from T Denki. It is like, I get 10,000yen, 50,000yen, or 100,000 yen every now and then. If I keep bugging [Mr. Tamashiro], 'Hiro! Give me money!' then he gives me some. But lately he doesn't. . . . If I get money like that [in small amounts], I don't know how much I am making and getting from him, and no money is left afterwards.

Figure 11: Construction industry pyramid


Zene-kon firm
(S Kensetsu)
Contractor
(F Denki)
Subcontractor
(D Denki)
Sub-subcontractor
(T Denki)

Such unreliable wage payment created financial stress for the employees, and occasionally they had to take action. In late August of 2001, as T Denki electricians were gathering at the park, the meeting place, getting ready to leave for work, Higa Emilio was trying to get hold of Mr. Tamashiro to discuss his delayed wage payment. Soon, other T Denki electricians also started talking about the delayed wage payment. Apparently, they hadn't been paid the full amount they were owed for months. Tonoshiro Jun, an experienced electrician, and Oshiro Toshio, who was a relatively new electrician with only a few months of working experience both said that he hadn't been paid for two months. Oshiro said that when he was last paid, the payment he had received wasn't full amount, either. Higa Emilio, another electrician, said that T Denki owed him nearly 800,000yen.[36]

Emilio decided to take action. He told others, "Until we get paid, we shouldn't go to work." He called Mr. Ishikawa of D Denki, which subcontracted T Denki for the ongoing project, and explained the situation to him. Mr. Ishikawa offered to loan some money to those who were in need, but Emilio told him that it wouldn't solve the problem. He wanted to talk to the president of D Denki, but Mr. Ishikawa couldn't locate him. Emilio told him that we all would go to the site in the afternoon, and talk with the D Denki president. Emilio said to Mr. Ishikawa on the phone, "You know, we all barely getting by. We can't keep working if we don't know we'll get paid." Emilio and Jun discussed the situation:

Emilio:	It's not entirely [Mr. Tamashiro's] fault. I asked him yesterday, and he told me that D Denki hasn't paid T Denki and the D Denki president wasn't clear when he would pay T Denki."
Jun:	[Mr. Tamashiro] shouldn't work with D Denki anymore. They only give us a project that is losing money.

Then, one by one, T Denki electricians began telling others their own financial woes:

Oshiro:	I was short of apartment rent this month by 3000yen.

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[36] Yuji, his brother, however, disputed his brother's claim, saying, "Emilio must have received most of his salary."

Jun: I asked the landlord of my apartment to wait for the rent payment this month.

Emilio: O [a T Denki employee who wasn't there that day] hasn't come to work recently, because he knows that the project is in red and he is not going to get paid. He has wife and a son, you know.

Jun: (To me) After all, we are here for dekasegi to make money, you know?

Emilio: (To me) You are lucky. You just started working.

When we found Mr. Tamashiro – who was drunk and lay passed out in the front seat of his car– he told us that, he, too, had been unable to pay his rent for two months. As a novice, I wasn't asked to join them for the negotiations with D Denki, but Mr. Oshiro told me the next day, "We had to wait for hours to see the president. But eventually I got some money for my rent and a little 'allowance money' from him."

T Denki's transactional problem with D Denki and other subcontractors, originating from the exploitative subcontracting and staffing practices, appeared to occur fairly often, and the issue could get complicated and volatile as the payment was further delayed. When I was at Mr. Tamashiro's apartment a few weeks later, he received an express mail from Y Denki, a sub-subcontractor, with which T Denki had been having a payment dispute. The letter was written in rather formal Japanese, so Mr. Tamashiro asked me to read it aloud for him. It said:

> The payment that you, T Denki, are requesting from us must be D Denki's responsibility. You, therefore, must negotiate with D Denki instead. If you continue to resort to the means that you have been using lately, we Y Denki will consider a legal action against you.

Perplexed by the term, "the means that you have been using," I looked at Mr. Tamashiro:

Suzuki: So? What is going on?

Tamashiro: We staffed for Y Denki for the last month's project. But they haven't paid us 1,700,000yen that they owed us for the project. D Denki [which was a "parent" company for both Y Denki and T Denki] eventually agreed to pay us on behalf of Y Denki. And I

> "used" *yakuza* [Japanese mafia] to harass them and make them pay. The whole Y family [who owns Y Denki] has run away. When the yakuza guys and I went to their house, it was empty.

When I read aloud the same letter to other T Denki employees at a staff meeting later on the same day, they just shrugged, as if they had faced such problems many times before. For these Colonia Okinawan electricians, including subcontractors like Mr. Tamashiro, delayed or unpaid wages were a part of their business that they simply had to deal with. Tsujimoto (1999:80) reported that some electrical installation firm owners, who had originally migrated from Colonia Okinawa, formed *moyai*, or a mutual aid organization, to pool money among them, and to help each other when its members are unable to pay for its electricians. Nevertheless, many Colonia Okinawan-owned electrical installation firms, according to Mr. Tamashiro, were operated with reoccurring cash flow problems.

Another problem that many Colonia Okinawan dekasegi workers face was inconsistency of work availability. While I worked as an electrician for T Denki for approximately three months during 2000, the actual number of days I went to the construction sites was only thirty-five. I had many frustrating mornings in which I was uninformed as to whether I was supposed to work that day. My phone calls to Mr. Tamashiro's cell phone the night before were rarely returned, and I had to keep calling him even as I went to the meeting place in the early morning. On several mornings, I, along with some others, waited for more than an hour to be picked up from the meeting place, without any advanced notice from Mr. Tamashiro. When one of us finally could get hold of him by phone, we were often told that there was no work on that day and were sent home. It occurred often when T Denki was staffing for the project that was already losing money. At one construction site, Mr. Oshiro told me: "[This] project is in red ink. . . . The construction firm estimated 400 person-days of labor, but it has already used 700 persons-days." Mr. Tamashiro later confirmed, as he told us not to come to work until the current project was over, because F Denki, T Denki's "parent" firm, ordered him to keep novices like Mr. Oshiro and me away from the site to reduce the labor cost.

Mr. Tamashiro had been unsuccessfully calling around other subcontractors to find a construction site that would accept unskilled electricians. At one point in the early September, even Mr. Tamashiro didn't know when there would be another project for any of his employees. On other occasions, there were sudden call-ups for the day without prior notice. On one morning, around 7:20, Mr. Tamashiro called my cell phone and asked me if I could work that day, although he had told me the night before that there wouldn't be any project for the next few days. Still half asleep, I said yes, and asked him where and when I should go. He asked me if I could go to Atsugi in the central Kanagawa prefecture before 7:50. It was impossible to get there in half an hour from my home, so I told him that it would take more than an hour. He grumbled for a while, but backed off. Because of such unstable work schedules, Mr. Oshiro, who had a wife and two school-age children, decided to leave T Denki and had to find another job in less than five months after his arrival in Japan.[37] While we waited for our coworkers at the meeting place on one of many frustrating mornings, he told me, "I can't keep doing this. My *señora* (wife) prepares a lunch box for me every morning, expecting me to go to work."

The frustration with unstable wages was also experienced by other Colonia Okinawans who worked in the manufacturing industry. Many returnees from dekasegi in

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[37] Mr. Oshiro was born in Okinawa, and migrated to Colonia Okinawa as a child. His family then moved to Sao Paulo, Brazil, in the 1960s.

Japan with whom I interviewed in Colonia Okinawa told me that they had decided to wrap up their dekasegi in Japan when their employers began to delay payment of wages. In addition, since most factories paid their employees hourly, the decreasing number of overtime hours was a serious blow for them. Mr. Shikema Jun, who worked in Japan from 1989 to 1993, decided to return to Bolivia when his working hours at a subcontracted factory for Nissan Motor began to dwindle in the spring of 1993. He said, "Our [employees'] salary was based on the hours we worked. So the amount of the work at the factory directly affected our [individual] income." Mr. Higa Mauricio, who worked for a gas construction firm in Yokohama for fourteen years, decided to return to Bolivia in 1996, because his company's business "started to look shaky" in 1993. He was, at one point, earning approximately 420,000yen a month, but later the payment began to be delayed. When he finally quit the company, the firm owed him more than 900,000yen of unpaid wage, and didn't receive the retirement pension benefit provided for all fulltime employees. He was still bitter about the way he had to leave his job, "I wish I had come back here after eight years or so (around 1990), before the Japanese economy went bad."

Limited Mobility in Ethnic Economic Enclave

Instability of work and income in electrical installation industry caused the Colonia Okinawan dekasegi workers to frequently switch employers or jobs. By exploiting informal networks among family members, relatives, and friends from Colonia Okinawa, they sought jobs with better and hopefully more consistent wage payment. Such practices of Colonia Okinawans were, however, limited within construction, manufacturing, and service industries, which provided similar wage and benefit. Further limited by a lack of higher education required for white-collar office work and reliance on the informal networks of kinship and friendship, Colonia Okinawan dekasegi workers found themselves confined in a highly segregated labor market in the Japanese economy.

Some of my T Denki coworkers also had tried to pursue more stable employment and better wages in the past. Higa Yuji and Tonoshiro Jun left T Denki once, because they thought the company would go bankrupt. Yuji said, "We were telling each other, 'This company will go out of business if it goes on like this, so we'd better quit before it's too late!'" Yuji and Jun's departure from T Denki, however, didn't last long. Yuji worked for his relative's equipment installation firm ("*setsubi-ya*"). He studied for three months to obtain the license for equipment installation, but he found that the wage payment at the company was, like T Denki's, not reliable. He said, "Things like wage payment can be very inconsistent if your relative is your employer, you know." So he decided to return to T Denki, which was surprisingly easy. He recalled: "I was really nervous when I asked [Mr. Tamashiro] if I could work there again, but he said 'okay.' I was like, 'whew!'"

It was clear that the reasons why some continued working for T Denki were limited employment alternatives. Yuji was thinking about leaving T Denki again: "If I don't get paid 15,000yen [a day] for last month, I will just say, 'Bye bye' to [Mr. Tamashiro]." Those who had enough experience as an electrician, such as Jun and Uehara Osamu, could become independent. Jun had an argument with Mr. Tamashiro, and Osamu and Jun abruptly left T Denki afterwards. Yuji told me, "Jun's pay was cut to 14,000yen a day last month. [Mr. Tamashiro] said Jun rejoined the company [two months before], so he had to begin from a lower wage again. It is ridiculous! Obviously he can do a lot more work than the novices can. So Osamu [a close friend of Jun] asked [Mr. Tamashiro] to pay him 15,000 a day, but he turned it down. So, both of them quit." By the end of September of 2001, they began working for other "parent" electrical installation firms, for which they had once worked through the staffing practice. Jun and Osamu tried to talk their friends at T Denki into leaving to join them.

The vulnerable and unstable labor market into which Colonia Okinawan dekasegi migrants were placed, in many ways resembles an economic situation that many transnational immigrant laborers are situated (e.g., Kwong 1987). Colonia Okinawan dekasegi migrants' struggles as blue-collar laborers in construction and manufacturing industries in urban Japan indicate that their transnational mobility between Bolivia and Japan did not translate into trans-class mobility. Once there were removed from the protected Colonia Okinawa community and entered into the highly segregated labor markets in urban Bolivia and urban Japan, in fact, their social class positions declined from upper-class patrones to working-class rōdōsha. Colonia Okinawans' transnational connections and resources no longer provided and secured their privilege.

Performing Patrón Japonés in Colonia Okinawa

Although I have illustrated the structured segregation of transnational Okinawans in the labor market in rural Bolivia and in urban, their class and occupational differentiations in each society's labor market need not make transnational Okinwans dissociated from other local populations. The formation of distinctive transnational Okinawan subjects, I argue, achieved through racialization of their class differences in everyday practices and narratives. Following Stephen Small (1994), I examine the racialization of Colonia Okinawan patrones and Nikkeijin rōdōsha in urban Japan as a two-fold process: attribution of character and behavioral differences to particular groups, and "discourse of problematic," (Small 1994:33) which poses both questions and answers for those attributed differences. The racialization of transnational Okinawans was achieved through attribution of essentialzed and discrete differences, such as physique, habitual action, or character, to their designated Others, and, then, providing explanations of the stereotyped differences. This tautological processes of stereotyping, social class differences between transnational Okinawans and their Others *became* natural differences.

Everyday Production of Patrones

What surprised me most during my fieldwork in Colonia Okinawa was that Colonia Okinawan farmers did not seem to spend much time in their farmlands, certainly not on rainy days. Except for sowing and planting, the farmers rarely spent the entire day in the fields, and only those who have their farmland far from home had to spend all day away from home. Some farmers candidly told me that their day-to-day work was "easy." Mr. Sasajima Makoto of Okinawa Uno said, while showing me his personal golf practice cage in his backyard, "Some people they are busy farming, but they must have much spare time. I mean, there just isn't much work to do." As Colonia Okinawan farmers themselves admitted, they considered themselves as investors, managers, and CEOs of the business operation.

Colonia Okinawans' self-definitions as managers, contrasted with their categorization of non-Nikkei Bolivians as workers, or *trabajadores* (Mori 1998a:60). A 1990 report written by Nichibo Kyōkai described the non-Nikkei Bolivian population in Okinawa Uno, approximately 500 households, or 2,900 people, as being "utilized very well" by Colonia Okinawan farmers (Nichibo Kyōkai 1990a:11). The interethnic relationship, therefore, was defined as a labor relationship between patrón and trabajador at work. The following is an excerpt from my fieldnotes that described a typical day of a Colonia Okinawan patrón during the non-harvest period. Mr. Kuniyoshi was in his mid-40s, and had wife and three boys, 14, 9, and 8 years of age. Mr. and Mrs. Kuniyoshi were both born in the Ryukyu Islands, but immigrated to Bolivia when they were preschool age. Mr. Kuniyoshi has three farm fields within Colonia Okinawa. One lot, only four hectares of size, is next to his house; another lot of 227 hectares is located in the sub-municipal called San Marcos; the largest lot of 245 hectare is in Malvinas sub-municipal, 10 miles from his house. In the San Marcos field, he was using most of the land for soybean production, while he diversified production in the Malvinas field for corn, soybean, and sorghum. Mr. Kuniyoshi's property, approximately 480 hectares, was slightly larger than that of an average Colonia Okinawan farmer.

> *February, 2001*
>
> Mr. and Mrs. Kuniyoshi got up around 6:30. The first task of Mrs. Kuniyoshi was to prepare lunch boxes for two boys who go to school, Colegio Nueva Esperanza (CNE), in Okinawa Dos. The two boys, third and fourth graders, reluctantly got up around seven o'clock, had a quick breakfast of bread and powder milk as they watched children's TV shows on a local Santa Cruz channel. Mrs. Kuniyoshi, meanwhile, offered coffee to Mr. Kuniyoshi's employee (non-Nikkei Bolivian) at a dining table set at the terrace outside the house. Until the school bus came in front of the house around 7:40, the boys sat with him, chatting in Spanish. A few non-Nikkei Bolivian men came to the front terrace, and asked Mr. Kuniyoshi if there was any work in his field today. Mr. Kuniyoshi gave the day's orders to the leader, a non-Nikkei Bolivian who had worked for him the longest among them. He would gather the necessary number of workers, all of whom Mr. Kuniyoshi already knew, to work. Occasionally, those who live in the Kuniyoshi family's old house next to their pigpens – five non-Nikkei Bolivian families of Mr. Kuniyoshi's employees – came by and asked for specific directions for conditioning the hogs.
>
> After sending the kids to school, Mr. and Mrs. Kuniyoshi finally had their breakfast in the dining room around 8AM, normally coffee and bread with fried egg and sliced ham. Throughout this busy morning, the TV was always on –

normally news shows – which nowadays featured the draught in the Santa Cruz region on a daily basis. As they watched the shows, Mr. and Mrs. Kuniyoshi talked about how much it had rained and in which part of Colonia Okinawa a day before.

Around 9AM, Mr. Kuniyoshi said to me, "Suzuki-san, let's go to the farm." He drove to his San Marcos field. Standing at his San Marcos field, he was very worried about the lack of rain. His farm hadn't had much rain for more than a month. As we inspected the two soybean fields, the land was cracked all over because of the draught. The soy, however, still look green and there are very few damaged areas yet. Mr. Kuniyoshi told me, "It is still recoverable. But if we don't have any substantial rain in next few weeks, I'll be in trouble." The soybean plants need rain especially after they have flowers, because it is the time they grow beans. In order to avoid draught damage for the entire crop, Mr. Kuniyoshi divided his fields into four zones. The first zone was for "*hayamaki*," or the early sewn, which were planted in mid-November. The next group was planted in early December, and the last group after New Year's Day holiday. He was pessimistic about the hayamaki's harvest – it wouldn't have as much harvest per hectare as the others. He also concluded that the soybeans that he had planted in January, which still were in bloom, would need pesticide and germicide to prevent poor harvest. Mr. Kuniyoshi said, "I am just waiting until the next rain before I'll do it. Right now they are weak because of the lack of rain, so it won't be able to absorb the chemical very much."

In Mr. Kuniyoshi's San Marcos farmland, one non-Nikkei Bolivian family lived on the site and took care of Mr. Kuniyoshi's farm. He used to have one worker exclusively for his own farm, but "he was not very good," so Mr. Kuniyoshi had fired him. On the way back, we passed a corn farm that looked like it was already devastated by the draught. Mr. Kuniyoshi shook his head, "Even if it rains soon, they perhaps wouldn't recover. They are already dying, and the surviving ones won't produce much harvest, either."

Around 11AM, we stopped by the CAICO office in the centro of Okinawa Trés, which is next to the community auditorium/gymnasium. Several Colonia Okinawan men came in and out frequently. This seemed to be a hangout place for Okinawa Trés Colonia Okinawan farmers. Everyone stopped by the office in the morning to exchange information and gossip. Regular topics of their chat were the lack of rain in the last several weeks and other Colonia Okinawan farmers' business. The gossip included whose farms were suffering from draughts most severely, and whose employees were causing troubles (i.e., "So-and-so's field in San Marcos is totally dried up; his soy plants there are completely dead." "The workers for so-and-so work hard, but those at so-and-so's farm are lazy.").

Okinawa Trés centro was so quiet that everybody looked out the window whenever a car passed by, just to identify whose it was. One non-Nikkei Bolivian man worked at the office as a secretary and an attendant for the attached gas stand, but he only stuck his head in the lounge when he received a phone call for a Colonia Okinawan who was hanging out there, but never engaged in extended conversation with the farmers. When noon approached, the farmers started to go home for lunch without saying good bye to the others; then just left the lounge and hopped on their pickups.

After having the lunch Mrs. Kuniyoshi had prepared, Mr. Kuniyoshi took a nap until 3PM, when he got up to go to his pigpens to talk to the non-Nikkei Bolivian workers there. Once a week, he goes to Santa Cruz de la Sierra to shop and run errands, before returning home around 6PM. Between 4 and 6PM, families of the non-Nikkei Bolivian workers or neighbors frequently knocked on the door to ask Mrs. Kuniyoshi for rice, meat, or vegetables. After 7PM, the flow of non-Nikkei Bolivian shoppers finally stopped, and Mrs. Kuniyoshi called her two sons' name in the direction of their employees' house next to the pigpen, where her kids played with the non-Nikkei Bolivian kids after coming home from school. It was suppertime.

Figure 12: An Okinawan patrón inspecting soy

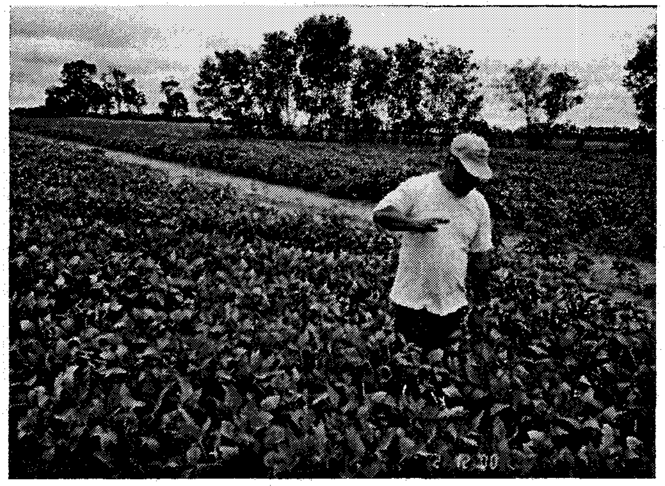
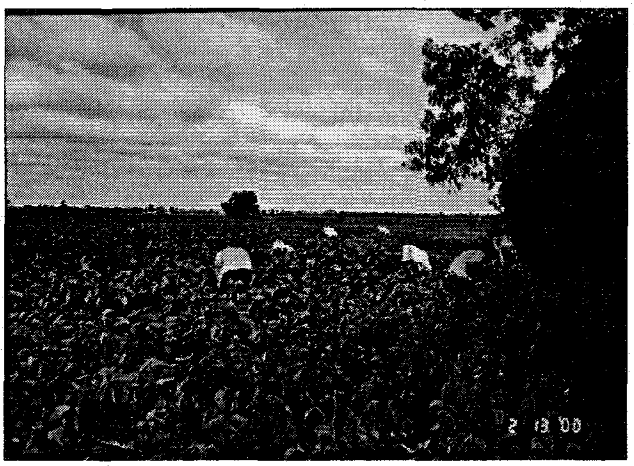


Figure 13: Non-Nikkei Bolivian trabajadores at work



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From my observations of Mr. Kuniyoshi's days at his farm fields, as well as other Colonia Okinawan farmers' stories, the patrón-trabajador relationships between Colonia Okinawans and non-Nikkei Bolivians were performed, normalized, and challenged, through exploitative working conditions, paternalistic relationship, and subtle tension and resistance by trabajadores against patrones.

Normalization of Exploitation

Except for busy periods of sowing and harvesting, Mr. Kuniyoshi told me, he rarely operated farm machines in his farm fields. When his farm was smaller, he said, he used to operate all the machines, but he no longer did. It was simply efficient to use cheap labor for all the routine tasks. At Mr. Kuniyoshi's farm, there were five to ten workers in his fields on a given day. Basic field tasks, such as plowing and weeding, paid a worker Bs30, or US$5, a day, while more technical tasks, such as operating a tractor, counted for 1.5 days, paying them Bs45 a day, or US$6.50. During busy periods, such as times for harvesting and sowing, they could earn more. For instance, if they work until 10PM for harvesting, they received 1.5 days' pay. On average, each worker earned 35-40 days' pay per month, between Bs1,000 to 1,200 (US$166-200). Mrs. Kuniyoshi kept a notebook on which she recorded the workers' days and working hours. There were about ten persons who were regular workers at Mr. Kuniyoshi's farms. The rest were not permanent, brought in by the regular workers during busy periods, such as harvest times. Like Mr. Kuniyoshi's employees, a field laborer normally earned US$180 to US$200 a month. For ranching, on the other hand, a ranch overseer was paid less, around Bs500-600, or US$82-100, monthly, although it depended on the amount of responsibility. Mr. Tamashiro of Okinawa Dos paid US$100 for each of the six employees who work at his ranch. Mr. Ikehara of Okinawa Uno, meanwhile, paid only Bs150 (US$25) per month for a non-Nikkei Bolivian family to simply live in the site adjacent to his ranch and "watch for thieves."

In addition to the low wage, non-Nikkei Bolivian field laborers worked in often hazardous working conditions. One morning, Mr. Kuniyoshi and I stopped by his Malvinas farmland, where one of his employees was spraying herbicide. He told Mr. Kuniyoshi that he had finished spraying all the assigned area, and told him that he would empty the tank, because he needed the same machine for splaying another kind of chemical the next day that would prevent a different disease. After a brief chat with him, Mr. Kuniyoshi and I returned to his pickup truck, and he said to me, "You can smell the chemical from here, can't you?" There was indeed an odd smell. I said, "That smells awful! Isn't it poisonous?" Mr. Kuniyoshi replied, "Oh, yeah. Very poisonous." Remembering that his employee did not appear to be protected from such poisonous chemical, I asked him, "Shouldn't he wear a mask or something?" Mr. Kuniyoshi shrugged, "Well, yeah, actually he should. But instead I rotate the operator of the spraying machine [to avoid poisoning]. . . . When we were producing cotton [in the 1970s], I used to spray pesticide and herbicide by myself. But it made me very nauseous, so I wouldn't do it anymore myself."

The workers were rotated every few months, partly for spreading the task (such as spraying poisonous pesticide) to more people, and partly for reducing risk of collective work sabotage. Frequent changes of employees are enabled by a large pool of available labor for Colonia Okinawan farmers to choose from, and also further expanded the labor pool. On two separate occasions, Mr. Kuniyoshi of Okinawa Trés and Mr. Ikehara of Okinawa Uno, while they drove me around a town near their farm fields, waved from their drivers' seats to a number of their former or current farm field workers. They occasionally gave them a ride by allowing them to jump in the cargo space of their pickup trucks, but rarely let them to sit inside. In the community of Malvinas, where the majority of Mr. Kuniyoshi's employees lived, he told me, "I practically know everybody here, because I have employed pretty much everybody here at least once." Mr. Sasajima, likewise, boasted that in a small village next to his farmland on the opposite side of Rio Grande river, "Everybody is my friend here," while waving his hand at a young non-Nikkei Bolivian man on the street.

Although they insisted their cordial relationships with non-Nikkei Bolivian laborers, of course, it was Colonia Okinawan employers, not non-Nikkei Bolivians, who had power to switch and rotate their workforce. Mr. Tsukamoto Hideo employed three non-Nikkei Bolivians for his ranch and house in Colonia Uno for six days a week, from eight to five. Their day's task was assigned each morning, depending on Mr. Tsukamoto's needs, including lawn mowing, cutting grass along the fences, uprooting and planting trees in the garden, or mending fence on his ranch. I ran into the three non-Nikkei Bolivians just outside of the house, when they were about to leave for the evening. When I asked about what they thought of their job, they reluctantly told me that it was "good ('*Es bueno*')," and they liked the stable wage that they received for the job. Having seen me talking with Mr. Tsukamoto, they probably wouldn't disclose their feelings towards their employer, but they told me that they didn't expect to work for him for long, and none of them had worked more than a few months. In fact, a few days before, Mr. Tsukamoto had fired one of his laborers. According to Mr. Tsukamoto, the reason was that he refused to show up for work fifteen minutes earlier in the morning. Mr. Tsukamoto said, "It takes ten to fifteen minutes to drive to the ranch. When I told them that they must come earlier, he said no. So I fired him."

Low wage for menial labor, clear division of labor at work, and rotating employees, all enabled the Colonia Okinawan patrones to normalize the unequal labor relations with non-Nikkei Bolivian trabajadores, the expendable and exploitable wage laborers. I asked Mr. Ikehara why no Colonia Okinawan patrón employed other Colonia Okinawans for farm labor, even though some Colonia Okinawans, as I discussed in the previous chapter, were in serious financial trouble and might be willing to work for others in Colonia Okinawa. He looked at me in disbelief and flatly denied the possibility: "No way will anybody employ Japanese [Nikkei] in his farm! It would be too complicated for him to use a Japanese – how much he would pay him, which work he would make him do, that sort of things. It is just much easier to use [Non-Nikkei] Bolivians." The class and labor divisions between Colonia Okinawans and non-Nikkei Bolivians in Colonia Okinawa were so taken for granted that employing Colonia Okinawans for menial farm labor was as unthinkable for them, even if some of them were seriously in need of cash income. Being Colonia Okinawan, therefore, *is* being a upper-class patrón who "uses" non-Nikkei Bolivians as trabajadores.

Paternalism by Colonia Okinawan farmers

Despite exploitative relations established between Colonia Okinawan patrones and non-Nikkei Bolivian trabajadores, Mori reported, non-Nikkei Bolivians who worked for Colonia Okinawans had a favorable impression of their employers (Mori 1998a:60). One of the reasons they told Mori was that Colonia Okinawan patrones treated them well, compared with other non-Nikkei Bolivian patrones. Many Colonia Okinawan patrones provided their trabajadores with food, clothing, and medical care sometimes at the employers' expense (ibid). Patrones' paternalistic treatment of farm laborers was not a novel practice in the eastern lowland of Bolivia. Stearman described that in the nineteenth century, some owners of finca, or large-scale agricultural establishment, in the Santa Cruz region provided their peons, or farm laborers, with housing, education, and medical attention (Stearman 1985:29). The farm owners' benevolent actions toward their laborers could be, however, viewed as their exercise of symbolic power, who dominated peons through "the gentle, invisible form of violence, which is never recognized as such" through hospitality and generosity (Bourdieu 1977:191). In his historical analysis of plantation farms in the US South, Eugene Genovese defines paternalism more blatantly, claiming that it "grew out of the necessity to discipline and morally justify a system of exploitation" as it created a tendency for the subordinates to identify with their employers/masters as individuals, rather than a class (Genovese 1976:4, 6). Colonia Okinawan patrones, who provided trabajadores and their family members with much personal assistance, therefore, also enabled themselves to exercise "symbolic violence" (Bourdieu 1977:165) to impose the principle of the unequal class-ethnic relations, and to increase "a prevailing ethos" (Genovese 1976:6) that both non-Nikkei Bolivians and themselves accept – or feel compelled to accept – their unequal relationships in workplaces as legitimate.

The non-Nikkei Bolivian workers at Mr. Kuniyoshi's farm, many of whom lived nearby Mr. Kuniyoshi's house, came to purchase food like potato, bread, rice, and carrots. Because they didn't have vehicles to travel to markets or stores in the cities, they relied upon Mr. Kuniyoshi as a provider of daily necessities. In the storage room of Mr. Kuniyoshi's house, they kept huge sacks of rice, onions, carrots, and coca leaves, a stock of canned meat, cooking oil, and bags of flowers and salts, as if it was a retail store's warehouse. Mr. Kuniyoshi drove to a market in Santa Cruz de la Sierra once a week, usually Friday, to purchase various vegetables and dry foods. Mrs. Kuniyoshi told me, "[Knowing that her husband has gone to shopping on Friday] there are many people coming here to buy foods on Saturday morning." She was in charge of the retail transactions, not only recording purchases by each employee's family members, but gave her husband a grocery list before he went to shopping.

It was common for Colonia Okinawan patrones to provide lunch, and sometimes breakfast and supper, for their laborers. Mrs. Kuniyoshi was very busy preparing the laborers' meals during the soybean harvest period in March, when they needed to work overtime. The workers at Mr. Kuniyoshi's farm always had a cup of coffee in the morning, before Mr. Kuniyoshi gave them work orders for the day, and occasionally had lunch prepared by Mrs. Kuniyoshi at the table in the front terrace.[38] When Colonia Okinawan patrones stopped by their farms in the morning to check the work of their trabajadores, they also delivered the lunch boxes that their wives had prepared in the early morning.

Many Colonia Okinawan patrones also paid for their laborers' and their family members' medical care at their own expense. Mr. Sasajima of Okinawa Uno employed eight workers from a nearby village for his farm. He paid his workers weekly, rather than daily, because, he said, "they would otherwise use all the money right away." When his employees or their family members became ill, he took them to the hospital for treatment: "If I don't, they would go to a small clinic ('*poste*'), because it is cheap. It costs only Bs5 or Bs10, but it is not enough to cure them." Mr. Sasajima, therefore, pays all the medical bills for them: "They can't pay for it, you know, so I feel sorry for them." According to the Colonia Okinawa Hospital's record in 1997, nine Colonia Okinawans paid for 22 non-Nikkei Bolivians, who had made thirty-six visits to the hospital (Nichibo Kyōkai 1998a:11). Mr. Chinen Takashi of Okinawa Uno, in particular, paid for his employees' and their families' nineteen hospital visits between June and November of 1997, which cost him more than Bs1,600, or US$310 (ibid).

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[38] They never came inside of the house, much less ate with the Kuniyoshis. Spatial boundary between the Colonia Okinawans and local Bolivian employers will be discussed extensively in Chapter 6.

While those non-Nikkei Bolivian laborers, who did not own their own farmland and were in need of stable cash income, seemed to favor "benevolent" Colonia Okinawan patrones over other non-Nikkei Bolivian employers, their paternalism also diffused the exploitative relationship between them. In effect, the paternalism enabled Colonia Okinawans to perpetuate the perception of the relationships between the patrones and trabajadores as a humane and charitable, rather than exploitative one. In so doing, the paternalistic labor relations created the conflation of ethnic distinctions with class differentiations, not only in amount of wealth, but also in symbolic power relations.

Everyday Resistance

Despite the paternalistic relations established between Colonia Okinawan patrones and non-Nikkei Bolivian trabajadores, I also observed what James Scott (1985,

1990) called "everyday forms of resistance," which he defines as a subtle and informal means to challenge the control by the dominant, in non-Nikkei Bolivians' various practices at work. The non-Nikkei Bolivians' subversive activities might not be overt and confrontational, but still could achieve extra symbolic and/or material gain amidst exploitative labor relations, and even heighten their awareness of social inequality among themselves (Rose 1997:153).

A common means of non-Nikkei Bolivian laborers' resistance was theft of farming equipment and other valuable materials, such as pesticides and herbicides, from their Colonia Okinawan employers. Not unlike the African American slaves' looting of their absentee owners' properties, non-Nikkei Bolivian laborers exploited the frequent absence of Colonia Okinawan employers from the farm fields (Genovese 1976:382; Scott 1990:195). Mr. Maeda Susumu of Okinawa Uno, an Issei in his sixties, told me how non-Nikkei Bolivian laborers often took advantage of their employers' absence:

> What happens is that [non-Nikkei Bolivian laborers] steal pesticides and herbicides. These chemicals sometimes cost 500 dollars for one litter. They cost 160, 200, or even 520 dollars. Oftentimes, we leave [non-Nikkei Bolivian laborers] to spray the herbicide during our absence. But when we come back and check [the farm fields] afterwards, the weeds don't look like they are dead. We wonder, "Why aren't they dead? It is strange," and looked into them more carefully. Then we find that [the laborers] used only three litters or four litters of the herbicide, although they were supposed to use five litters. They have stolen the rest. No wonder the herbicide didn't work! It somewhat damaged the core of the weeds, but that was all. The weeds were still alive. This kind of problem is very common. . . . So [Colonia Okinawan patrones] should be present at the farm fields and keep eye on [the laborers] all the time.

Another means of non-Nikkei Bolivian laborers' resistance against wealthy Colonia Okinawan farmers and ranchers in Colonia Okinawa was deceitful business practice, often taking advantage of Colonia Okinawans' lack of detailed knowledge on matters. Mr. Tsukamoto Hideo, a wealthy rancher in Okinawa Uno, was planning to build wooden fences around his cattle ranch. He ordered one hundred pieces of *cuchi* lumber, which is suited for fence construction because of its strength and durability, from a non-Nikkei Bolivian retailer in Colonia Okinawa (Hiraoka 1980:95). The non-Nikkei Bolivian retailer, however, secretly replaced ten percent of the lumber with *culpao*, which is much lighter, weaker, and cheaper than *cuchi*. Mr. Tsukamoto realized the fraud after he had paid for all the lumber. He immediately contacted the lumber retailer and demanded the replacement, to no avail. He reported it to the police, and even paid the policeman to try to persuade the lumber retailer to provide the ordered material, with no success.

Resorting to a variety of the "weapons of the weak" (Scott 1985), non-Nikkei Bolivians in Colonia Okinawa manipulate their subordinate relationships with the wealthy Colonia Okinawans. Although the labor relations between Colonia Okinawan patrones and non-Nikkei Bolivian trabajadores might appear cordial on surface, everyday interactions between them can be viewed as a material and symbolic domination and resistance at their workplaces. Moreover, as an official of the Nikkei association in Santa Cruz de la Sierra told me, more "overt" and "formal" means of resistance, such as unionization of the currently ununionized non-Nikkei Bolivian farm laborers, could potentially present a serious threat to the dominance of Colonia Okinawan patrones in the future.

Racialized Categories

In conversations with Colonia Okinawans, there was one phrase I always had to be attentive to what it actually meant: "*koko no hito*," meaning, "people here." "People here" could mean non-Nikkei Bolivians in general, camba, the residents of Colonia Okinawa as a whole, Colonia Okinawans, or Bolivian citizens in general, including themselves. This fluid and situational definitions of "people here" indicates that the subject-positions of Colonia Okinawans were defined in opposition to a series of Otheres in given social contexts. When "people here" referred to non-Nikkei Bolivian populations in Colonia Okinawa or Bolivian society in general, the following three terms were most commonly used: "*genchi-jin* ('locals')," "*Boliviajin* ('Bolivians')," and "*hakujin* ('whites')." "*Gaijin* ('foreigner' or 'alien')" and "*dojinā*" or "*dojin*" (both mean 'aboriginal') were used less frequently, and mostly by Issei elders. The categories that are most relevant to class relations of Colonia Okinawans with non-Nikkei Bolivians were genchi-jin, Boliviajin, and hakujin. These categories with different connotations were used in their everyday narratives and reflected Colonia Okinawans' subject-positions in relation to their various Others in Bolivian society, through which they identify their Self. Colonia Okinawans' narratives of group identification and stereotyping of behaviors and characters of Others – and, in effect, of Self – also manifested their understanding of racialized economic and political structures of local and national Bolivian societies.

Boliviajin/Genchi-jin: Rural and/or Powerless Bolivians

Boliviajin is the most inclusive and neutral definition of non-Nikkei Bolivians, used for both the working-class non-Nikkei Bolivians and other non-Nikkei Bolivian patrones in Colonia Okinawa, and the upper-class non-Nikkei Bolivians in the cities. In fact, due to its reference to mere nationality, Colonia Okinawans occasionally referred themselves as such, when they tried to reiterate their Bolivian, as opposed to Japanese, birthplace. When I asked the returnees from dekasegi in Japan to Colonia Okinawa why they had decided to come back, or when I asked them why they would like to continue to live in Bolivia, despite economic and political instabilities, the most common answer was, "Because I am Boliviajin – I was born and raised here." Similarly, "Because they were Boliviajin" was the most common response I received from Issei in Colonia Okinawa when I asked them why they believed that their Nisei children in Japan would return to Bolivia in the future. The dichotomy set in these uses of "Boliviajin" was between Japan and Bolivia, whether Colonia Okinawan narrators situated themselves as persons of Japanese ethnic origin or of Bolivian-born. This "national" distinction was commonly accepted by the non-Nikkei Bolivians in Colonia Okinawa, too. Regardless of their ethno-racial (camba or kolla) or class backgrounds, they simply referred Colonia Okinawans as japonés (Japanese), without making any distinctions among Nikkei and Japanese Naichi-jin populations in Colonia Okinawa (Tsujimoto 1999:87).

Genchi-jin (locals) was another common term that refers to all non-Nikkei Bolivians in Colonia Okinawa. It was most commonly used when Colonia Okinawans referred to their non-Nikkei Bolivian employees at farms or ranches, as in "I 'use' five genchi-jin for my ranch to watch for cattle." Genchi-jin rarely referred to non-Nikkei Bolivians outside of Colonia Okinawa, and was never extended beyond camba and kolla groups in Santa Cruz. Other recognizable immigrant minorities in cities, such as Koreans and Chinese, were not referred to as genchi-jin, but instead called *coreano* and *chino*, respectively. What this term highlighted was class and local belonging of the particular group of non-Nikkei Bolivians in Colonia Okinawa, majority of whom were Colonia Okinawans' employees. Colonia Okinawans, even Nisei, did not call themselves genchi-jin, even if the person was locally born and had never left Bolivia in his or her life.[39] Frequent use of this term reveals Colonia Okinawans' understanding that they did not quite belong to the same "local" community as other genchi-jin population.

A difference between genchi-jin and Boliviajin is, albeit subtle, different class implications of the two terms. While Boliviajin could include both upper- and lower-class groups of non-Nikkei Bolivians, genchi-jin primarily referred to working-class manual laborers. For instance, although genchi-jin and Boliviajin were almost interchangeably used by Colonia Okinawans to call their trabajadores in their farms or ranches, non-Nikkei Bolivian teachers at the schools were normally called "Boliviajin teachers," and less frequently referred to as genchi-jin. Likewise, non-Nikkei Bolivian engineers and mechanics at CAICO and Nichibo Kyōkai, who worked side-by-side with Colonia Okinawan employees, were more often referred to as Boliviajin than genchijin. In addition, genchi-jin was used to describe all non-Nikkei Bolivians in Colonia Okinawa, whether they were originally from the western altiplano, the central valle, or the eastern llano. Despite the literal reference to locality, therefore, genchi-jin indicates Colonia Okinawans' conflation of class, nationality, and locality.

Various stereotypes were projected onto genchi-jin and Boliviajin by Colonia Okinawans, such as their allegedly different behaviors, habits, and characters, many of which were drawn from their relationships with them at farm fields. The labor relations and class differences between non-Nikkei Bolivians and Colonia Okinawans, in turn, were explained by their essentialized and stereotyped differences. Colonia Okinawans' stereotyping of non-Nikkei Bolivians reflects not only their sense of superiority over them, but also their fear of them as an overwhelming majority in the village in relation to the small Colonia Okinawan community. These two sides of stereotyping were articulated by Roediger (1991) and Bhabha (1994) as characteristics of racism and colonialism. Roediger argued that white working class's racism against African-Americans was simultaneously loathing of, and fascination with, what they perceived as carefree, lazy, and indulgent lifestyle of African-Americans. Bhabha similarly found the stereotypes of the colonized were "split" between the colonizers' fantasy and fear. The bodies of the colonized represented contradictory meanings for the colonizers at the same time: the incivility of "cannibal" and dignified obedience, child-like innocence and "rampant sexuality" (Bhabha 1994:82). Like Bhabha's formulation of the black natives, Colonia Okinawans' stereotypes depicted non-Nikkei Bolivians as lazy, dependent, untrustworthy, simple-minded but physically skilled.[40] All of these stereotypes were, in turn, inversions of the self-images of Colonia Okinawans as hardworking, independent, trustworthy and honest, intelligent and managerial. These stereotypes not only indicate Colonia Okinawans' denigration of the non-Nikkei Bolivian trabajadores, but also their envy of, and fascination with, them as care-free and laid-back people.

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[39] Genchi-jin is less flexible than "*koko/kocchi no hito* (person or people here)," since the latter can and often does include Colonia Okinawans themselves.

Lazy and dependent Bolivians

"*Flojo*," a Spanish adjective for "lazy," was often used to describe when Colonia Okinawans, particularly Issei, characterized non-Nikkei Bolivians. When I asked Mrs. Shinjo Yoshiko, an Issei, what was the most significant difference between non-Nikkei Bolivians and Japanese (Nihonjin), she didn't miss a beat before using the term, and quickly attributed such laziness to their Spanish heritage: "[Non-Nikkei Bolivians] are flojo. Japanese work hard when they are trusted, but 'people here' turn bad when they are trusted too much. Spaniards are the same everywhere, you know."

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[40] The "rampant sexuality" was also a common stereotype on local Bolivians (especially camba). This aspect of racialization of local Bolivians and Okinawans will be discussed in Chapter 6.

In addition to their Spanish heritage, the warm climate and rich natural environment of Santa Cruz region were often cited by Colonia Okinawans to explain laziness of Boliviajin/genchi-jin. Mr. Nakamura Hitoshi, an Issei, said:

> People here ("*koko no ningen*") could eat even if they were just playing around. . . . Well, I think it used to be the case anyway. If you went to mountains ("*yama*," meaning jungle), there were animals, if you went to a river, there were fish, and if you planted *yuca* (casaba) and bananas near your house, it would be enough [to feed yourself]. Then, in order to buy milk, sugar, and salt, and all other stuff you needed to live, you could work only two or three days a week.

Another interviewee also cited the availability of rich natural resources for the failed attempt by Che Guevara, the revolutionary who unsuccessfully attempted to organize the militant peasantry in the Santa Cruz region in his late years. He said: "[Guevara] was killed in the mountains not too far from here. . . . Bolivians here didn't have an urgent sense of impoverishment, so his revolutionary movement did not gain much support from them. You know, unlike the mountain area [i.e., altiplano], you don't have problem feeding yourself here. You can go to jungle and get bananas, yucas, mangos, and you can hunt animals. If you want to eat a fish, you can just go to a river to catch it. . . . Legally, anyone who wants to deforest and cultivate public land could be granted with the land entitlement. So it is easy for them to be optimistic about the future. That is why, especially in Santa Cruz, radical guerrilla groups like *Sendero Luminoso* [of Peru], whose memberships are based on the poor, are unlikely to emerge." In both narratives, laziness and laid-back attitudes of local Boliviajin/genchi-jin were their "natural" attributes born out of their natural environments and genealogical heritage.

The perceived laziness of non-Nikkei Bolivians seamlessly slipped into their dependency on Colonia Okinawan farmers and other resourceful people and institutions, such as international aid agencies. Mr. Sasajima, as he drove through small communities near Rio Grande River, told me that these houses could easily go under water if flood occurs. Nevertheless, he continued, the non-Nikkei Bolivian residents continued to live there, because "they could get the government or international aid when the flood happens." He recalled, "When the large flood happened a few years ago, there were many people from nearby communities, which were not damaged, came here to receive the aid goods." Mr. Nagamine Tsuyoshi, a Nisei farmer, also told me, "When there was a large fire around 1990, those who lived in wood-and-motacú houses got their houses burnt down. The government gave them money to rebuild their house, and they ended up building much better houses than their previous ones. Those who lived in brick-walled houses didn't get any money, so they were really angry, saying, 'I wish my house had been burnt, too!' (laugh)"

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the Colonia Okinawans, too, have been dependent on Japanese government's financial assistance, especially for recovery from natural disasters, and the state sponsorship from Japan was a major reason that they have achieved and maintained dominant class position vis-à-vis non-Nikkei Bolivians. In Colonia Okinawans' narratives, however, "laziness" of non-Nikkei Bolivians, which supposedly originated from their Spanish heritage and tropical natural environment of the Santa Cruz region, was the cause *and* effect of their status-quo, including class position as trabajadores under Colonia Okinawans patrones. Implicit in this discourse of racialization was Colonia Okinawans' self-positioning as being hardworking and self-reliant "Japanese ('Nihonjin')," as opposed to "lazy and dependent" non-Nikkei Bolivians. When they found certain non-Nikkei Bolivians in Colonia Okinawa hardworking, reliable, and/or independent, such individuals were seen as exceptional and "Japanese-like ('*Nihonjin mitai*')." Johnny, a young non-Nikkei Bolivian who worked at Nichibo Kyōkai's swimming pool, impressed Nichibo Kyōkai staff with his work ethic. A Nichibo Kyōkai staff said of Johnny: "He is very serious ('*majime*') and has a 'sense of responsibility ('*sekinin-kan*').'" He should go to [JICA's] training program in Japan.[41] He should be able to pick up the Japanese [language] fast if he is willing to study." What these narratives of denigrating and praising Boliviajin/genchi-jin highlighted, therefore, was these Others' discrete separation from Colonia Okinawan Self.

Untrustworthy and Irresponsible Bolivians

If Colonia Okinawans' stereotyping of local Boliviajin/genchi-jin as lazy, dependent, and simple-minded people served the purpose of justifying the exploitative and paternalistic use of non-Nikkei Bolivians as "obedient and dignified of servants" in their farm fields and ranches, the image of untrustworthy and sneaky Boliviajin/genchi-jin fulfilled the other side of stereotype, "accomplished liar" and "manipulator of social forces" (Bhabha 1994:82). Mrs. Teruya Sumi, as many other Issei, expressed how afraid she was to be taken advantage of by the family's non-Nikkei Bolivian employees. She said, "They just can not be trusted. When we feel sorry for them and give them the things we no longer need, they would think that we give them because we have too many things. . . . You should never loan money to them, either, because they would never pay you back the money. . . . They are so irresponsible." Mrs. Shinjo Yoshiko, another Issei, was more blatant when she described non-Nikkei Bolivians. She told me that she often warned young Nisei not to trust them:

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[41] Training programs sponsored by JICA and Okinawa Prefecture will be discussed in Chapter 5.

> Boliviajin are liars. They say they are religious, but there are so many thieves among them. Their religious belief is just talk. . . . Even if we give something to them, they don't appreciate it. They just think that we give out things because we have more. . . . Young [Colonia Okinawan] people should be careful. They shouldn't trust everybody. Once Boliviajin became friends with you, they will steal things from you. They are good talkers. . . . They take things away from you, but never pay you for them.

These are, of course, not unfounded accusations. As described earlier in the chapter, many non-Nikkei Bolivian laborers in Colonia Okinawan farms took advantage of their employers' absence and stole expensive herbicides and pesticides to sell for their own profit. Dorrine Kondo (1990) suggested that despite the academics' tendency to romanticize persistent resistance by the "weak," the resistance is often "riven with ironies and contradictions just as coping or consent may have unexpectedly subversive effects" (Kondo 1990:224). Stealing, a common form of everyday resistance by non-Nikkei Bolivian laborers against the dominant and wealthy Colonia Okinawans, in this sense, contradictorily reinforced the negative stereotypes projected upon them by Colonia Okinawans.

These stereotypes of untrustworthy and sneaky Boliviajin/genchi-jin narrated by Colonia Okinawans were the reflections of their self-image as trustworthy and honest people. Higa (2000:253) wrote that Colonia Okinawan farmers gained trust among non-Nikkei Bolivian commercial banks, after the collapse of cotton production in the late 1970s. On behalf of struggling CAICO, JICA took over the responsibility for the Colonia Okinawan farmers' unpaid loan, while many other non-Nikkei Bolivian capitalists who had operated large-scale cotton production had fled without paying off their large debt. As I described, however, the debt payment by CAICO and individual Colonia Okinawan farmers to JICA was completed thanks to the hyperinflation from 1982 to 1985. CAICO and Colonia Okinawan farmers paid off their debt to JICA with the vastly devalued Bolivian pesos, rather than in US dollars; in effect, therefore, it was JICA who had paid the price for the currency devaluation of pesos and saved CAICO and Colonia Okinawan farmers from their debt. One could argue that it was the Japanese government who raised the reputation of Colonia Okinawans as trustworthy and responsible people among the local creditors (Gushiken 1998:146). Again, state-sponsorship by the Japanese government was as responsible for the dependability of Colonia Okinawans as the group's allegedly inherent "national" character and morality.

Hakujin: Urban and/or Powerful "White" Bolivians

It was relatively rare to hear the term, hakujin (white), from Colonia Okinawans in daily conversations or interviews. Despite its connotation of skin color, hakujin did not simply refer to persons with pale-skin. It was instead referred either to a small number of wealthy camba landowners in Colonia Okinawa or upper-class Bolivians in cities in general, regardless of their skin colors. When Colonia Okinawans spoke of hakujin, moreover, they normally accompanied negative characterizations, such as "cruel," "individualistic," or "greedy." Mr. Moromizato Eisho, an elderly Issei who was generally compassionate with non-Nikkei Bolivians, expressed anger toward wealthy farm owners in the rural Santa Cruz region: "These rich hakujin farm owners bring in *barbaros* [indigenous peoples in rural Santa Cruz] to make them work in their farms. When they are no longer needed in their farms, they simply abandon them. It is so wrong!

They must bring [barbaros] back to their homes. [The farms] are not their homes, you know?" He went on to criticize hakujin for taking advantage of the poor and vulnerable camba: "All kolla can do math, so they don't get duped by hakujin, but people of Santa Cruz [i.e., camba] are simple-minded, so they are easily ripped off by hakujin. Hakujin want to hire those who can do math, but some patrones don't like to hire smart ones." Note that hakujin farm owners (patrones) were distinguished from other camba in Mr. Moromizato's narrative, despite the fact that these white landowners could also be camba by definition, because they were most likely to be the native lowlanders with Spanish heritage.

He criticized those Bolivians who were urbane and therefore shrewd, after having lived in urban centers like La Paz, or Buenos Aires of Argentina or Santiago of Chile: "Among Bolivians, those who have lived in Chile and Argentina for dekasegi are smooth talking and untrustworthy. But those who have never been out of this village are all sweet and kind. Rural folks are the same everywhere. Right now, people from all over Bolivia came to Santa Cruz, so it is no longer safe. In the past, I could carry much cash in my pocket and wasn't worried about it. Those were good old days. . . . 80 or 90 percent of the crimes in Santa Cruz [de la Sierra] today are actually committed by those from outside of Santa Cruz."

While Mr. Moromizato did not address hakujin clearly as a "race ('jinshu')," Mr. Oshiro Kazumasa, an Issei who had served as the president for Nichibo Kyōkai in the past, addressed hakujin as a distinct "jinshu," although their skin color was not what he was referring to. When I asked him why there weren't many successful Colonia

Okinawan (and Nikkei in general) entrepreneurs and professionals in urban Bolivia, he pointed to racism by hakujin in Bolivian society:

> Some [Nikkei] might look as if they have succeeded, but they have been destroyed. Everybody has been smashed. Mr. K used to own a dealership of Toyota [Motor], but it went bankruptcy in his son's era. . . . Mr. S was also successful, but eventually became bankrupt, and returned to Japan. And the construction company called A, . . . which is probably one of the elite construction firms, is all but bankrupt. If these are companies of hakujin, they wouldn't go bankrupt. Because they are "colored race ['*yūshoku jinshu*']," they have been ruthlessly destroyed. This country is a scary place. . . . No Nikkeijin is successful.

His definition of hakujin was not so much predicated on their skin color or European heritage *per se,* as on their power as business elites in a larger Bolivian society. He conflates a race (hakujin) with class and cultural sophistication by comparing non-Nikkei Bolivians in Colonia Okinawa and upper-class Bolivians in cities. Asked if he socialized with non-Nikkei Bolivians in Colonia Okinawa, he cited the different "levels" of social statuses between non-Nikkei Bolivians, himself, and urban Bolivian elites: "In an environment of Colonia, there aren't many Bolivians I could socialize with. Those who live in Colonia are 'lower-class ('*kasou kaikyū*'),' the kind of folks who shit on the roadside. I can't make friends with such people. In big cities like Santa Cruz [de la Sierra], such a 'high level ('*reberu no takai*')' place, I might be able to make friends. . . . But in Colonia's environment, people are 'working class ('*rōdōsha kaikyū*'),' and that's not good."

Colonia Okinawans' usage of "hakujin" appears to fit the definition of "blanco ('white')" in a larger Bolivian society, as described by Marc Osterweil (1998). Blancos are not only the people who have an allegedly paler skin color than mestizos, and supposedly possess stronger European heritage, but also the "people who must be shown respect" and "the upper-level social group who are urban and worldly" (Osterweil 1998:151). Either positively portrayed (sophisticated and influential) or negatively regarded (cruel, racist, and untrustworthy), hakujin were those upper-class urban Bolivians of, most likely, European heritage, who stood "above" not only the poor rural Bolivians, including poor camba and indigenous kolla and barbaros, but also Colonia Okinawans (and Nikkei in general). Their urbanity, higher education, and, most importantly, political and economic power in a larger Bolivian society represent their "white" racial privilege over the rest of the national population. Hakujin, in other words, embodies the unattainable socioeconomic privilege in a larger Bolivian society to Colonia Okinawans, whose dominance was accomplished and maintained only in a small rural society, and through abundant economic and political support by the Japanese government.

Their resentment against, and jealousy towards, hakujin, and social ills of the country dominated by a small hakujin population, were manifested through their accusation of racism in Bolivia and lack of proper mindset among hakujin to improve the country. For instance, Mr. Yamashiro's criticism of hakujin, urban Bolivian elites, extended to the national character ('*kokuminsei*') of Bolivians in general: "Bolivia is a terrible country. Above all, the 'heart/mind ('*kokoro*')' of Bolivians, the national character, is no good. The 'Japanese heart/mind' and the Bolivian heart/mind are different. The difference lies in [Bolivians'] extreme individualism, especially in the field of politics. It hasn't changed a bit for the last 50 years! Even the President steals money. . . . All he cares about is his benefit. And the national public lets it pass. . . . So, I think the Japanese heart/mind is much superior to the Bolivian one." The stereotypes of selfishness and ineptitude of hakujin were naturalized as they became symbols of, *and* reasons for, hopeless economy, politics, and social oppression in Bolivia as a whole.

The everyday social processes of paternalism, normalization, and subtle resistance between Colonia Okinawan patrones and non-Nikkei Bolivian trabajadores took place within the Colonia Okinawans' abundant power and privilege within the Colonia, and lack thereof in a larger Bolivian society. The outcomes of such a socioeconomic structure, and Colonia Okinawans' and non-Nikkei Bolivians' everyday practices within it, were racilization of the difference – essentialized "innate" differences projected on their behaviors and characters – between the two groups, which were defined both as the cause and effect of their different class positions, even though these differences were in fact heavily influenced by Colonia Okinawans' particular political and socioeconomic conditions.

At "*Genba* (construction site)": Rōdōsha in Yokohama

As the Japanese economy enjoyed the height of its economic prosperity in the 1980s, the term "3K job" became a popular term in mass media. The three "Ks" stand for three adjectives: "*Kitsui*," (difficult/hard), "*Kitanai*" (dirty or unclean), and "*Kiken*" (dangerous). Typical "3K" jobs included physical labor at construction sites and assembly line work in factories, which the majority of today's young Japanese, who grew up in the affluence of the 1980s and 1990s, were reluctant to do. Like other South American Nikkeijin workers in Japan, the vast majority of Colonia Okinawan migrants filled the labor shortage in "3K" jobs. Virtually all male interviewees in Colonia Okinawa, who had returned from dekasegi in Japan, said that they had worked at "3K" jobs as assembly line workers at small factories, construction-related laborers, or electricians. Most women also worked in assembly lines of the manufacturing factories, but some worked in retail stores as cashiers. In a few instances, they worked as office clerks, domestic workers, or handled piece-work at home, such as soldering electronic board panels.

Despite the limitation in choices outside construction and manufacturing industries, many Colonia Okinawan dekasegi migrants changed jobs several times during their stints, and experienced different working conditions and relationships with their coworkers and supervisors. My participant-observation of T Denki electricians at work, therefore, by no means reveals a "typical" Colonia Okinawan dekasegi experience in Japan. In addition, as discussed earlier in this chapter, the variety of work, in terms of conditions, tasks, and amount, makes it impossible to present a typical day of work for a Colonia Okinawan electrician. The excerpt from my fieldnotes below, therefore, intends to show only a glimpse of their practice at work.

> *August X, 2001*
>
> I arrived at the I Park, near Mr. Tamashiro's apartment, which was also T Denki's office, a few minutes after 7AM. As usual, only Higa Emilio was there. Emilio is a Nisei whose father is an Issei and mother is a non-Nikkei Bolivian (camba). His whole family moved to Japan several years ago, but his uncle still lives in Okinawa Uno. He is in his early thirties. He and his wife, who is camba, have a two year-old daughter. He told me that she was currently in Colonia Okinawa staying with her family, because she was scheduled to give birth soon. One by one, other electricians arrived by foot or bike. "*Buen Día* ('Good Morning')," sleepy greetings were exchanged among them. Today's members were Emilio, his younger brother Yuji, Yonaha Javier, and Mr. Oshiro, Tonoshiro Jun, Onaga Akira, Uehara Osamu, and me. Except Mr. Oshiro, who is in his forties with three school-age children, and Emilio, all others are unmarried and in their early to mid-twenties. On the street next to the park, they were sitting on the curb, looking at e-mail messages on their cell phone screens. They chatted almost exclusively in Spanish, though there wasn't much talk in the morning. Around 7:20, enough members showed up, although Emilio had been trying to get hold of another, who was supposed to go to work that day. The day's "*genba*" (construction site) was a high school in Kohoku district of Yokohama, about twenty minutes drive from Tsurumi. We needed to drive two vans, in which the

tools and materials of electricians were crammed in. We needed to arrive in the site before eight o'clock, when the morning meeting of all the staff at the site starts. From the first day my work, I was asked to drive one of their vans, since only one of them had a Japanese driver's license. They told me that when I wasn't there, one of them drove without a license. The van was generally quiet in the morning; some were munching on pastry they had bought before coming to the park.

We arrived at the high school site late. Other construction workers had already started the morning meeting. The morning meeting at any construction site normally started with *rajio taisō*, or "radio gymnastics" for warming up their bodies. All the construction laborers lined up according to their divisions (i.e., interior furnishing, equipment installment, electrical installations, etc.), and must methodically and precisely move their bodies in unison to the tape-recorded music and cues. During the rajio taisō, though, T Denki electricians tended to slack off and rather lazily moved their limbs, if they had arrived at the genba in time at all. At the meeting, a project supervisor from S Kensetsu, the zene-kon construction firm, gave a briefing on the project, such as loading of the construction materials and the expected dates for the fire marshals' inspections. Then the representatives from subcontractors, such as electrical installation, interior furnishing, shipping monitoring, painters, concrete structuring, and security guards, presented their own plans for the day. They also mentioned "matters of caution ('*chūi jikō*')" for the day, such as the safe use of ladders and safety bands. The meeting ended with a call by the zene-kon supervisor, saying, "Let's work hard and safely today! ('*Kyou mo anzen-sagyō de ganbarou!*')," and all the workers responded to the call by raising their fist in accordance, saying, 'Oh!' This routine was done in other construction sites as well.

T Denki electricians wore worn-out sneakers and olive-colored uniform provided by D Denki, the subcontractor for the electrical installation assignment for this site, and T Denki's "parent" firm. Only Onaga, who lived far from Tsurumi and needed to take a train to the meeting place, changed from his street cloth to the uniform in the van, after we arrived at the site. They wore a helmet that says 'D Denki' and a tool belt, or "*koshi dōgu*," which held a few screw drivers, a nipper, priers, a wrench, a ratchet, a flash light, a scale, a cutter knife, electric cord knife, and a balance scale. Some of us had more tools, depending on the needs of the day's work. The tool belt has an expandable band or rope, the end of which has a karabiner-like ring-hook, called a safety band ('*anzen-tai*'). The safety band prevents an electrician from falling from a high working site without stable foothold.

Some are smoking cigarette or drinking soda while Mr. Shimoda of F Denki, the firm that supervises the electrical installation section of the project, including D Denki (and, therefore, T Denki) electricians. He was giving the day's work orders to Osamu, Jun, and Emilio, who are the most experienced electricians of T Denki. After the meeting, Jun gathered all the T Denki staff and divided them into three groups, giving each the directions for the day in Japanese. Then, they entered into the school building, already noisy and dusty with the workers for other specialized divisions. The day's major tasks for T Denki in the morning were:

- Installment of lighting equipment ('*kigu zuke*'):
  Following the blueprint given from Mr. Shimoda of F Denki, they cut the ceiling panels to make holes where the room lights needed to be placed. Then they pulled down the electric cords from above the ceiling and placed the light and its reflection panels in the cutout holes. The equipment often didn't fit into the hole, so the electricians had to carefully enlarge the hole by a cutter knife without destroying the fragile ceiling panel, normally made of inflammable material. It was also very common that there weren't proper electric cords placed for each location of the light, so they had to climb into the ceiling through the inspection hatch, and crawl above the ceiling with a flashlight to find out the routes of the electric lines. If the cords were missing or incorrectly installed, they needed to place new electric cords by ourselves.
- Partitioning ('*majikiri*'):
  Following the blueprint provided by F Denki, T Denki electricians installed the electric sockets and light switches in all rooms of the building. After opening holes in the wall with a powered drill, they installed the power cords underneath the floor panels, to make sure that all the switches and sockets on the wall would have the power cords to connect.

At ten o'clock, there was a half an hour-long break, for all the workers at the site. Jun called up other T Denki electricians in other floors of the building with his cell phone to tell them to take a break. They came out of the building, sweating, and bought a can of soda. They placed a bucket or their own helmets upside down to sit on. Mr. Shimoda of F Denki asked Jun and Osamu how things were going and whether they could finish the proposed tasks for the day. The T Denki staffs were quietly chatting among themselves, mixed Japanese and Spanish. Most of them had cell phones, on which they checked e-mail messages – written in Spanish – on the screens during the breaks. Yohana, who lived with his Japanese girlfriend, called her up. After a short chat, he turned to me and said, "Well, we had a little fight last night. So I had to make up."[42]

Around noon, all the workers took an hour-long lunch break. The T Denki staff broke into small groups, not in any particular order, and went to a nearby convenience store to buy lunch. With dirty working outfit, they rarely went to restaurants for lunch, except at a site where there was a cafeteria for the office and construction workers. They settled in the shade next to the building, sitting on flattened cardboard boxes. Emilio was sitting near me. He was anxious to find out about his wife's delivery. As soon as he finished his lunch, he picked up his cell phone and made an international call to a hospital in Santa Cruz de la Sierra, to talk to his parents-in-law. His in-laws were "rich camba" and lived in "a huge house" near Rio Grande: "He [his father-in-law] used to be a *cocalero* [cocaine producer] but now he is a rancher." Emilio found out that a baby girl was born safely, and both the baby and his wife were doing well. Emilio beamed, "Oh, I am so glad. I am glad it was a girl." When I asked why he preferred a girl, he

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[42] I will discuss intermarriages and relationships of Colonia Okinawans in Bolivia and Japan in Chapter 6.

> said, "I was afraid the boy would grow up and become like me. I had a crazy life. Besides, a boy might grow up and beat me up."
>
> After finishing lunch, Yonaha, Onaga, and Yuji took out a soccer ball from the van and started playing with it in the school's playground. Sometimes, they instead played catch with gloves and a baseball. The rest of T Denki staff spread the cardboard boxes and lied down to take a short nap until 1PM, when the work would resume. During the lunchtime, Mr. Shimoda stopped by where T Denki electricians were, but only Jun and Emilio, who had known him from other projects in the past, and had lived in Japan longer than others, chatted with him. The major task in the afternoon was cable installation, or "cable drawing (*'kēburu hiki'*)." Main electric cables were installed through steel pipes or elastic plastic tubes. At least two persons had to work together to install the cables inside the pipe or tube. From one end of the pipe or tube, one inserts a thick steel wire, or "steel," until its tip reaches the other end of the pipe. Then his partner attaches the end of the electric cable, called "head (*'atama'*)," with the tip of the steel by tightly wrapping them up together with vinyl tape. The person who held the steel at the other end of the pipe, then, begins pulling the steel, while his partner pushes the electric cable, which was tied to the tip of the steel, into the pipe. The two electricians call and respond, calling out the cues, "Sē-no!" and "Sō-re!," to rhythmically push and pull the cable/steel, until the head of the cable reaches the other end of the pipe.
>
> When it seemed that they wouldn't have to work overtime today, Mr. Oshiro said to me, "Normally, the work ends at the standard time (5:30PM). It used to end at 5PM, though, instead of 5:30. Even when we have to work overtime, it is normally until 7:30 or so." This day ended around 5:30. Jun again called up other T Denki staff in the building with his cell phone and told them to wrap up. At the on-site office, Jun filled out the day's labor registration sheet. He gestured to me to help him write the names of all the T Denki staff in *Kanji* (Chinese characters), which he was not comfortable in doing. Mr. Shimoda of F Denki was telling Osamu about the next day's tasks and how many T Denki electricians would be necessary.
>
> On the way back to Tsurumi from the site, the T Denki van was louder and more jubilant than the morning ride. Emilio – who didn't have a driving license – was driving the van wildly, cursing other cars in Spanish – "*¡Mierda!* ('Shit!')" "*¡Puta!* ('bloody!')" – all the way. As we approached the U Park, the meeting place in the morning, they got off the van, one by one, near their homes. Those who needed to take a train, or lived near the Tsurumi station, including myself, jumped off at the station.

* * *

Again, this was not a "typical" workday for Colonia Okinawan electricians, let alone the working experience of dekasegi migrants from Colonia Okinawa in general. Nevertheless, from this excerpt, as well as the stories of the Colonia Okinawans who had worked in manufacturing and construction sectors, three characteristics of their work stand out: First, as coined as "3K job," the Colonia Okinawan dekasegi workers had to cope with physical discomfort in often gruel and dangerous working environment; Second, they struggled to gain a sense of independence and control at work, which was unattainable within the larger scheme of hierarchical subcontracting system; Finally, partly due to their effort to maintain their self-control and independence, they could largely avoid interacting with their Japanese Naichi-jin workers in workplace.

Dirty, Difficult and Dangerous

On my first day at a construction site, Jun briefly introduced me to our supervisor from F Denki as a "rookie ('*shinjin*')" before starting to work. The supervisor looked at me and said, "Well, Suzuki-kun, right? It's your first day, so be careful not to hurt yourself."[43] Then he joked, "I mean, you can fall from a ladder, rooftop, or whatever, but just don't get injured (laugh)." None of my coworkers or myself were injured at the construction sites during my fieldwork, but I could see a glimpse of why the work at construction sites, such as electrical installation, was considered a "3K" job. Although electricians' work was regarded as generally less physically demanding than other construction laborers', there were several tasks and conditions that drew groans and whines from my coworkers. One of the main tasks for electricians was power cable installation, or kēburu hiki, which sometimes required a whole day of work in an underground pit. One day at the high school site, it was raining heavily when Mr. Oshiro and I struggled in a muddy underground pit to install a power cable that seemed too thick to come through the preinstalled pipe. Our jackets were soaked with sweat and rain, while our shoes were soggy from the muddy water pouring into the pit. Our uniform was a mess, and my whole body was aching as we came out of the pit for a break.

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[43] Unlike "*san,*" which is a postfix that shows general respect (equivalent of "Mr." or "Mrs."), "*kun*" is a postfix used for those who are considered equal or below you, in terms of age or status.

On another day, Emilio, Yuji, and I spent the whole afternoon inside the main underground pit of the high school construction site. The pit was approximately two and a half meters (eight feet) deep, so we used a ladder to enter. Inside was dark, cool, and humid. We had to install the cables on the steel rack, which had been already installed. The pit was divided into many cells, and each cell wall had small holes with a diameter of only 60 centimeters (23 inches). The holes were so narrow that the T Denki electricians had to crawl into and out of them every time they moved to the next cell. As we were setting up plastic pipes to install electric cables, Emilio struggled with the erratic pipe in a small compartment of the pit, with me holding a flashlight for his hands. Frustrated, Emilio cried out, "Aaahh! Why in the world did I become an electrician, having to work in a place like this?"

Sometimes, the working environment was hazardous for the workers' health. Yonaha, Emilio, and I worked in a recycle plant in Chiba city in September of 2001. The plant dissembled, decomposed, and scrapped used home electronic appliances, such as TVs and refrigerators, into recyclable plastic and glass pieces. The plant was large and spacious, but the air inside the factory building was filled with plastic and steel dust. T Denki's parent firm gave us styrofoam masks to wear to protect ourselves from the dangerous dust. It was not easy to do our physically demanding tasks while wearing the mask. It was also hot inside the factory, so soon we took the mask off. Before long, we began coughing from the inhaled dust, and our faces and arms became ash-black within a few hours. We spent the whole morning installing a thick cable on the high wall rack, approximately four meters (12 feet) above the floor. Since there were not enough footholds around the rack nor was there a safety net below us, we could only secure ourselves with the safety band locked to a stem of the rack nearby.

The common narratives of Colonia Okinawans, who had returned from their dekasegi in Japan, centered on how hard ("*kitsui*") their working experiences had been. Those who worked on assembly lines of factories had much difficulty with fast-paced work, especially for the first few months. Mr. Nakasone Shinji, who worked as an assembly line worker at a subcontractor for Matsushita (Panasonic) and Sharp home electronics in Osaka, an assembly plant for Hino trucks in Tokyo, and a construction firm in Kanagawa Prefecture. He most hated the fast-paced assembly work at the Hino factory, describing that it was "not a work any human being should do." He quit the job after four months. He had made three dekasegi stints in Japan, in total of six years, but hoped he wouldn't have to do it again, "I don't have much memory of Japan. All I remember now was how hard the work was and how bad working conditions were." Mr. Toyama Masashi, who had worked in a subcontracting factory under Nissan Motor in Hadano city, Kanagawa Prefecture, for three years, said, "I knew what to expect [at work], but it was still hard. The working hours were long, and the assembly line work was hard. . . . I could work hard there because I had a future plan of farming."

While the fast pace of work was the major difficulty for Colonia Okinawan dekasegi workers at the factory assembly lines, construction labor and electrical installation were physically demanding in often hazardous environment. Mr. Higa

Mauricio, who had worked in a gas pipe installation firm for thirteen years before returning to Colonia Okinawa in 1996, grimaced as he recalled his work:

> It was a hard job, especially during the summer, when it became very hot because all the heat was reflected on the asphalt surface of the streets. It was so hot that sweat got to my eyes. When I used this (He gestured handling of a jackhammer), my arms went numb after a while. Even the next day, my arms were aching badly. I really wanted to come home, but I had a goal [of saving money to buy land and start farming in Colonia], so I could gut it out.

Mr. Gima Ken, whom I met in Colonia Okinawa in the winter of 1998, left for Japan in January of 1999 with his wife and two young children. He worked in a construction firm in Hiratsuka city, Kanagawa, for two years and returned to Bolivia in April of 2001, when I was, again, at Colonia Okinawa for a long-term fieldwork. A day after he returned to Colonia Okinawa, I asked him how his work was. He recalled:

> For the first few months, it was really hard! I had to carry construction materials that were so long and heavy. You need to carry them with your hands like this (putting his hands in front of his stomach, showing his palms to me), not with arms or on shoulders. I can carry heavy stuff on my shoulders, you know, but just with fingers?! It was hard. By the end of the day, my fingers became numb and couldn't move.

Even though electrical installation was, unlike the factory assembly line work, regarded as a sophisticated technical job by the T Denki electricians, the work was still quite exhausting and potentially dangerous in often unhealthy working environments. As Jun, a young T Denki electrician, told me more than once, the job of electrician was "not the kind of work you do until you become fifty years-old."

Struggle for Independence and Control

Despite the unstable work and wage and "3K" labor conditions, the electricians at T Denki expressed their preference of their work to other jobs, such as assembling parts in manufacturing factories and civil engineering construction. They told me that they liked their job because it was "interesting ('*omoshiroi*')."[44] Their positive view of the job drove from the relative independence enjoyed by the Colonia Okinawan electricians at the workplace, and their sense of pride in the manual skills that white-collar work could not teach them. Even though their overall tasks were assigned by their "parent" firms, Colonia Okinawan electricians could maintain control over their daily work schedule and a comfort zone among themselves at genba. After the morning briefing with the parent company's project supervisor, in which only a few experienced T Denki electricians participated, T Denki electricians were, by and large, left alone at the construction site. As long as they were not procrastinating on their tasks for the day, a small group of T Denki electricians enjoyed chatting in Spanish and playfully teasing each other.

Escaping from strict and controlling Japanese bosses was a major reason why Onaga, a twenty-three years old Nisei, had left a Naichi-jin Japanese-owned electrical installation firm and joined T Denki a few months before. At the high school construction site, while he was teaching me how to make a joint of electric cords with aluminum sleeves by using a prier, he told me, "Take your time when you make the joint. Some people might hurry you up, saying, 'Do it fast! Hurry up!' But if there is any problem after everything has been set up, they will blame you anyways." Onaga first worked at an electrical installation firm in Tokyo, which was very strict on time, mannerism, and dress codes. He recalled, "They were always yelling at me to hurry up. But if you are always yelled at, how can you do a good job and enjoy the work, you know?" Then, he pointed at his necklace and earrings, and said, "They prohibited me from wearing these, too. Can you believe it?"

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[44] Tsujimoto (1999) also pointed out that the stereotypical image of the poor and exploited South American Nikkeijin workers was not entirely accurate, because Colonia Okinawan dekasegi migrants, he claimed, actually enjoyed physical work and were eager to learn technical skills that could help them.

Indeed, despite my slow and sloppy work as an inexperienced rookie, I was never severely scolded by T Denki electricians during my fieldwork, and they were very patient with me. In fact, the only persons who yelled at me during my fieldwork were my Naichi-jin Japanese supervisors from our "parent" company, who happened to need my assistance for inspecting the installed electric cords. Among the T Denki workers, criticism on work was exchanged in a friendly and joking manner, through good-natured jabs at their coworkers. In one afternoon at the high school site, Jun was trying to hurry up Mr. Oshiro, who was also a novice electrician: "Hey, *Tío* ('uncle,' a term of address used for an older adult man), do you want to race with me who finishes the work first?" When Jun later caught Mr. Oshiro and I chatting while we were setting up the floor power sockets in the computer lab, Jun jokingly yelled at us from distance. Using an Okinawan language term, "Hey, you guys are having a *yuntaku* ('chit-chat' in the Okinawan language) again!" It was a common sight at genba that two of the T Denki workers put their arms around each others' shoulders as they went back to their working locations from a break, jubilantly chatting in the mixed Japanese-Spanish.

Despite the norms that all workers must arrive in the construction site before the morning meetings have begun, T Denki electricians were often late for the meeting, sometimes missing the entire meeting. Some of the senior members, such as Emilio, occasionally criticized T Denki staffs' tardiness, but he himself was not always punctual. The T Denki staff normally joined the rest of the construction workers during the rajio taisō (radio gymnastics/exercise) in the morning meeting, and they didn't seem to panic even when they were about to miss the whole morning meeting. The consensus among them was that as long as they could begin their tasks approximately on time – after the morning meeting – it should not be a problem. Most of them were young, fit men in their twenties, so mandatory routine like the rajio taisō for warming up their bodies to prevent injuries seemed unimportant and unnecessary for them.

Meanwhile, work orders by Naichi-jin Japanese supervisors were often viewed as annoying. One day, Jun and Osamu went to a different site in Shin-Yokohama area as "ouen (help)" staff for D Denki, while the rest of T Denki electricians worked in another site. The next day, Jun rejoined the rest of T Denki staff, and complained to Mr. Oshiro and me about his previous day's work at the Shin-Yokohama site. Jun called Mr. Tanaka of D Denki "*debu* ('fat,' a derogatory term)," and criticized him for only giving orders to Jun and Osamu, but never working himself. Mr. Oshiro, who had worked with Mr. Tanaka at another site, agreed, "'Debu' picked you and Osamu, because he knew that you guys would do all the work and he wouldn't have to work at all. He is lazy and sneaky." Yuji also complained about unreasonable orders occasionally given by the Japanese Naichi-jin boss of the "parent" company: "Sometimes, we have to draw the cables twice on the exactly same route. I was like, 'Then just tell us to do all of them at once!' It's stupid!"

The independence at genba, frequent changes in their work by being placed in different construction sites, and technical skills that they have to acquire as an electrician kept Colonia Okinawan electricians interested and gave them a sense of power and control, even if it was limited within the hierarchy of the industry. Before becoming an electrician, Emilio was an assembly line worker in a factory, but he "got bored" after three months, because he had learned everything about the job and thought that he would just have to repeat it. That was one reason why he chose to become an electrician, because there were "many tasks and a lot of room for me to learn and improvise." When Onaga worked for a Japanese-owned electrical installation firm in Tokyo before joining T Denki, he was ordered to do all the menial work, such as carrying steel pipes and opening boxes of lighting equipment, but never was asked to do more significant tasks. Yuji, Onaga's close friend, explained to me why he quit the firm: "He had to do the same work all the time. He got tired of it, you know? Besides, his boss yelled at him whenever Onaga didn't do *exactly* in the way he was told, even when he hadn't made a mistake. It was stupid. It didn't make any difference even if Onaga did them differently, right?" In contrast with the electricians' freedom of improvisation and independence, as Emilio pointed out, those dekasegi migrants who worked in the manufacturing industry struggled with little freedom or room for personal improvisation in their work.[45] Mr. Kabira Yoshiki, who was working at a small factory in Tsurumi, told me that he didn't have a problem with his bosses, but he was often frustrated with them when he was given no choice in how to do his work. He said, "I don't like that I can't do what I want to do. At my work, even if there are things I want to do, I am forced to do other tasks. I don't have any freedom."

Their insistence on relative freedom and personal improvisation was also heard during my interviews with Colonia Okinawan returnees from dekasegi in Japan. Mr. Gima Ken, who worked in a construction firm, insisted that his work was "fun," because of the new skills he could learn at work: "I enjoyed everyday of the work. No matter what it was, I liked learning a new thing. Everything was new for me." Many Colonia Okinawan returnees in Colonia Okinawa were also eager to explain to me the details of techniques they had learnt in their work, such as how to weld steel pipes seamlessly or how to locate the hidden electrical cords behind the wall. Mr. Kinjo Gustavo, a former electrician who had returned to Colonia Okinawa after nineteen years of dekasegi in Japan, boasted he knew far more than his Naichi-jin Japanese supervisor from the construction firm:

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[45] For more detailed discussion on South American Nikkeijin workers in manufacturing industry and their relationships with Japanese coworkers and supervisors, see Tsuda (1996, 1998, 1999, 2003) and Roth (2002).

> Those [Naichi-jin engineers] might have studied architecture and such in university, but when it comes to actual construction work, they didn't know anything. I often had to oblige them and follow their stupid directions, but, in the end, when things didn't turn out as well as they hoped, they came to me and asked me what to do (laugh). I knew how the electric cords should be lined up behind the walls, so that other tasks could be easily done. The blueprints drawn by the architects didn't take these things into account. So, I often ended up redoing all the designing [of electronic installation]."

Indeed, it was regarded that the formal education was not necessary to be a good electrician. Mr. Uchida, a Japanese supervisor from T Denki's "parent" firm, looked surprised when he found out that I, a novice electrician, was already 30 years old[46]: "What? Is your father also an electrician or something? . . . It is very difficult to start learning this job at 30 [years old]." He said that one should start working sooner to become a good electrician: "He should start working early, like right after graduating from high school. Or even sooner! (laugh)"

Colonia Okinawan dekasegi laborers' preference of manual and technical jobs over white-collar work and their sense of pride in blue-collar work skills were, as Willis

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[46] Most of my T Denki coworkers knew my backgrounds and intensions to work as an electrician for a short term, but Mr. Uchida assumed that I was no different from other T Denki electricians.

(1977) demonstrated in his study of the British working class youth, not simply manifestations of their passive acceptance of career choices within the structural limits in Japanese labor market, but also active assertion of their work as masculine and, therefore, "real" professions. Willis described the working class "lads" choose manual and technical labor not simply because they lack viable options, but because they prefer a work situation which has "an essentially masculine ethos." Their workplace has to be "a place where people are not 'cissies [*sic*]' and can 'handle themselves,' where 'pen-pushing' is looked down on in favour of really 'doing things,'" and it also need be "a situation where you can speak up for yourself, and where you would not be expected to be subservient" (Willis 1977:96). The physical demand and danger of the work which proves that they were not "sissies," and the expertise in manual skills and practical knowledge required for "doing things" at work, Colonia Okinawan migrants not merely persevered in their menial work, but often embraced it as a sign of their masculine strength and perseverance.

Mutual Dissociation at Work

Throughout the workday, from the meeting place in Tsurumi, the van ride to genba, breaks in the morning and afternoon, lunch, and to their way home, there were few direct contacts between Colonia Okinawan electricians and other Naichi-jin Japanese workers, even if they were working within the same section of the construction site. After the briefing by the supervisors from their "parent" firms, T Denki electricians received most of the orders from their co-electricians who had the most experience, normally Jun, Osamu, or Emilio. In fact, even after one month of working at the same construction site, the supervisor from the D Denki, the "parent" firm of T Denki, only remembered a few names of T Denki electricians. Some of the experienced T Denki electricians who had lived in Japan for many years, and commanded Japanese with ease, did not mind working with the Japanese Naichi-jin coworkers side by side. Emilio and Yonaha, for instance, chatted with the Japanese Naichi-jin supervisor with ease, although they seldom initiated the talk with them.

Except for the breaks, however, I rarely witnessed conversations between T Denki electricians and their Japanese coworkers, largely because the actual work of electricians simply didn't require much collaboration with other workers. Most of the conversations between them during the working hours, if they ever happened, were brief discussions regarding the tasks and plans of the day. Otherwise, the T Denki staff maintained their social autonomy at the workplace without much interaction with outsiders. When there were interactions with Japanese Naichi-jin coworkers or supervisors, they were, at best, awkward. For instance, a small group of Japanese Naichi-jin electricians who heard the T Denki staff talking in Spanish, approached them and timidly asked Yonaha, "Is what you are speaking now English?" When Yonaha told him that it was Spanish, they looked puzzled and walked away without further conversation.

Such awkward relationships between Japanese supervisors and South American Nikkeijin workers were also found in factory settings.[47] Mr. Asato Toshiya, who had returned to Colonia Okinawa after working in an assembly line of an aluminum window frames factory in Kanagawa Prefecture for two years, described labor relations in his factory as the following:

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[47] See also Tsuda (1998, 1999) and Roth (2002), for example.

> I think I was able to see "*ura* ('backside,' meaning the hidden but real 'inner truth')" of Japanese society.[48] I could see "raw ('*nama no*')" Japan in the factory. For example, I realized there were "vertical relationships ('*tate no kankei*,' referring to a strict power relations between managers and workers)," and "horizontal relationships ('*yoko no kankei*')" in the company, which I had never felt in South America. Among my coworkers, there were many Nisei and Sansei from Brazil and Argentina. Those who were in higher positions in the factory were all Japanese, but those who were working at the [assembly] line were all South Americans.[49] We used Spanish to talk among ourselves, but used Japanese with bosses. But the only time we had to actually talk was during breaks.

Some Colonia Okinawan returnees found the strict "vertical relations" with Japanese supervisors to be the most difficult aspect in Japanese workplace to adapt to. An Issei father of Nisei dekasegi returnee told me of his son's struggles in Japan: "[Mannerism in Japanese society] is so different from here [i.e., Bolivia], isn't it? You always have to bow and obey your superiors. Here, you stand either at the same level or higher than others, but it doesn't work that way in Japan. That is the toughest part [about the life in Japan]. The customs are so different; here, even when you face a Minister [of state] or a municipal congressman, you can talk like, 'Hey, you!' Isn't Japan the only [country] that has such strict mannerism?"

The outcome of these workplace mannerisms and working conditions commonly seen in construction sites and manufacturing factories was subtle, and even polite, mutual dissociation from each other between Japanese Naichi-jin supervisors and Colonia Okinawan dekasegi laborers. As the structure of the construction industry consists of multiple layers of subcontracting, the Colonia Okinawan electricians resisted the systemic exploitation of the industry by exerting their own agency at workplaces and controlling their own tasks.

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[48] Coincidentally, Mr. Asato's vocabulary to explain "hidden" discrimination in Japanese workplaces is used by Tsuda (1998). See also Doi (1985) for "*ura/omote*" distinctions in Japanese mannerisms.
[49] See Nakane (1970) for "vertical relationship" in Japanese society.

Between Nikkeijin, Okinawan, and Nihonjin

Colonia Okinawan dekasegi migrants in Yokohama were situated in different class and race dynamics in Japanese society. Unlike many other South American Nikkeijin migrant workers in Japan, Colonia Okinawan dekasegi migrants in Japan, with their Japanese passport, did not need visitor or working visa to enter the country and find jobs. In addition, Colonia Okinawan dekasegi migrants were overwhelmingly Issei or Nisei, who grew up in the small and tight-knit ethnic community in the rural area, and were far more fluent in Japanese language than the majority of South American Nikkeijin in Japan. Most Brazilian and Peruvian Nikkeijin migrants in Japan were third or fourth generation-Nikkeijin from urban areas like Sao Paulo and Lima, and spoke little Japanese prior to their arrival in Japan.

Colonia Okinawans' legal status as Japanese national citizens and their language skills, however, did not always enable them to become indistinguishable subjects from the Japanese majority at work. Through their working experiences in urban Japan as blue-collar laborers, Colonia Okinawan migrants defined, performed, and interpreted their subject-positions in relations to three categories, Nihonjin (Japanese), other South American Nikkeijin, and Okinawans (from Okinawa Prefecture). Colonia Okinawan dekasegi laborers created their own definitions and characterizations of Self and Others in their stereotyping discourses, through which "the processes of subjectification made possible" (Bhabha 1994:67). These stereotypes were not only cognitive means for Colonia Okinawan migrants to understand their own subject-positions within the Japanese labor market and society at large, but also resources for them to perform oppositional practices within the oppressive labor market structures and working conditions. As a result, Colonia Okinawan dekasegi migrants' categorizations of Self and Others at workplaces, and practices based upon such generalized and essentialized categories, created their own particular subjects through naturalizing the characters and behaviors of their own and others'.

Although my interviewees, both the returnees in Colonia Okinawa from dekasegi and those who lived in Japan, rarely mentioned overt discriminations by their Japanese coworkers and supervisors, subtle discrimination by Japanese against South American Nikkeijin in Japan has been widely reported (Mori 1992; Takenaka 1999; Tsuda 1998, 1999; Watkins 1994). Tsuda (1999) accounted for Nikkei Brazilian workers' "subjective experience of ethnic discrimination" at work in Japan, which was not necessarily a result of discriminatory treatment or prejudice by their Japanese coworkers or supervisors. Rather, Tsuda (1998) argued, Nikkei Brazilian workers' subordinate positions vis-à-vis Japanese supervisors, simple and menial work assigned for them as inexperienced and often temporary workforce, and Japanese polite and distant mannerism were interpreted by Nikkei Brazilians as Japanese "coldness," if not ethnic discrimination and racism.

T Denki electricians and other Colonia Okinawan dekasegi migrants never claimed that they had experienced discriminations at work, but they had to endure some awkward and uncomfortable interactions with other Japanese at workplaces. For instance, the Japanese supervisors from the "parent" firm of T Denki often acted in a condescending manner towards T Denki electricians. When the T Denki electricians were not prepared with appropriate tools or equipment to do their own work, for instance, the "parent" firm staff provided them with any necessary materials. Mr. Uchida of J Denki, who was the supervisor for a warehouse renovation project in Tokyo, often made fun of the under-equipped T Denki electricians and how disorganized T Denki's business operation was. He teased T Denki staff: "Hey, has Tamashiro [T Denki president] finally fixed his fax? Not yet? How can he run business like that? Geez, your company is really weird (laugh). . . . How many of you guys have driver's license? Just a few, right? That's ridiculous! (laugh)" On another occasion, having heard that Emilio was paying a huge amount of money (about 150,000yen, or US$1,300) for his cell phone bill – Emilio's wife had returned to Bolivia and had recently given birth – Mr. Uchida laughed: "How in the world could you end up having to pay 150,000yen for cell phone? You guys are just 'stupid ('*baka*')'!" Also, knowing that most T Denki electricians were from South America, he often tried to joke about it. When the T Denki electricians were late in the morning, after taking a wrong turn on the way to the site, Mr. Uchida laughed and said: "What were you doing? Did you get lost on the way? If you drive like that, you might end up going back to America!" Of course, none of T Denki staffs seemed to find his friendly taunting funny, and all remained silent and just shrugged.

"Workaholic" Nihonjin Others

One way with which Colonia Okinawan dekasegi workers could resist the structural and practiced oppressions they experienced, and the unintended, yet nonetheless degrading attitudes displayed by Naichi-jin Japanese supervisors at workplaces was objectification and generalization of Japanese others in a negative light. Tsujimoto (1999) draws on numerous narratives of Colonia Okinawan dekasegi migrants, who described Japanese as "cold," "indifferent," and "self-absorbed." During my interviews with the returnees from dekasegi in Japan, their recollection of working experience in urban Japan often mentioned the overwork of "Nihonjin." Many Colonia

Okinawan dekasegi returnees were amazed (and appalled) by what described as "workaholic" tendencies in the Nihonjin in their workplaces. For instance, Mr. Nakamura Jorge, who had worked at a subcontractor for Nissan Motor in Hadano city from 1989 to 1993, didn't understand why Nihonjin worked such long hours: "It seemed like Nihonjin are working for tomorrow [future], but here, we don't even work when it rains (laugh)." To him, his Japanese coworkers seemed to be workaholics: "Nihonjin like working, don't they? (laugh) . . . They are living life in such a frantic pace. I thought, 'No wonder they became No. 1 in the world, if they are working this hard.'" Even when they expressed their amazement for the fast pace of work in Japanese workplaces and Japanese' ability and willingness to keep up with such frenetic work schedules, these characteristics of Nihonjin workers were always narrated with a hint of pity and condescension in their voice. As great is Nihonjin's work ethnic might be, they implied, that was not how *they* would like to live their lives.

"Tough and Hardworking" Boliviajin Self

Another way to resist against the oppressions and humiliations they faced as blue-collar laborers in urban Japan was to construct their own subject-positions by replacing the imposed stereotypes with the self-images projected by themselves. In contrast with those who were impressed with Nihonjin's work ethic, other Colonia Okinawan interviewees, who had also worked in Japan as dekasegi migrants, found that the "hardworking" Japanese was a myth rather than a reality, and they, in fact, had a better work ethic than many Japanese. Mr. Chinen Takashi, who had worked in two factories in Hadano and Hiratsuka cities in Kanagawa Prefecture from 1988 to 1992, found Nihonjin were different from what he had imagined to be before dekasegi. He said, "Before I went there for dekasegi, my image of Japan was, 'Nihonjin are all serious and hardworking. So if you don't work hard, you will be fired.' But once I was there, it was not *that* hard, except for that they were very strict on punctuality. Besides, it was not like the more you worked, the better, either."

When the dekasegi returnees in Colonia Okinawa claimed how difficult their work was in Japan, meanwhile, they also emphasized they had been "tough enough" to take on such difficult and dangerous work. Mr. Higa Mauricio, after explaining how hard it was to work in a gas pipe installation firm during his dekasegi stint in Yokohama, he added: "There is no way that Nihonjin could do that kind of work. . . . I had to teach some rookies how to do the work, like how to use the jackhammer. Do you know how hard it is to use it? Your arms get numb after a while. These guys just couldn't handle it. They wouldn't stick around for very long; it was just too hard for them."

Mr. Gima Ken, who worked as a construction laborer in Hadano city from 1999 to 2001, insisted that "foreigners," including Colonia Okinawan dekasegi laborers, were more willing to work harder than their Nihonjin coworkers:

> The firm I worked in had many foreigners. Japanese employers actually prefer using foreigners. . . . When I went to genba, it was so physically demanding. . . . It was so hot that you couldn't stand it even when you try to cool down in front of cooler [air conditioner]. My [South American Nikkeijin] friends and I used to say, "Nihonjin would never work in a difficult place like this." . . . Nihonjin think that they can do rest of the work tomorrow, whereas we have a purpose, like saving money or taking a family to [Tokyo] Disneyland while we still live in Japan. . . . Sometimes our work at genba is done around 3PM, and then some Japanese said, "It's all right. Just make yourself look busy with a broom, and sweep the floor or something." . . . Those Japanese who had worked the same job for ten or twenty years take [frequent] breaks, calling it "job-waiting." They could do things like that only in Japan. But I was thinking, "Hey, because of these [lazy] guys, the projects go red."

These comments on Japanese workers at workplaces revealed their mixed feelings of jealousy and superiority towards them. Because of their lack of higher education in Japan and white-collar skills, Colonia Okinawan dekasegi migrants were relegated to the grueling and often dangerous assignments, but precisely because of such disadvantages, they often felt pride in their work. Willis argued that working class "lads" in urban UK preferred physically demanding work over mental labor in office settings, because these physical labor in often brutal environment "stand for and express . . . kind of masculinity and also an opposition to authority" (Willis 1977:104). Similarly, despite the "3K" conditions within which they had to work, Colonia Okinawan dekasegi workers eagerly expressed their capability to take and do such menial work "like a man," believing that college-educated Japanese could not, and would not, withstand such hardship.

"Wild and Crazy" Boliviajin Self

While T Denki electricians were ridiculed by their Japanese Naichi-jin supervisors for their disorganized and thus "crazy" business and lifestyle, they took advantage of such stereotypes to affirm their masculinity by presenting themselves as "wild and crazy" Bolivians (or, more generally, South Americans). Yonaha Javier, one of the few T Denki electricians who chatted with his Japanese coworkers and supervisors with ease, often exaggerated how "wild" the life in Colonia Okinawa, and South America in general, was, when he talked to his Japanese colleagues at work. He told a Japanese electrician, Mr. Gibu, who worked together with T Denki staff at a warehouse renovation project in Tokyo, an exaggerated version of Bolivian food: "In Bolivia, people eat everything. We eat goat, armadillo, many kinds of bird, wild boar, and alligator." Enjoying Mr. Gibu's disgusted look, he continued to graphically describe how he once killed a bird with a rifle and how "people in Bolivia" broil armadillos after shaving the fine hair on their shells, and how he and his friends used to abuse stray dogs in Colonia Okinawa with slingshots and BB guns, drawing further groans from Mr. Gibu. On a different occasion, he boasted about "gorgeous" South American women to Mr. Gibu:

> Yonaha: Women are all pretty in Bolivia, you know.
> Gibu: Really? How are they like?
> Yonaha: Hmm. . . . well, in Japan, maybe one among ten women got a great body, right? But in Bolivia, most women are like that.
> Gibu: Wow.
> Yonaha: Brazilian women are even more amazing. They got big ass, and when they go to beach, many are topless and wear only a thong.
> Gibu: Ooooh! (Jokingly) What would happen if you touch them?
> Yonaha: Then her big black boyfriend would show up and beat you up (laugh).

Yonaha's exaggerated and exoticized descriptions of lifestyles and physiques of Bolivians and Brazilians were an example of Colonia Okinawans' self-affirmation amidst the thoroughly institutionalized oppression, even if they, contradictorily, further legitimized the aforementioned stereotypes imposed by their Japanese superiors. Nandy, who argued that self-degradation by the colonized was a means of resistance against the colonizers, stated, "[T]he non-achieving and the insane may often have a higher chance of achieving . . . goal of freedom and autonomy without mortgaging their sanity" (Nandy 1983:113). Even though these narratives of uncivilized and crazy Bolivian Self might appear self-degrading, they served for a purpose of gaining agency and freedom within their given situations. Moreover, among the blue-collar (both Colonia Okinawan and Japanese) workers in the construction sites who celebrate the "masculine ethos," such as "potential mastery over women" and "machismo," Colonia Okinawan dekasegi laborers' self-stereotyping of wild and crazy Bolivians/South Americans enabled themselves to gain a certain power and authority over Japanese coworkers (Willis 1977:104).

Partial Passing: Closer to Nihonjin than South American Nikkeijin

Since the majority of Colonia Okinawan dekasegi migrants were barely second-generation, with their Japanese legal citizenship and ability to speak decent, if not fluent, Japanese, they could avoid uncomfortable and potentially mortifying stereotyping by Japanese at their workplaces by "passing" as native-born Japanese. Unless they openly displayed their Bolivian national background by talking aloud in Spanish at workplaces, they could easily pretend to be Nihonjin, which they often did. A Colonia Okinawan electrical installation firm owner, who moved to Yokohama 15 years ago, said that he prohibited his Colonia Okinawan employees from speaking Spanish at construction sites, because "some Nihonjin [workers and clients] do not like gaijin (foreigners) working at their place." T Denki electricians also tried to "pass" as Japanese in construction sites in the eyes of other Japanese. When they went to a new project site, they all had to fill out the registration forms, on which they had to write their names, health conditions, and places and dates of birth, in front of other Japanese laborers and managers. In contrast to the loud conversations they had had in Spanish before entering into the office building, they fell quiet. When one of them could not understand what was being asked to write in the columns of the registration form, he asked another T Denki colleague for help in a whisper. They wrote "Okinawa Prefecture" for the "birthplace" column of the sheet. While Emilio used his Spanish first name publicly (he wrote it in Japanese katakana), Yonaha Javier used his Japanese first name, Yoshio, for official use at work. For either, however, the Japanese sir name was the only important name at workplaces, since it was normally used in Japanese workplaces.

Their Okinawan ancestral background is crucial for their largely successful "passing" tactics. As Naichi-jin have historically considered Okinawans as "not quite" the same as themselves, Okinawans' visible differences, whether it is accented Japanese speech, allegedly different physical features, such as darker skin color or more pronounced facial features than Naichi-jin's, Colonia Okinawan dekasegi laborers could transpose their "difference" from international (Bolivian) to domestic (Okinawan) "difference," making it more comprehensible and acceptable (Wagatsuma, 1967). Mr. Kabira Yoshiki, a Nisei from Colonia Trés, had been working in the same factory in Tsurumi from 1996. He believed that his coworkers, mostly Japanese and a few South American Nikkeijin, didn't even know he was from Bolivia. He explained: "Unless I tell them that I am [from Bolivia], they wouldn't know. I mean, not that they would care that I am from Bolivia, but I don't really need to tell it. . . . [Suzuki: "So, don't they notice you are not from here?"] No. Okinawans ('*Okinawa no hito*') have an accent ('*namari*') in their [Japanese] language, you know? So if I tell them that I am from Okinawa [Prefecture], they wouldn't think that my Japanese is strange at all."

Curiously, however, Colonia Okinawan dekasegi migrants' attempts to disguise themselves as "domestic" Okinawans did not necessarily translate to their closer associations with other Okinawans at workplaces or in their neighborhoods. Mr. Kabira continued, "I know there are many Okinawan people who live and work around [Nakadori/Ushioda neighborhoods], but we don't hang out with them." Mr. Taira Takeo, a Nisei in Colonia Trés, who had lived and worked in Tsurumi from 1983 to 1995, claimed that "domestic" Okinawans actually had a worse reputation than Colonia Okinawan migrants: "Okinawans often drink too much and talk too loud until late night.

So real estate brokers in Tsurumi often turned down the inquiries from Okinawans. A friend of mine [from Colonia Okinawa] who lived in Tsurumi had warned me that I should not tell them that I am Okinawan. But I had forgotten the advice, so I was turned down by all the agencies. I think these real estate brokers had networks among them. I finally had to use an Okinawan real estate broker to find a place to live. . . . It was later, after many [Nikkei] more South Americans began to move into the neighborhood and began working, pretending to have come from Okinawa [Prefecture] actually helped us."[50]

The advantage of Colonia Okinawan dekasegi laborers' "passing" as Okinawans from Okinawa Prefecture was most apparent when they were compared with other South American Nikkeijin migrants, who were also in the same labor market in construction and manufacturing industries as low-skilled laborers. Many dekasegi returnees in Colonia Okinawa insisted how they were trusted by their Japanese bosses and had little trouble in communication, unlike other South American Nikkeijin. Mr. Tamashiro Mitsuo, who had returned to Colonia Okinawa Dos from Japan in 1997, told me that he had introduced himself as a "domestic" Okinawan to other Japanese at work: "I never voluntarily told others, 'I am from Bolivia,' but always said, 'I am from Okinawa [Prefecture],' when I introduced myself. When you told them that you were from South America, you would 'be ridiculed ('*baka ni sareru*').' Besides, I had learned Japanese at school in Colonia, so I had no problem [communicating with them in Japanese]." Some of them became valuable interpreters between Japanese supervisors and South American

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[50] Tsujimoto (1999:82) also found little interactions between Colonia Okinawan immigrants and "domestic" Okinawans in Tsurumi. He also reported persistent anti-Okinawan discrimination in housing and food service services (1998c:320).

Nikkeijin laborers at their workplaces, who were much less fluent in Japanese than Colonia Okinawans. Mr. Shikema Jun of Colonia Uno, who worked in a factory in Hadano city from 1989 to 1996, proudly said: "I could adjust to the work at the factory fairly smoothly. Only the first three months were hard, but those of us from Bolivia, from Colonia, were well trusted [by Japanese supervisors]. I often translated for dekasegi workers from Peru and Brazil." Mr. Ishigaki Kazuhiro of Colonia Dos, who had worked as a construction laborer in Hiratsuka city from 1987 to 1993, insisted that his supervisor wished he could have stayed there: "Even though I had told the President [of the construction firm] that I wouldn't be able to work for good, he begged me to stay. He even offered partial stipend for his apartment rent, but I knew I couldn't wait any longer." Many other dekasegi returnees told me the similar stories, in which their employers trusted them so much that they pleaded them to stay. Through the approximation of their subject-position to Nihonjin, rather than South American Nikkeijin, through "passing" as Okinawans from Okinawa Prefecture, they gained not only practical benefits in finding jobs and apartments, but also psychological "wage" (c.f. Roediger 1991), a sense of superiority over other South American Nikkeijin migrants in Japan. By "passing," in other words, Colonia Okinawan migrants positioned themselves as *not* being South American Nikkeijin.

However Colonia Okinawans dekasegi migrants stereotyped Nihonjin, Okinawans, or South American Nikkeijin, these narratives of essentializing Self and Others shape their identities and behaviors amidst the oppressive structural socioeconomic forces that constructed them as blue-collar laborers in urban Japan. Their attempts to define and naturalize multiple Others and Self were also efforts to create their freedom and autonomy within dehumanizing labor market and workplace. Moreover, these stereotyped Self and Others expressed by Colonia Okinawan dekasegi migrants and their Naichi-jin Japanese supervisors represent, and account for, their working-class position and limited upward class mobility within Japanese labor market, and partial cultural belonging to the Japanese society. The racial citizenship of Colonia Okinawan migrants in Japan, therefore, was ambivalently manifested in these stereotyped bodies and characters of Others and Self that were circumstantially incorporated into, and displaced from, the cultural and socioeconomic domain of Japanese citizenry.

Conclusion

I have demonstrated how the class differentiation and labor segmentation in Colonia Okinawa and urban Japan were constructed as ethnic divides in both locales. Through the Japanese state interventions in Colonia Okinawa's economic political affairs and the extremely hierarchical industrial structure of construction industry in urban Japan, transnational Okinawans' subject-positions were constituted as affluent and powerful farm owners and blue-collar manual laborers with low job security, income stability, and upward social immobility, in respective locales.

The class-ethnic segmentations of transnational Okinawans in both locales were not only an outcome of structural macroprocess, but produced, reproduced, and challenged through everyday practices at workplaces. At the farm fields of Colonia Okinawa, the division of labor between Colonia Okinawan patrones and non-Nikkei Bolivian trabajadores was normalized, though subtly destabilized, by exploitative and paternalistic labor relations between the two groups. At construction sites in urban Japan, on the other hand, Colonia Okinawan electricians were often engaged in grueling tasks in dangerous and unhealthy environments, while keeping social interactions with other Japanese Naichi-jin workers at minimum.

The racialization processes of these class-ethnic differences between transnational Okinawans and their Others in each locale took place through discourses of stereotyping, which functioned to essentialize and naturalize the complex and heterogeneous socioeconomic conditions of individual subjects. By narrating various stereotypes given to their multiple Others in each locale and, in effect, to themselves, the discourses of stereotype *produced* subject-positions, including their class positions, of transnational Okinawans and their Others in each locale as *both* cause and effect of the essentialized national cultures, or, more precisely, customs, behaviors, and psychological characters, of transnational Okinawans and their Others. The subject-positions of transnational Okinawans as affluent patrones in rural Bolivia and struggling electricians in urban Japan vis-à-vis their Others, such as non-Nikkei Bolivian trabajadores in Colonia Okinawa, political and economic elite in urban Bolivia, Naichi-jin Japanese supervisors and other South American Nikkeijin laborers in urban Japan, are constituted as both reasons and manifestations of their respective class positions

Changing socioeconomic and cultural belongings of transnational Okinawans, formed and transformed within labor market structure and everyday working situations in Colonia Okinawa and urban Japan, therefore, are inscribed in their racialized bodies, essentialized cultural behaviors and psychological characters. In this sense, transnational Okinawans' different forms and degrees of sense of belonging in local and national Bolivian societies, and urban Japan, manifests their partial and ambivalent racial citizenship.

CHAPTER 5: CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS:
NEITHER "JAPANESE" NOR "BOLIVIAN"

When I tried to locate Nisei in Colonia Okinawa who had returned from Japan, I realized that dekasegi labor migration to urban Japan was not the only way that they had "experienced" Japan in the past. Many of them, in fact, had gone to Japan for an extended period of time through a "*kenshū*," or "training," program, offered by JICA or Okinawa Prefecture Government. Despite the program's objective of training Nikkeijin from developing countries, many kenshū returnees said that the training itself was not particularly useful for them after they returned to Bolivia. On the other hand, while I worked as a volunteer Japanese language teacher at the CBJ School in Colonia Okinawa Uno and CNE school in Colonia Okinawa Dos, I was impressed by how many hours the Colonia Okinawan Nisei and Sansei children spent studying Japanese, practicing an Okinawan dance, *Eisa*, and preparing for many community festivals and events, despite the fact that these embodied skills would not necessarily be helpful for their future success in Bolivia. Although there was substantial state and community investment in these institutional practices, both in terms of money and labor, they seemed to have provided little economic incentive for non-Nikkei Bolivians. What, then, are the functions and implications of these cultural institutions that apparently have drawn strong interest from, and active participation by, the transnational Okinawans?

In the previous chapter, I explored how subject-positions of transnational Okinawans are produced in labor markets and actual working situations in both Bolivia and Japan. This chapter turns to another "critical site" where subject formations of transnational Okinawans take place, namely, cultural institutions, such as schools and training programs, through which individuals create, disseminate, and interpret ideas and create selves in the world (Cornell and Hartmann 1998; Geertz 1973; Willis 1977). Specifically, I examine grade schools in Colonia Okinawa, where most Colonia Okinawan Nisei and Sansei children study and socialize, and various training offered to Colonia Okinawans by both state and non-state agencies of Japan. These cultural institutions, I argue, produce Colonia Okinawan' identities and behaviors through methods of disciplining, and constitute their subject-positions vis-à-vis non-Nikkei Bolivians, Japanese Naichi-jin, or Okinawans. State agencies of Japan and the Okinawa Prefecture play a significant role in subject formation of Colonia Okinawans by providing the community not only with funding, but also with human resources to establish and maintain the cultural institutions. Meanwhile, within these institutions, transnational Okinawans themselves actively perform particular moral and behavioral characters that they define as "Japanese," "Bolivian," or "Okinawan" culture. Through this two-way process, I argue that transnational Okinawans' subject-positions are constituted within local and extralocal relations. Finally, subject-positions of Colonia Okinawans produced by the schools and kenshū programs were interpreted and reified in the bodies of transnational Okinawans and their Others, in and through these cultural institutions.

I begin the chapter by outlining the cultural institutions that have strongly affected formations of transnational Okinawans' identities and behaviors. I illustrate the history and organization of the school education in Colonia Okinawa Uno, and how Japanese state and non-state agencies, such as the JICA, the Okinawa Prefecture, and the Catholic and Protestant Churches of Japan, have been closely involved with the education of

Colonia Okinawan children.[51] I also briefly describe various kenshū programs for Colonia Okinawan Nisei and Sansei in Colonia Okinawa, through which they have traveled to Japan and Okinawa. Drawing on my observations of everyday activities in Colonia schools, informal conversations with Colonia Okinawans with regard to education, and the narratives of the returnees from kenshū programs in Japan and Okinawa, I then discuss how transnational Okinawans' embodied differences – either as "Bolivian," "Japanese," or "Okinawan" – from their imagined Others are produced through their everyday practices in these cultural institutions.

School Education in Colonia Okinawa Uno

As part of collaborative efforts to chronicle Colonia Okinawa's social history, Higa (2000), Mori (1998c), and Kasuya (1998) have recorded the history of school education in Colonia Okinawa. In Colonia Okinawa Uno, school education began as early as Okinawans' settlement in the current location of Colonia Okinawa. After several years of informal and voluntary education of Colonia Okinawan children, formal elementary education began in 1958, when the Colonia Uno's farming cooperative built the K-6 grade school in Colonia Uno, which followed the Code of Education (*Código de la Educación Boliviana*) of 1955. During the 1960s, Colonia Uno's formal education was run by Catholic and Protestant churches, which founded two schools, Colegio San Francisco Xavier and Colegio Evangelica Metodista Colonia Okinawa, in the early 1960s. An American Catholic Priest, who had built a San Francisco Javier Church in the centro area in 1959 and begun reaching out to Okinawan settlers, took over the administration of the cooperative-run school in Colonia Uno in 1960. In 1964, the school began formal Japanese education, after the priest invited four Japanese nuns who had teacher's licenses from the *Miyazaki Caritas Shūdojo-kai* (Caritas Sisters of Miyazaki), a Catholic church organization in Miyazaki Prefecture, to teach Colonia Okinawan children in Colonia Uno (Mori 1998c:106). The school taught Spanish classes that followed the Bolivian national curriculum in the morning, and Japanese language classes in the afternoon. As a private school, however, the San Francisco school suffered from financial instability, especially after a flood in 1968 caused an exodus of Colonia Okinawan settlers from Colonia Okinawa. After the Caritas Sisters of Miyazaki ceased to be involved with the school administration in 1970, the Colonia Okinawan students moved to the Methodist school, and the San Francisco school eventually became a public school in 1974, without Japanese classes or teachers.

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[51] To avoid redundancy, I focus on the school education in Colonia Uno, which I was more extensively engaged with during my fieldwork. For school education in Colonia Dos and Trés, see Kasuya (1998). The issues I will discuss, however, are also found in the school for Okinawan children in Colonia Dos and Trés, *Colegio Mixto "Nueva Esperanza"* ("CNE school" hereafter). I will, therefore, draw on some of Kasuya's insights as well as my fieldwork at CNE and Colonia Dos and Trés.

The Methodist school was founded in 1961 by a Japanese pastor of the *Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan* (Christian Association of Japan) who had been preaching among Okinawan women and children in Colonia Uno. As a licensed private K5 school in 1962, a non-Nikkei Bolivian pastor and his wife, who had Bolivian teacher's licenses, taught classes that satisfied the mandatory curriculum for elementary education in Spanish, while the Methodist pastor and his wife taught and managed Japanese language classes. In 1965, as the non-Nikkei Bolivian population increased in Colonia Uno, the Methodist school became a half-private, half-public school, staffed with Bolivian teachers appointed by the government's education ministry, and began to accept non-Nikkei Bolivian students for free admission and tuition. After the Japanese education at the San Francisco school ended, the Methodist school became the only school that Colonia Okinawan settlers' children attended. From the 1970s to 1980s, the rapid increase of non-Nikkei Bolivian students, due to the influx of non-Nikkei Bolivian laborers who worked for Colonia Okinawan patrones, combined with a steady decline of Colonia Okinawan students, due to emigration from Colonia Okinawa dramatically changed, the ratio of Colonia Okinawan and non-Nikkei Bolivian students dramatically changed. This drastic change in the student population ratio created concerns among Colonia Okinawan parents in the 1980s, who witnessed increasing conflicts between their children and their non-Nikkei Bolivian classmates. There were frequent fights between Colonia Okinawan and Bolivian students, and also incidents of theft in classrooms. A Nisei woman, who went to the school in the early 1980s, recalled, "It was so chaotic! I remember that I had to carry around my backpack wherever I went, even when I was playing outside during recesses. If I had left it on my desk or stall in the classroom, somebody would have stolen everything in it!" The Issei parents considered these problems to have been caused by the increase of Bolivian students, and Colonia Okinawan parents feared mixed education

Figure 14: Student Population Ratio at Methodist School

Year	Nikkei (Okinawans)	Non-Nikkei Bolivians
1973	94.7%	5.3%
1978	50.4%	49.6%
1979	39.5%	60.5%
1982	24.3%	75.7%
1983	27.6%	72.4%
1984	26.6%	73.4%
1985	14.6%	85.4%
1986	11.8%	88.2%

(based on Mori 1998c:105)

with Bolivian students was lowering their children's "learning ability (*gakuryoku*)." Meanwhile, with the student population increase, the financial burden for Colonia Okinawan parents to run the school also increased. Colonia Okinawan parents had pooled money to pay the extra compensation for Bolivian teachers and for purchasing and maintaining school equipment, but the non-Nikkei Bolivian students' families were unable or unwilling, to contribute financially to the school, assuming it was their patrones' responsibility to pay for the education of their laborers' children (ibid:109).

In addition, the low quality of rural schools in Bolivia, as reported by Kunimoto (Kunimoto 1986), both in terms of facility and teachers, had been a perennial problem for Colonia Okinawans. Due to the lack of public funding, outdated educational philosophies and methods, and a lack of motivation of the teachers who were placed in poorly equipped and understaffed schools in a rural area, Colonia Okinawan settlers had difficulty attracting and retaining good Bolivian teachers in their school. As teachers' labor conditions and salaries worsened during the hyperinflation of the 1980s, there were frequent strikes that paralyzed the schools in Colonia Okinawa. These education issues generated heated discussions among Issei when a group of Japanese scholars conducted tests in schools in Colonia Okinawa and elite private schools in Santa Cruz de la Sierra in 1982, which revealed that the test scores of Colonia Okinawan students were considerably lower than those of Bolivian students in urban schools (Mitsuhashi 1983). From 1984 to 1986, roundtable discussions were held among Issei and a JICA representative in Colonia Okinawa to address the issue.

The declining "learning ability" of Colonia Okinawan children was, by and large, interpreted by Issei parents as a sign of their children's "downward" assimilation into

Bolivians of a lower socioeconomic class (Mori 1998c:109). At one roundtable discussion on education held in Colonia Okinawa in 1985, members expressed concern about their children's education in a rural Bolivian school:

> Bolivian children in Colonia are mostly dependents of the day laborers for Japanese [Colonia Okinawan] settlers, and they, in a word, belong to the lower class of Bolivia. Children of the settlers are buried within them, and that is why, I think, the decline of their learning performance has taken place. Besides, doesn't the country of Bolivia want Japanese, as bearers of this country's fate, to acquire not only knowledge, but also better personal characters, such as hard work, honesty, seriousness, and trustworthiness? [Nichibo Kyōkai 1985]

Not coincidentally, the same roundtable discussions touched upon the fate of prewar Okinawan and Japanese immigrants in the Braní region. The same report stated: "It is known that there are 3,000-4,000 Nikkeijin living in Riberalta and its vicinity in the region of Braní, but most of them are 'buried' among the lower class [Bolivians]. The reason for this situation is reportedly insufficient education in the past. If Colonia Okinawa leaves the current situation as it is, who can guarantee our community won't become like theirs before [Colonia's] 70th anniversary (Riberalta's Okinawa Prefectural Association was founded 70 years ago)?" (ibid)

The problem was resolved in 1987 by the founding of a new private school, Okinawa Uno Japanese-Bolivian School (*Colegio Particular Mixto Centro Boliviano Japones Okinawa Numero Uno*: CBJ School hereafter), in Colonia Uno for elementary (5years) and intermediate (3years) education, which accommodated not only Colonia Okinawan children, but also children of middle-class non-Nikkei Bolivians who could afford the school's high tuition. The 1985 roundtable discussion stated: "A Nichibo Kyōkai-run private school is desirable. It can accept Bolivian children as long as they can satisfy the independently set private school rules and other conditions, and thereby avoid an anti-Japanese sentiment." By setting the tuition high, Colonia Okinawans were able to prevent their children from learning among the working-class non-Nikkei Bolivian children, and to encourage them to socialize among themselves and with only a select few middle- and upper-class Bolivian children. Conversely, due to deteriorating public school education, some affluent non-Nikkei Bolivian families send their children to the new private school. Moreover, many of those non-Nikkei Bolivian students at CBJ School were, according to Mori (1998c:112), children of CAICO employees, teachers, or step-children of intermarried Colonia Okinawans, who were well exposed to the Nikkei community. Consequently, while the percentage of Colonia Okinawan students of CBJ School has steadily decreased from 1987 (100%) to 1995 (67%) due to the dekasegi emigration of young and middle-aged families with school-age children, it was slowly regained by 2001 (84%). The majority of non-Nikkei Bolivian students were, as Mori reported, the children of the salary earners at Colonia Okinawan community institutions, such as Nichibo Kyōkai and CAICO, retail business owners, and farm owners (Mori 1998c:112). In other words, the students were not farm laborers, or those Colonia Okinawans called genchi-jin, but the local middle- or upper-class Boliviajin, who could afford the relatively expensive school tuition.[52]

In the 2001 school year, there were 76 total students, which included 65 Nikkei students and 11 non-Nikkei Bolivian students. Among the 11 non-Nikkei Bolivian students who attended the parochial Spanish classes, only three attended the Japanese language classes. In the morning, 76 students were divided into five elementary

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[52] In 2000, the school charged $30 a month for the students who attended the morning Spanish classes only, and $50 for those who took both Spanish and Japanese language classes.

("*basico*") grades and three intermediate ("*intermedio*") grades that followed the Bolivian state educational curriculum, taught by twelve non-Nikkei Bolivian teachers and one Colonia Okinawan Nisei teacher. In the afternoon, the 68 students attended Japanese language classes, which were divided into nine levels, from "Special Class" for the those who had little Japanese proficiency, to Class 1 through 8, and were, unlike the morning Spanish classes, based on the students' language skills and proficiency, not on the age of the student. Three Colonia Okinawan Nisei, four Japanese (Naichi-jin), and two Okinawan teachers from Okinawa Prefecture were in charge of the Japanese classes in the afternoon. As with other community affairs in Colonia Okinawa, the JICA has been the most influential state institution in Colonia Okinawa's education. The JICA provided approximately 22 percent of the school's entire revenue in 1997, through direct assistance and Nichibo Kyōkai budget, which was also originally provided by JICA (Okinawa Daiichi Nichibo-kou 1998). Japanese language teaching materials, such as Japanese elementary textbooks, *kanji* (Chinese characters) and *hiragana/katakana* (Japanese alphabets) workbooks, grammar workbooks, a Japanese language teaching manual, various dictionaries and encyclopedias (Japanese dictionary, Spanish-Japanese and Japanese-Spanish dictionaries, English-Japanese dictionary, an antonym dictionary, a "seasonal events" encyclopedia, etc.) were requested through JICA's Japanese Language Teaching Materials Donation Program.

Despite the amount of money and effort put into Japanese language instruction, the CBJ School's primary mission was to teach the Colonia Okinawan students "Japanese" morals and culture *through* language acquisition. Like Québécois nationalists who considered their French language a reflection of "national essence," (Handler

1988:161), instruction of the Japanese language to youth was the Colonia Okinawan community's effort to relate their collective identity with the Japanese language, through which they maintain and increase their "natural resource" and "property" (ibid:167). Therefore, whereas the CBJ School's five educational "objectives" explicitly seek to teach "Japanese" culture and characters to the students, they do not, curiously, mention the acquisition of "Bolivian" customs and values. The school catalogue states: "1. We pursue the coverage of educational requirements set by the Ministry of Education of Bolivia, and the education that non-Nikkei Bolivian population could apprehend; 2. We pursue an education that instills the students with pride and the intellect to live as Nikkei Bolivians; 3. We nourish the students' ability to understand and express proper Japanese; 4. Through the learning of the Japanese language, we enable the students to learn Japanese culture, 'absorb/embody (*'taitoku suru'*)' the good characteristics that Japanese have, and develop as unique human beings with rich personalities; 5. We pursue 'co-living (*'kyōsei'*)', cooperation, and coexistence with [non-Nikkei] Bolivians" (Okinawa Daiichi Nichibo-kou 2001:1). Thus, the Colonia Okinawan students at the CBJ School were, thus, expected to be capable of living with non-Nikkei Bolivians as good "Nikkei" Bolivians with Japanese "culture" and "characteristics" and a command of both Japanese and Spanish languages.

With the diverse teaching staff, the CBJ School functions not merely as a parochial educational institution with "special" Japanese language instruction, but as a critical site for cultural production and reproduction of Colonia Okinawan subjects. In the morning, CBJ students attend classes that satisfy the Education Ministry's requirement, taught by Bolivian teachers. Many of them also taught at other public schools in the village, such as the Methodist school or the San Francisco school in the afternoon, in order to supplement their income, despite the extra compensation they received from the CBJ School. Colonia Okinawan students then attend Japanese classes in the afternoon, taught by Nisei and Japanese (Naichi-jin and Okinawan) teachers. The school has two teachers' offices, one for Japanese class teachers and the other for Spanish class teachers, as well as two principals, one for each set of teachers. As the Japanese school was officially an extracurricular activity for the school, however, the Spanish school's non-Nikkei Bolivian principal officially served as the CBJ School's principal. The Bolivian and Japanese school teachers also split the responsibilities of preparing and participating in major school and community events. The school and community events in 2001 that involved the CBJ students included ("SP" for mainly Bolivian school events, "JP" for mainly Japanese school's events):

- *Día de el Padre* (Father's Day: SP, March)
- Bolivia Japanese Language Association Friendly Sports Match (Sports event among Japanese language schools in the Santa Cruz region: JP, May)
- *Día de la Madre* (Mother's Day: SP/JP, May)
- *Día de Maestro* (the Day of Teachers: SP/JP, June)
- *School Track Meet* (JP, June)
- *Día de Amistad* (the Day of Friendship: SP, July)
- *Día de Patria* (the Independence Day: SP, August)
- *School Marathon* (JP, September)
- *Keiro no Hi* (Respect for Elders Day: JP, September)
- Japanese Speech Contest (JP, October)
- *Felia de Ciencia* (Science Festival: SP, October)
- Nichibo Kyōkai Softball Tournament (JP, November)
- Bolivia Japanese Language Association Speech Contest (JP, November)
- *Obra Teatral* (Theatrical Work: SP, November)
- *Shukuhaku Gakushu* (School Sleepover: JP, November)
- Graduation Ceremony (SP/JP, November)

By participating in the holidays and events based on both Bolivian and Japanese calendars and local communities (both Colonia Okinawa and Nikkei Bolivian community in general), the CBJ School pursues bilingual (Spanish/Japanese) and bicultural (Bolivian/Japanese) education of the students. The school's conceptualizations of the education of "Bolivian" and "Japanese" languages and cultures, combined with "Okinawan" culture, made the school and its activities a crucial site for the subject formations of the Colonia Okinawan students' and their parents'.

Five "Actors" at CBJ

A large number of Japanese class teachers were, as mentioned, outsiders from Japan or Okinawa Prefecture, who temporarily lived in Colonia Okinawa and taught at the school. They were only one sign of the extensive state (and non-state) institutional involvement by the JICA, the Okinawa Prefecture government, and the Methodist Church of Japan, which has continued to support the education of Colonia Okinawans even after the Methodist School became a public school without Japanese language education or staff. In addition to Japanese Naichi-jin teachers, Okinawan teachers from Okinawa Prefecture, and Issei and Nisei Colonia Okinawan teachers, non-Nikkei Bolivian Spanish class teachers and non-Nikkei Bolivian students created complex dynamics within the school. Each of the five "actors" involved at the school in the process had unique functions for the Colonia Okinawan children to forge identities as "good Nikkei" with a distinct Okinawan cultural awareness.

Non-Nikkei Bolivian Students: Source of "Bolivianization ('Boliviajin-ka')"

Despite the largely successful class differentiation of the working-class non-Nikkei Bolivians from Colonia Okinawan children at school, the school staff's eagerness to control the students through various means indicate the Colonia Okinawan community's desire to form their children's identities and bodies differently from what was considered "Bolivian" cultural and psychological characteristics. In their view, Colonia Okinawan children must become good "Japanese" subjects, who are not contaminated by undesirable "Bolivian" characters and behaviors. The education at CBJ School, in other words, tried to cultivate the Colonia Okinawan children as "good Nikkei" subjects, with "Bolivian" identities but "Japanese" mentality and bodily habits.

The ideal of such "good Nikkei" subjects were also reflected upon the CBJ School's rules that list the detailed duties of the students, particularly in regard to their dress, attitudes, and behaviors, and disciplinary measures for those who don't comply them. The rules include:

- Students must write carefully on their notebooks with correct spelling.
- Students must participate in the events that the school plans.
- Students must wear the following designated uniform on required dates:
    - (Male: Navy trousers and white T-shirt with the school logo)
    - (Female: Navy skirt and white T-shirt with the school logo)
- Students must wear white or black sports shoes.
- For cold days, students may wear: Male: Navy or black jacket; Female: Navy or dark-colored jersey.
- Males must keep their hair short.
- Females must cleanly organize their hair, and may use a hair accessory of black or other subdued color.
- Female students must not wear rings, necklaces, bracelets, and other accessories.
- Students must not bring a watch to the school.
- Students must interact with the Principal, teachers, classmates, and friends with respect, sincerity, and love.
- Students must show the same respect to the school staff.

- During the class, students must act carefully and be cooperative with their teachers.
- Students must complete their homework and home study during the appropriate times.
- Students must try to keep the athletic field, flowerbeds, hallways, and classrooms clean.
- Students must take care of school equipment, materials, desks, and chairs.
- Students must not chew gum or eat confectionaries.
- Students must obey and maintain the school's traditions.
- Students must interact with their superiors with appropriate language.
- Students must handle things gently, even if they are others' possessions.
- Students must not put graffiti on desks, chairs, blackboards, or walls, and keep the school organized and clean.

These detailed rules and directions for the CBJ School's students reflected the Colonia Okinawan community's concern for their children, who were in danger of being "Bolivianized." These sentiments were frequently expressed by the Japanese language teachers at the teachers' office. The teachers often frowned upon non-Nikkei Bolivian students for their tardiness and rowdiness. They often brought up episodes that showed how laid back and tardy non-Nikkei Bolivian students were. One Japanese language teacher made fun of a non-Nikkei Bolivian student in his class, who never brought her homework to class, saying that she would bring it "mañana." He later nicknamed her "mañana," and he gave up on her ever being more punctual. That view was shared by other teachers, including Colonia-born Nisei. After a particularly trying class session, a veteran Japanese teacher came back to the teachers' office, and said, sighing, "I wonder why Bolivian kids ('*Boliviajin no ko*') are so chatty! [A non-Nikkei Bolivian student in her class] just couldn't seem to keep quiet. Even Mr. W [a non-Nikkei Bolivian Spanish class teacher at CBJ School] told me that kids these days are lacking respect for their teachers."

The teachers were also concerned with a growing "attitude" problem among the Colonia Okinawan students. At the end of the school year staff meeting, the Japanese class principal expressed her concern: "There is a problem with the kids' attitude. They just can't listen. They can't respond [to their teachers] appropriately. They can't remember things they were told. It is especially noticeable among the upper-level students." Rude manners and undisciplined behavior of the Colonia Okinawan intermedio students were major issues among the CBJ teachers. After the school's annual track meet in June, the teachers had a long meeting to reflect upon the event, and a few teachers criticized some students for chewing gum during the competitions. A Nisei teacher said: "[Chewing gum] has become such a problem, especially among the senior students. I hope the younger students won't copy them." Other teachers then joined in raising their concerns about the students' inappropriate habits. One noticed that some students had begun using hair spray and styling mousse: "We need to make sure that [using hair products] is not permitted during school hours. We must make them wash it off, as soon as we find it.... Also, I find many students whose shirts are not tucked in their pants or skirts. They look so sloppy (*'darashiganai'*) and ugly (*'mittomonai'*). When we find students' shirts untucked, we must make them correct right it away." As the Japanese language teachers took these "problems" very seriously, all the teachers, including the Spanish class teachers, were asked to address these issues in their homeroom classes.

Misbehavior by Colonia Okinawan students in the school was often interpreted as a sign of their "Bolivianization ('*Boliviajin-ka*')," partly because troubles at the school often involved non-Nikkei Bolivian students. While I was working at CBJ as a Japanese class teacher, a group of eighth graders were suspended for two days after they had broken school rules and gone outside of the school campus during their lunch break to fish at a nearby pond. The group included three Colonia Okinawan and two non-Nikkei Bolivian boys, and the teachers were weary of the "bad influence" that the "Bolivian kids" were having on some of the Colonia Okinawan students. A veteran Nisei teacher said, "As [the Colonia Okinawan students] become older, they began to copy (*'mane o suru'*) some bad habits of [their non-Nikkei Bolivian classmates]. It is good that they get along with each other, but not to do bad things together." The presence of non-Nikkei Bolivian students, therefore, was tolerated insofar as their "Bolivian culture" would not influence the Colonia Okinawan students' moral characters and habits, which must be made "Japanese," not "Bolivian." Thanks to the understated discouragement by Japanese class teachers and parents, it was uncommon to find Colonia Okinawan and non-Nikkei Bolivian students developing tight friendships at the school (Kasuya 1998: 126). The Colonia Okinawan students as "good Nikkei," therefore, were formed through the subtle dissuasion of socialization with non-Nikkei Bolivian students, which might lead them to the undesired cultural "Bolivianization."

Spanish Class Teachers: Contradictory Role Model

Non-Nikkei Bolivian teachers of Spanish classes were another group that was assumed to have a strong "Bolivianizing" influence for Colonia Okinawan students, but could not be controlled or punished by the Colonia Okinawa run CBJ administration and Japanese language class teachers. While the CBJ School has two teachers' offices, for Spanish division and Japanese division teachers, respectively, it was extremely rare for non-Nikkei Bolivian teachers to step into the Japanese class teachers' office, or vice versa.

Most Japanese class teachers came to the office around 1PM, after the Spanish class teachers had finished their morning classes and left the school. As an educational institution, however, the school had many public functions and events in which both Japanese and Spanish class teachers had to participate. Through such occasions, non-Nikkei Bolivian teachers represented an ambiguous role model for the Colonia Okinawan students, because they, even as teachers who were expected to command respect from the students, still embodied the problematic "Bolivian" characters and mannerisms that the Japanese class teachers attempted to dissociate the Colonia Okinawan students from.

The Japanese class teachers often expressed their concern with "Bolivianization" of the students by Spanish class teachers. They often complained that the Spanish class teachers were not good role models for the Colonia Okinawan students at public occasions, in which Japanese teachers expect good (i.e., "Japanese") manner of the students. During a Japanese class staff meeting after the school track meet, Mr. Sato, the JICA Senior Volunteer teacher, and Mr. Toguchi, the Okinawa Prefecture Program teacher, pointed out that the Spanish class teachers had been slacking off while the students and the Japanese class teachers were doing a warm-up exercise. Mr. Toguchi, a PE teacher, had instructed the students to briskly move their bodies to the music, but "these (Spanish) teachers were the ones who looked most uninterested and moved dully even in front of the students (laugh)." Mr. Sato agreed, "Maybe we need to teach the Spanish class teachers how to move their bodies to the music properly before the next year's track meet (laugh)." The two teachers, both of whom were temporary instructors at the school, found the improper behavior of the non-Nikkei Bolivian teachers amusing, rather than disturbing, but Nisei teachers, like Mrs. Tomori and Mrs. Yamashiro, didn't seem to find it funny. They responded, frowning, "I know. This sort of things always troubles us [the Japanese class teachers]."

Similarly, after a fieldtrip to Santa Cruz de Sierra in September, Ms. Miyamoto expressed concern about the students' public behavior during the trip. Although one of the trip's objectives was "to learn public manners and how to conduct themselves as a group," she pointed out that some students had wondered off from the group and bought snacks from peddlers on the sidewalk. Ms. Higa, a Nisei teacher, was disturbed by it, too, but she "couldn't say anything to the kids, because the Spanish class teachers [had been] the first ones to go buy snacks from the street stands." Mr. Toguchi, as an outsider from Okinawa Prefecture, scratched his head: "Well, to what extent are we supposed to enforce these rules? I noticed that the kids were constantly eating snacks – in the bus, while visiting sites – I mean, all the time! I was wondering if I should just let go of such behavior as [an indication of] the 'national character ('*okuni-gara*')' of this country." In response, Mrs. Tomori smiled bitterly: "We [Japanese class teachers] know such behaviors are not good, but they [Spanish class teachers] don't think so. There was really nothing we could do about it."

Non-Nikkei Bolivian teachers, however, also embodied the positive aspects of Bolivian customs and habits, such as their allegedly superior physical and manual skills. During an *el Dia de Estudiantes* (the Day of Students) event, in which the teachers show their appreciation to the students, both Japanese and Spanish class teachers were preparing sandwiches for the students. Mrs. Tomori and Mrs. Uehara, Nisei teachers, pointed to a female non-Nikkei Bolivian teacher, who used her palm as a cutting board for slicing a tomato with a knife. Seeing amazement in my facial expression, they said, "People here ('*kocchi no hito*') are very good at using a knife. They cut and peel vegetables with a knife so smoothly." At the same event, the Spanish class teachers also put on very elaborate shows, such as dances, comic acts, and songs, for the students, who immensely enjoyed the attractions. To Mr. Toguchi and me, who were also impressed by their acts, Mrs. Asato said, "They are very good entertainers, aren't they? Whenever there are occasions, they always come up with very good performances." The non-Nikkei Bolivian teachers were also responsible for teaching Colonia Okinawan students Bolivian folk dances, such as *Diablada* of the Oruro region and *Saya* of the La Paz region, and preparing them to demonstrate these dances at some of the school and community events. Their responsibility for the Colonia Okinawan children's education, therefore, encompassed the mandatory academic subjects and embodied and physical Bolivian cultural productions.

Through such behaviors at school events, the Bolivian/Spanish teachers represented the fundamental contradiction in the education of Colonia Okinawan children. The multicultural ideal of the school's education intended to produce "good Nikkei" subjects through successful attainment of "Bolivian/Spanish" intellectual education and "Japanese" cultural education and discipline, which, in turn, intends to make the Colonia Okinawan students successful in a larger Bolivian society after they graduate. The non-Nikkei Bolivian Spanish class teachers, however, embodied the impossibility of accomplishing such multicultural education that prepares the students for the next level: they neither exhibited the strong work ethic and discipline that the school hoped the students will develop, nor the intellectual, rather than manual and practical, skills that they would need to compete in higher education in urban Bolivia. As the teachers were expected to be behavioral, as well as intellectual, role models for their students, Colonia Okinawan students were left with contradictory messages from the Spanish/Bolivian and Japanese class teachers.

Naichi-jin Teachers: Authentic "Japanese"

Japanese language teachers have been the most noticeable Japanese mainlanders, or Naichi-jin, in Colonia Okinawa, and they have embodied the "real" Japanese for the Colonia Okinawans. From 1972 to 1994, a total of 24 Japanese Naichi-jin teachers were sent to Colonia Okinawa in rotating positions to help with Japanese instruction. In addition, the Methodist and Caritas Churches in Japan began placing volunteer Japanese language teachers in the schools in Colonia Okinawa in 1958 and 1964. Ms. Miyamoto, originally from Saitama Prefecture of Japan, who had been the pastor of the Methodist Church in Colonia Okinawa since 1975, became the first principal for the Japanese language program of the CBJ School. She has taught at the CBJ School, and has recruited younger Japanese Naichi-jin volunteers to help in the church and teach Japanese classes at the CBJ School ever since. From 1972, JICA has sent experienced school teachers for two or three-year terms to Nikkei schools in Colonia Okinawa, Colonia San Juan de Yapacaní, and Santa Cruz de la Sierra, to help the Nikkei Japanese language teachers. The program was later renamed the Senior Nikkei Society Senior Volunteer program in 1990. The teachers who are sent to Colonia Okinawa as Senior Volunteers are normally experienced school teachers who had been selected by the JICA headquarters in Japan, spend two years in Colonia Okinawa not only to teach Japanese language classes at the assigned schools, but also to train Japanese language teachers and give them advice regarding school administration. The position description for the 2004-

2006 Senior Volunteer for Colonia Okinawa stated: "The main duties of the Senior [Volunteer] will be training and guidance of the Nikkei Japanese language teachers, advisory of school administration, and instruction of Japanese language and other related subjects to students. Also, [the volunteer] is expected to fulfill an advisory role in social education activities that [Nichibo] Kyōkai has been emphasizing, and the instruction of basic operations of computer software ([Microsoft] Excel, Outlook, Express, etc.) for beginners (including both students and teachers)" (JICA 2003).

JICA's Nikkei Society Youth Volunteer program was a successor to the Overseas Development Youth (*Kaigai Kaihatsu Seinen*) program, which was originally founded in 1985 with an intension of promoting immigration of young Japanese in overseas Nikkei communities located in developing countries, such as Brazil, Bolivia, and Paraguay. From 1995, however, as JICA's philosophy toward its relationship with overseas Nikkei communities changed from the active promotion of Japanese emigration overseas and assistance for their settlement to supporting existing Nikkei communities as part of its "international cooperation" effort (JICA 1998:154), the Nikkei Society Youth Volunteer program has also emphasized the volunteers' service and assistance for Nikkei communities, rather than their eventual settlement as immigrants. During my fieldwork in Colonia Okinawa from 2000 to 2001, Mr. Sato, a retired high school principal from Aichi Prefecture, was the Senior Volunteer teacher for CBJ and CNE schools, and a new Youth Volunteer, Ms. Nakano, from Yokohama, began teaching at CBJ School in March 2001.

What these JICA volunteers and other Naichi-jin teachers were expected to bring to the Colonia education was the authenticity of a "Japanese" education, both in language instruction and the social education of the Colonia Okinawan students and Nisei teachers at the school. Mr. Sato, the Senior Volunteer, was asked to not only teach all Japanese grade classes in the CBJ and CNE schools once a week, but also to participate in weekly staff meetings in both schools. He played the role of technical advisor for the Nisei teachers, and for Nichibo Kyōkai staff, who oversees the school administration, and the community's parents. For instance, he held a workshop for all the CBJ teachers to inform them of current Japanese language teaching curriculum in Japan. He presented the new Instruction Guideline for elementary education in Japan ("*Kyōiku Shidō Yōryō*") to the CBJ School teachers, although the guideline was not enforced in the CBJ School's education. He raised several points about the new guideline that could be used for the CBJ Japanese classes:

- Introduce more in-class discussion
- Introduce calligraphy
- Emphasis on public speech skills: one minute-long speech by each student in the beginning of class
- Student-produced newspapers that report school events and the students' families
- Teach how to write a formal letter

The CBJ teachers took notes diligently, and expressed their agreement with the necessity to improve the school's Japanese education to keep up with the current educational trends in Japan. The same kind of trust put in Naichi-jin regarding Japanese language education by the Nisei teachers was also apparent when I visited the school to ask about the possibility of volunteering at the school. I was surprised how easily and eagerly the Japanese class principal, a Nisei woman, assigned me to teach a Japanese language class, without inquiring if I had experience as a school teacher, much less as a Japanese language instructor. The fact that I was born and raised in Japan, and had completed a college education in Japan, apparently qualified me to take over a Japanese language class as a teacher.

The organization of the afternoon Japanese classes were also modeled after the Japanese public elementary school education, having not only three forty minutes-sessions, but also student clubs homeroom activities ("*gakkyū katsudou*"), students cleaning the classroom and compound at the end of the school day, and student committee activities ("*iinkai katsudou*") and brass band practice for the upper-graders. For Japanese language classes, the teachers used the same "national language ('*kokugo*')" textbooks that are used in Japanese elementary schools.[53] Since the Japanese proficiency of the students was somewhat behind that of Japanese students in Japan, the textbooks the teachers used were also behind by one year (i.e., Japanese fourth grader's textbook for the CBJ's Class 5). These textbooks were relatively new editions, and were obtained through JICA's Japanese Language Teaching Materials Donation Program or donation by the past JICA Volunteer teachers or Okinawa Prefectural Program teachers. In addition to the difficulty of teaching the complicated usage of the three different alphabets used in Japanese, *kanji*, *hiragana*, and *katakana*, and of different expressive forms for the varying degrees of politeness and respect, *keigo*, *teinei-go*, and *futsū-go*, Japanese teachers, such as the JICA Volunteers, Methodist volunteers, and myself, often had difficulty teaching the Colonia Okinawan students cultural and social nuances of the materials in the "national language" textbooks.

It was particularly difficult for teachers to explain to Colonia Okinawan students when and how to use different pronouns in respectful *keigo*, polite *teinei-go*, and neutral *futsū-go*, because Spanish, like English, only has one form of pronouns. Mr. Sato joked about how he had had to get used to the students' speech, in which they interjected the Spanish word "*Yo* (I)" into their Japanese speech. He said:

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[53] In the Special Class for non-Japanese speakers, non-Nikkei Bolivian students, and the children of intermarried parents, a bilingual Nisei teacher used Japanese language instruction materials for the foreigners (Japanese as a second language).

> The Spanish pronoun "yo" has the same sound as the old Japanese first-person pronoun, "yo," which was only used by aristocrats or shoguns in the Middle Ages. So whenever the kids say, "Yo wants to do such and such," I feel like I am being spoken to by the noble people. I feel like I must bow deeply, answer them, "Yes, Sir," and obey whatever they told me to do! (laugh)

While some Japanese teachers like Mr. Sato, who found such "original" mixing of Spanish pronouns in Japanese conversations amusing, Nisei teachers were not happy with the "incorrect" and "improper" Japanese language that the Colonia Okinawan students were using, saying that their Japanese speech with "yo" is "ugly."

The Naichi-jin teachers also influenced the Colonia Okinawan students in more subtle ways, such as in their interpretation of the textbook materials they taught. For instance, I had difficulty in explaining to the students what Japanese *Setsubun* ritual is, in which people throw soybeans from their houses' doorsteps in order to prevent ill fortune from entering their houses. Soybeans, for the Colonia Okinawan students, meant their families' valuable cash products, not to be thrown to ground for superstitious rituals. One student scowled on my explanation, saying, "Why do they do that? That's wasteful!"

Another short story in the textbook depicted a girl and her sick mother who struggled to feed themselves in winter. Although the instructors' guidebook encouraged the teachers to ask students to detect signs of poverty in the detailed depictions of the girl's house in rural Japan, these descriptions failed to convey a sense of the characters' misery to the students. Such images as the "metal-slated roof" (as opposed to the tiled roof) of the family's house, the "thin blanket" the mother had on her, and "a bumpy metal basin" the daughter used to wet a cloth, did not invoke for the students the intended image of a desperate and helpless family. One student insisted that the metal-slated roof was much better than the motacú roofs of many non-Nikkei Bolivians' houses in Colonia Okinawa, and another didn't understand what was wrong with a bumpy metal basin, which she thought was better than the easily breakable plastic basins commonly used in Colonia Okinawa. Of course, the thinness of the mother's blanket didn't particularly inspire a sense of misery for these Colonia Okinawan children who lived in a generally mild climate in the Santa Cruz region. In the end, the students grudgingly accepted that the situations described in the story were signs of poverty and misery "in Japan," simply because it was what the teacher and textbook told them. Through the instruction of the Japanese "national language," which dealt with the themes and topics that were locally specific in Japan, the Japanese Naichi-jin teachers, not Colonia-born Nisei teachers, embodied the authenticity of the Japanese language and culture.

The authenticity of Japanese-ness that Naichi-jin teachers represented also provided a point of reference against which the Colonia Okinawans constructed themselves. Although the dichotomy between "Bolivian (Boliviajin)" and "Japanese (Nihonjin)" was undoubtedly the most fundamental distinction in Colonia Okinawa, and the Colonia Okinawans strongly identified themselves as more "Japanese" than "Bolivian," the presence of Naichi-jin teachers at the CBJ School also encouraged them to construct themselves as different subjects from the "real" Japanese. As Japanese Naichi-jin teachers represented cosmopolitanism, sophistication, and higher education, the Colonia Okinawans who faced them presented themselves as uneducated but tough

"Bolivian" farmers. The new JICA volunteer teachers were often invited to the homes of Issei's who were eager to tell the Naichi-jin newcomers how "wild" their lives in rural Bolivia had been, and treat them with "unique" Bolivian foods, such as grilled crocodile meat. One elderly Issei showed me his old handgun upon my visit and demonstrated how to clean it. He also told me that he often took new JICA volunteer teachers to his farmland, and let them try shooting his handgun and rifle: "They have never shot a gun in their lives, while they lived in a place like Japan, you know? So everybody loved it! That's the kind of things they could do only here."

In contrast to the Colonia Okinawans' self-definition as "wild" and "rural" Bolivians, the Japanese Naichi-jin teachers were considered more suited for organizational and white-collar tasks, and were often expected to contribute to the Colonia community events as staff. For instance, in less than a month after I arrived in Colonia Okinawa in July 2000, Nichibo Kyōkai asked me to serve as an organizing staff member for the Colonia Okinawa Track Meet in that coming August. For the Track Meet, the staff who were assigned to the most important tasks were all outsiders from Japan, such as JICA Youth Volunteers at the schools and hospital, Okinawa Prefectural Program teachers, Methodist Church volunteers, and other Naichi-jin in Colonia Okinawa, such as the former JICA Overseas Development Youth who had eventually settled in the community. As the Colonia Okinawans identified themselves as uneducated farmers, who were unfit for planning detailed logistics, Naichi-jin outsiders, such as Japanese teachers at the CBJ School, were asked to fill the void in the community.

The outcome of this division of roles, however, was an anti-intellectual sentiment among Colonia Okinawans. As Mori observed, the Colonia Okinawan children's academic excellence at school was not highly regarded by their parents, and vocational training in manual skills, such as machine repair and sewing, rather than white-collar skills, was regarded as more valuable (Mori 1998c:114). Mr. Sato, a JICA Senior Volunteer teacher at CBJ, noticed that the people in Colonia Okinawa fundamentally valued physical work over mental labor. With a resigning smile, he said, "When I was asked to hold tutoring sessions for high school students during the [summer] break, some parents were upset, saying that the sessions cost too much. It was similar to the people where I lived in rural Aichi [Prefecture]; the farmers don't value intellectual work much as it only uses one's brain, not his body. They would think, 'Why should anyone be able make money by working in an air-conditioned room?'" Ironically, therefore, through constructions of Naichi-jin as urban intellectuals and Colonia Okinawans as rural physical workers, this anti-intellectual sentiment within the community encouraged Colonia Okinawan children to become more like "Bolivians," who might not be intellectually superb but were skilled manual laborers. Mr. Murayama, a former Japanese class teacher at the CBJ School, said, "One thing I noticed among the young [Colonia Okinawan] people here was that most of them have mechanical skills, such as welding and metal cutting. . . . They are fundamentally good at manual labor that require skills. Perhaps that is why there are many [Colonia Okinawan youths] from [Colonia] Okinawa are working in car repair factories, and the such."

By embodying authenticity and credibility to the CBJ School's Japanese language and administration, Naichi-jin volunteer teachers, who in turn come to Colonia Okinawa every year and continue teaching Japanese language classes for the Colonia Okinawan students and advising Colonia-born teachers, constantly provided a point of reference for the Colonia Okinawan community to measure themselves against the "real" Japan – its language and culture – to recognize their subject-position. While being held as model Japanese subjects to be emulated by the Colonia Okinawans, Naichi-jin teachers also embodied what they fundamentally were not, and what they did not aspire to become: urban intellectuals without manual skills and physical toughness. As they asserted themselves as "different" subjects from the temporary Naichi-jin teachers, the Colonia Okinawans constructed their identities and bodies as more "Bolivian" (i.e., non-intellectual and physical) subjects.

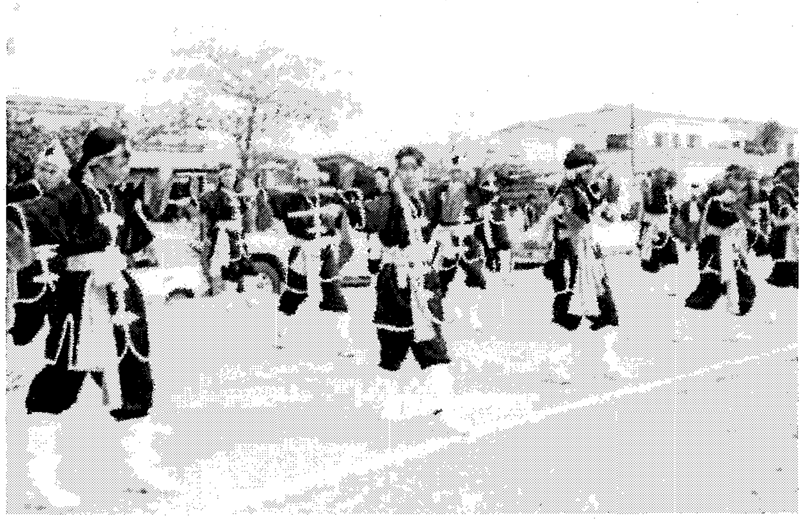
Okinawa Prefectural Program Teachers: Markers of Okinawan Difference

In addition to the Naichi-jin teachers from Japan proper, Okinawa teachers from Okinawa Prefecture added another complexity to the enculturation of the Colonia Okinawans. Highlighting the historical and cultural uniqueness of Okinawans that separates them further from Naichi-jin Japanese, Okinawa Prefectural Program teachers contributed to the production of Colonia Okinawans' identities and bodies not only as "good Nikkei," but also as distinctively Okinawan subjects. The history of Japanese colonialism throughout the prewar era and Okinawa's continuing subordination to Naichi-jin's central government after the reversion in 1972, Okinawans' proclamation of cultural distinctiveness vis-à-vis Naichi-jin, has remained extremely important for the Colonia Okinawans. Okinawa Prefectural volunteers have helped them to teach Okinawan folk cultural practices, such as dance and music, to the children of the immigrant community. Even after JICA replaced the Ryukyu Government for the administrative assistance for Colonia Okinawa, Okinawa Prefecture's Education Ministry has been actively involved in school education in the Colonia. From 1987, sixteen public school teachers from Okinawa Prefecture have been sent to Colonia Okinawa as *Okinawa-kenmin Ijūchi Kyōku Shisetsu Haken Kyōshi* (Teachers for Educational Institutions in Overseas Settlements of Okinawan Immigrants; Okinawa Prefectural Program teachers hereafter).

Although Okinawa Prefectural Program teachers were, by and large, asked to fulfill the same roles that JICA Senior and Youth volunteer teachers did, such as teaching Japanese language, music, and/or physical education classes at the assigned school, and providing administrative advice to school teachers and staff, they were also strongly expected to provide instruction on Okinawan cultural practices, such as Eisa dance and sanshin for the students during their two years of tenure. In the duration of my fieldwork, there were three Okinawan Prefectural Program teachers in the Colonia. Mr. Toguchi, an elementary school teacher from a rural village in Okinawa, taught at the CBJ School. At the CNE school, Mr. Shingaki was replaced by Mr. Kina in March 2001 after Mr. Ishigaki's two-year term ended. As a member of a famous Okinawan traditional dance-and-music performing team back in Okinawa Prefecture, Mr. Toguchi was also a well-trained performer and choreographer of Eisa dance and Ryukyu drum (*Ryukyu Daiko*). During his tenure at CBJ School, therefore, Mr. Toguchi taught the dance upperclassmen, Colonia Okinawa Youth Association members, and the Mothers' Associations of Colonia Okinawa in Colonia Uno and Trés. In addition, the Okinawa Prefectural Program teachers were also expected to take more initiative in organizing and supervising Colonia Okinawa's community events, such as Colonia-wide *Ekiden* race, than other Naichi-jin volunteer teachers, presumably because of their stronger emotional connection with the Okinawan community of Colonia Okinawa at large.

Indeed, the Okinawa Prefectural Program teachers were popular among the students' Nisei or Issei parents and grandparents, especially if they spoke Okinawan language and possessed those psychological and physical attributes that were considered "typical" Okinawan, such as an easygoing attitude, dark skin, loud voice, and generous consumption of alcohol. During my interviews with Issei in Colonia Okinawa, many of them fondly mentioned the Okinawan teachers in the past who spoke to them in Okinawan language, and taught Sanshin to the students. In fact, the Issei elders of Colonia Okinawa might even be disappointed if the Okinawan teachers lacked these qualities. Mr. Oshikawa, a former Okinawa Prefectural Program teacher, told me that he might have been more accepted by the community had he been able to speak Okinawan language fluently and drink alcohol: "I don't drink, and I don't speak *Uchināguchi* (Okinawan language). So, sometimes the parents and grandparents don't seem to know what to do with me (laugh). Mr. Nagamine (another Okinawa Prefectural Program teacher at the CBJ School) can speak Uchināguchi really well, perhaps because he is

Figure 15: Eisa dance by CBJ students



from a rural area, unlike myself. So he gets invitations from grandpas and grandmas here quite often." The expectation of distinct "Okinawan-ness" from the Okinawa Prefectural Program teachers sometimes extended beyond their language skills and drinking habits. When a new Okinawa Prefectural Program teacher arrived the CNE school in March 2001, Mr. Arashiro of Colonia Trés went to the Santa Cruz Airport to pick up him and his family. When I asked him what the new teacher, Mr. Kina, was like, Mr. Arashiro was very happy with what he had seen: "Oh, he is an Okinawan, from whichever angle you look at him ('*Doko kara mite mo Okinawa no hito dayo*')! He talks loud, and dresses so casually – he was wearing sandals, coming out of the gate! (laugh)"

What highlighted the "typical" Okinawan-ness embodied by Okinawa Prefectural Program teachers was not the Bolivian-ness of non-Nikkei Bolivian teachers and students, but the Japanese-ness of Naichi-jin in the community. An Okinawa Prefectural Program teacher, therefore, became another reference point against which the Colonia Okinawans could construct themselves as different subjects from Naichi-jin. For instance, Mr. Toguchi frequently used Okinawan language in front of his students, even if some students might not understand him. When the intermediate Japanese class students were trying to create a short act for the Respect for the Elders Day event, Mr. Toguchi's student came to ask him how to say certain Japanese expressions in Okinawan "dialect." Mr. Toguchi told him the terms, then added, "Well, it is not just a 'dialect ('*hōgen*'),' it is Uchināguchi (Okinawan tongue)," stressing that Okinawan language is not a subordinate and local dialect of the Japanese language, but a unique and autonomous language.

The distinction of Colonia Okinawan Self from Japanese Naichi-jin Others, through Okinawa Prefectural Program teachers sometimes rely upon the teachers'

"Okinawan" authority to affirm negative stereotypes of Naichi-jin. At the welcome party for Mr. Kina, the Okinawa Prefectural Program teacher, a Nisei man in his thirties sat next to me and began accusing me of ignoring him on a previous day when we had passed on the street. I did not recognize him, so I told him that I didn't think I had met him before. The man, being quite drunk already, turned to Mr. Kina, who was sitting near us, and said: "See? *Naichā* (Naichi-jin) are so stuck up and cold ('*kiddote-ite tsumetai-n-dayo*')! They are different from *Uchinā* (Okinawan), don't you think?" He had been to Japan for dekasegi in the past, and had had a difficult time. He believed that he had been turned down when he applied for jobs presumably because of his Okinawan origin. He continued talking to Mr. Kina: "They [Naichi-jin] are all snobs, aren't they? And they don't like Uchinā." The incident not only revealed that Okinawans' mixed feeling towards Naichi-jin, the former colonizer who continued to control the fate of Okinawans, was shared among Colonia Okinawans, but also indicated that those Nisei returnees from dekasegi in Japan, who had experienced economic and social hardship as blue-collar workers under Naichi-jin supervisors, often strengthened their dislike of "cold" Naichi-jin, and reaffirmed their distinctive "Okinawan" difference after they returned to Bolivia.

Okinawa Prefectural Program teachers not only helped the Colonia Okinawan community learn and maintain their distinct cultural heritage through the instruction of traditional music and dance, but also provided the authenticity of "Okinawan-ness" to Colonia Okinawans by personifying "typical" Okinawans, through language, habits, characters, and even physical appearance. Their presence in Colonia Okinawa served as a crucial reminder for the Colonia Okinawans of their distinct "Okinawan-ness" that distinguished them from Naichi-jin subjects, and of their subtle and continuing resistance against the pressure to completely assimilate into Naichi-jin cultural and political hegemony over Okinawans in the past and present.

Nisei Teachers: Ambivalent Mediators

Among the four Nisei teachers at the CBJ School in 2000, two were farmers' wives, one was married to a doctor at the Colonia hospital, and the last was a young Nisei who had graduated from the CBJ School herself. None of them possessed either Bolivian or Japanese teacher's licenses or degrees from Bolivian or Japanese universities. As the outsider Japanese teachers not only outnumbered but also were expected to help and "train" Colonia-born teachers at CBJ School, Nisei Japanese class teachers were placed in an awkward position; as Japanese language teachers, they must enforce the intellectual and cultural education of Colonia Okinawan children to become "good Nikkei" subjects, but they also had to learn from the "authentic" and veteran Japanese teachers from Japan and Okinawa, such as JICA Senior Volunteers and Okinawa Prefectural Program teachers. In addition, they were primary bilingual and bicultural interpreters between these outsider teachers, who commanded little Spanish and were unfamiliar with the Colonia community, and the Bolivian school system and the Colonia Okinawa community at large. As a result, Nisei teachers epitomized ambivalence inherent in "good Nikkei" subjects, and could not claim their authority over the outsiders from Japan or the Colonia Okinawa "insiders," as genuinely "Japanese" or "Bolivian" subjects.

Nisei teachers at the CBJ School received formal Japanese education at the Methodist school or CBJ School in Colonia Okinawa, and became Japanese language teachers because of the community's need, rather than their own choice. Finding enough qualified Japanese teachers remained the biggest challenge for the Colonia schools, because most Colonia-born Nisei had migrated to Japan without earning degrees from Bolivian colleges, much less from Japanese ones. In addition, as white-collar occupations like school teachers were not highly regarded (and were poorly paid) in the Colonia Okinawa community, those positions which were unable to be covered by the outsider teachers from Japan and Okinawa, were filled by those Colonia Okinawan housewives who were fluent in Japanese.[54] Despite their fluent Japanese speech and writing, and many years of teaching Japanese classes at the CBJ School, therefore, these Nisei teachers remained insecure with their language and pedagogical skills. When I first met Mrs. Tomori, the Japanese class principal, I told her that I had not had much experience in Japanese instruction, she dismissed my concern: "Oh, no, please don't worry. We are more or less amateurs, too." When Mrs. Tomori wrote official letters, announcements, or newsletters to send to Nichibo Kyōkai or the students' parents, she asked the teachers from Japan, Mr. Sato, Mr. Toguchi, or Ms. Miyamoto, to double-check what she had written before mailing them out. The Nisei teachers regularly participated in workshops organized by the Japanese Language Education Learning Group in the Region of Santa Cruz (*Santa Kurusu-Shū Nihongo Kyōiku Kenkyū-kai*), which was founded in 1980 to help Japanese class teachers in Colonia Okinawa, Colonia San Juan de Yapacaní, and Santa Cruz de la Sierra, to share their concerns and improve the pedagogy in Japanese language education.

Being at the same time "local" Nisei in Colonia Okinawa but "Japanese" teachers occasionally put them in an awkward position when the outsider Japanese teachers raised questions about school policies. For instance, Mr. Toguchi, an Okinawa Prefectural Program teacher, questioned the schedule for the Nikkei Association's festival in Santa Cruz de la Sierra, in which CBJ students would perform Eisa dances at nine o'clock in the evening. Mrs. Tomori and Mrs. Yamashiro, both Nisei teachers, appeared apologetic, and they explained to him how Bolivian events normally took place:

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[54] The CNE school was in need of Japanese language teachers so seriously that it not only employed me for three months as a replacement teacher, but also asked Mr. Sato, the JICA Senior Volunteer teacher, to recruit two Japanese from his home Prefecture, Aichi, for 2001. Responding to the local newspaper advertisement posted by Mr. Sato, two young women came from Aichi Prefecture in March 2001 to fill the two vacancies in the Japanese classes at the CNE school for the 2001 school year.

> Toguchi: Is there any way that the children [students] could dance earlier in the event and come home sooner? Nine o'clock seems awfully late for school children to participate in an event. Besides, this festival is not officially a school event, either.
>
> Tomori: Events here usually begin very late. When it begins too early on a weekday evening, people can't come because of their work. On the weekends, because people don't have to worry about [going to work] the next day, events also start very late in the evening. So, either way, they tend to be very late.
>
> Toguchi: Normally, in Japan, school doesn't take students out at night, after six o'clock. Never!

On numerous occasions, Mrs. Tomori and other Nisei teachers had to explain to the Japanese outsider teachers the norms of Bolivian education and "customs" of the Colonia Okinawa community, hoping to make them understand the unique role that the CBJ School must play in the community. By acting as cultural interpreters for the outsider Japanese teachers and pushing them to compromise their Japanese ideals, in effect, the Nisei teachers eased the contradiction between the Japanese teachers' missions and the social reality of Colonia Okinawans, and Bolivia in general. In so doing, the Nisei teachers defended the ambiguous goals of Japanese school education in Colonia Okinawa to create "good Nikkei" subjects who possess both Japanese morality and the aptitude to live within Bolivian society.

The ambiguity and contradiction of "good Nikkei" subjects pursued in Colonia Okinawa was also embodied by the Nisei teachers' different attitudes towards "Bolivian" culture on different occasions. As "locals," the Nisei teachers often became defensive when talking with the outsider Japanese teachers about social norms of Bolivia, because, unlike these temporary teachers, the Nisei teachers and students must live as part of the society. At the same time, however, Nisei teachers were also the children of Issei parents, who considered genchi-jin (locals) and Boliviajin dishonest, lazy, and individualistic. As fair and understanding as the Nisei teachers tried to be about non-Nikkei Bolivians, they still exhibited a basic distrust of the non-Nikkei Bolivian population. When Mr. Toguchi told his colleagues that he would plant a mandarin tree in his backyard, Mrs. Tomori, a Nisei teacher, and Ms. Miyamoto, a long-time resident of Colonia Okinawa, eagerly gave him this advice:

> Tomori: You have to think carefully where you plant a fruit-bearing tree. Otherwise, the fruits would be stolen easily.
> Miyamoto: They [non-Nikkei Bolivians] are very smart when it comes to such matters [like stealing].
> Toguchi: T sensei [his predecessor] told me when I met him, "It would have been okay if they had taken only mangos from the trees in my yard, but they also took my laundry from the cloth line." (laugh)
> Miyamoto: And then, once you give them fruit, they would come to you all the time.
> Tomori: (Nodding) They would think that they deserve receiving them.

Mrs. Yamashiro, another Nisei teacher, added that although they often gave non-Nikkei Bolivians on the roadside a ride, "when there are things [in the cargo space], [she] wouldn't give them a ride, because they might steal them."

The Nisei teachers' underlying distrust of non-Nikkei Bolivians and condemnation of non-Nikkei Bolivian students' behaviors, however, did not mean that they were discouraging the Colonia Okinawan students from considering themselves "Bolivian." When a Colonia Okinawan student came to the teachers' office and complained to his homeroom teacher that "some Boliviajin students" were causing trouble, the Nisei teacher chastised him, saying, "Well, you are Boliviajin, too." The objectives of the CBJ School and teachers, therefore, were not to prevent Colonia Okinawan students from identifying themselves as Bolivian, but rather to dissociate them from what they regarded as Bolivian 'cultural' characters and habits, such as tardiness, rudeness, and thefts. Mr. Murayama, a former Nichibo Kyōkai secretary general and a teacher at the CBJ School, summed up the subtle distinctions between simply "being" Bolivian and "culturally" being Bolivian: "Some [outsiders] would criticize that Nikkei residents here unfairly discriminate against [non-Nikkei] Bolivians. But such view is missing the point. If the two groups want to coexist smoothly without causing problems, it is necessary to have some separation between them. If differences between the two groups' cultures results in a crime like theft, simple egalitarianism is not the solution." The Nisei teachers at the CBJ School, too, mediated the Japanese education's ideals and Bolivian society's reality, such as the stark class disparity between haves and have-nots, by manipulating the distinction between simply "being" a member of Bolivian nation and "culturally" being Bolivian, as they faced the volunteer Japanese teachers who embodied 'real' Japanese "being," both culturally and nationally. Nisei teachers' ambiguity in the fact of Japanese teachers from Japan, therefore, was a lucid manifestation of the ambiguous subject formation of Colonia Okinawans as "good Nikkei" subjects.

Disciplining Bodies: Defining "Bolivian," "Japanese," and "Okinawan"

The five different "actors" together contributed to the social processes at the CBJ School, which produces "good Nikkei" subjects through the inculcation of "Japanese" mannerisms and characters onto Colonia Okinawan youth's identities and behaviors, while discouraging "Bolivian" habits and morals. Colonia Okinawan students' variable subject-positions were constituted in various school events and activities that the students participated in. These events and activities, I argue, contribute to subject formation of Colonia Okinawan subjects, who are produced in relation to the particular imagined Others in each setting. I here discuss four events and activities that Colonia Okinawan students at the CBJ School participate in: Japanese language speech contests, school chores, Colonia Okinawa Track Meet, and the Okinawan Eisa dance.

Japanese Language Speech Contests: "Good Nikkei" Grounded in Bolivia

Japanese speech contests in Colonia Okinawa, in which the Colonia Okinawan students wrote and presented essays in Japanese, revealed the community's desire to produce "good Nikkei" subjects out of the students, not only by training the students to write and speak correct Japanese, but also by encouraging them to relate to their everyday experiences within Colonia Okinawa. The School Speech Contest (*Kounai Ohanashi Taikai*) in October was regarded by the Japanese class teachers as one of the key events of the school year. When I met the Japanese class principal in early July 2000, I was told that for classes from July to October, when my term as a substitute teacher would end, the major task would be to make the students prepare for the speech contest in October. All Japanese class students, including the non-Nikkei Bolivian students who were in the Japanese class, wrote, memorized, and presented short essays in front of the parents and

Japanese class teachers, who were also the judges.[55] A winner was chosen from each class, and four of them advanced to the Speech Contest by the Japanese Language Education Learning Committee of Bolivia, (*Boribia Nihongo Kyōiku Kenkyū Iinkai*, or *Bo-Nikken*) in November, as did the winners of similar contests in the CNE school, San Juan Gakuen (a Nikkei school in Colonia San Juan de Yapacaní), Santa Cruz Japanese School, and La Paz Japanese School. The judges for the Bo-Nikken Speech Contest were the three JICA Senior Volunteer teachers in Colonia Okinawa, Colonia San Juan, and Santa Cruz de la Sierra, respectively, a representative from the JICA regional office in Santa Cruz de la Sierra, a representative from Nikkei community in La Paz, and the Bo-Nikken advisor.

As the school contest approached, the students had to used class time to write short essays (length requirements differed per grade), edit the essays, memorize them, and practice presenting them clearly in front of an audience. For the School Speech Contest, the teachers were asked to judge each student's speech according to the three general criteria:

1. Expressive Ability (Does student speak in correct Japanese with proper intonations)?
    - Is the student's pronunciation correct?
    - Does the student's voice carry well to the audience?
2. Contents
    - Does the essay's content reflect its title?
    - Does the essay include the student's personal experience and opinion?
3. Attitudes
    - Is the student dressed properly and does s/he stand with good posture?
    - Does the student enter and exit the podium in a proper manner and bow correctly?

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[55] Due to the limited writing skills, the students of Special Class also had a choice of reading a short essay from their textbook.

Thanks to the suggestions of Mr. Sato, a JICA Senior Volunteer teacher, the teachers decided to drop some criteria, such as dress and bowing, from the judging the essays, because he thought these were irrelevant to the quality of speeches. As for the contents, Mr. Sato added, “From what I have heard, students who have made speeches that say things like, ‘I want to make Colonia a better place,’ were judged more favorably by judges from JICA and the General Consulate, and such, but I don’t think that it is meaningful. We should emphasize that the children’s essays must be drawn from their own experiences.”

At the contest, the speeches began with the students of the Special Class, and ended with the speeches by the Class 8 students. The subjects of the essays varied considerably, such as “I want to become a cartoonist,” in which a fourth grader presented her future plan; “The theater I produced,” a recollection by an eighth grader who had written a script for, and directed, a sketch for the Respect for the Elders Day event. Some students struggled to remember their essays and stumbled, but most carried out their presentations well. What interested me was the difficulty that the CBJ teachers, especially Colonia Okinawan Nisei teachers, had with evaluating and grading the students’ essays. In the staff meeting after the contest, the Nisei teachers revealed how sorry they had felt for those children who hadn’t won the contest. Mrs. Uehara said, “Probably we should grade ‘attitudes,’ but I think it is wrong to evaluate the essay presentations with points. I know some of my class’s students were unhappy that only one of their classmates had won and received a prize [a pencil and a notebook]. They were at different levels, so we should take their efforts into consideration.” Mrs. Tomori agreed: “If we consider each student’s unique personality, level [of fluency], and process of preparation for the presentation, I think it is insensitive to grade their speeches with points." Against the Japanese volunteer teachers' suggestions that the contest should emphasize points and award the quality of the students' work rather than their attitudes and demeanors, the Nisei teachers were very reluctant to judge the students' actual abilities, whereas they were more willing to reward the students' efforts prior to the contest and their attitudes during the speeches. Because the Colonia Okinawan Nisei teachers, themselves, knew how difficult it is to write and memorize essays in Japanese, and speak Japanese in public, they were more concerned with nurturing the students' work ethic and attitudes than with their actual intellectual and linguistic skills.

The judging criteria for the Bo-Nikken Speech Contest in November, held in Colonia Dos, was further detailed, and it was more concerned with how "Japanese-like" and "natural" the contestant's Japanese was, and how "appropriate" for their essays were for their personalities and ages. The theme for the contest was "lives and experiences [of the contestants]," so the judging criteria emphasized how grounded the contestants' essays were in their everyday experience:

- Content
    - Whether the content of speech matched the theme
    - Whether the content fitted the student's age
    - Whether the content reflected the student's own experiences
- Phonetic Expression of the Japanese Language
    - Whether the student's speech was natural and suitable for his/her age
    - Whether Japanese-like pronunciation and tempo had been absorbed into their bodies (*'mini tsuite iru'*)
    - Whether the student spoke with high-low accents, rather than strong-weak accents (his/her accent was Japanese-like)
    - Whether the student spoke at an appropriate pace
    - The speech style that enhanced the student's personality (enhanced his/her uniqueness)
    - The emphasis of judgment will be on the general tone of speech, but it is not recommendable to lose words or misspeak very obviously.

- Japanese Expressions (word usages and grammar)
    - Whether the word usage was proper (A student may use Spanish when necessary, such as geographical names, product names, and personal names)
    - Whether the essay's structure was appropriate
    - Correct grammar
- Attitudes
    - Natural attitudes, without being too stiff
    - Where the student's eyes were looking during the speech
    - The correct way of bowing, entering, and exiting
    - A speaker may use natural gestures (but it is not good if they are overly dramatic)

The winners of the Bo-Nikken contest were those who presented their experiences with concrete details, mentioning their family members or friends, not the speeches that dealt with more abstract subjects, such as "What is Beauty?" and "For Making a Better Society." The contestants' lucidity in writing and speaking was, by and large, extremely good, as they had already won the school competitions. As Mr. Sato explained in his overall review during the closing ceremony, the judges evaluated the speeches by considering, "how much the speeches were rooted in the speakers' own life experiences" and "how natural ('*shizen*') and childlike ('*kodomo rashii*')" the students' speeches were, rather than the contestants' phonetic, grammatical, and technical abilities to speak "like Japanese."

Despite these detailed evaluation criteria, the aspect of competition was strongly detested by Colonia Okinawan students, Nisei teachers, and the students' parents. At the staff meeting before the contest, a Nisei teacher raised a concern that some of students would be too discouraged if only two of each class receive a prize, because "everybody is trying hard." The teachers eventually decided to give a "participation prize ('*sanka shou*')" for all the students, although the participation to the competition was mandatory for all the Japanese class students. Even with the participation prize, there was resentment and uneasiness among the students and Nisei teachers after the contest. Mrs. Uehara, a Nisei teacher, represented the students' disappointment: "Some of my class' students complained and were even teary with anger, when [two students of the class] were given the prizes. They said it was 'unfair ('*zurui*')' only one got the first prize. They all had worked hard, you know? . . . There were other students who had made as much effort as the winners, so if only one [actually two, the first and second places] received a prize, their effort went unrewarded." Mrs. Tomori, another Nisei teacher, agreed, "I think it is insensitive and wrong to enumerate their essays. The students have different characters and levels [of proficiency in Japanese], and went through different processes before the contest, we have to take their effort into consideration." An anonymous teacher also suggested on the evaluation sheet, "Why don't we eliminate individual prizes [for the next year], and reward everybody with participation prizes only? In the Speech Contest, we should teach them what is important and change their mentality. They must not work hard only to get a prize." With regard to Japanese language education, the mastery of the language by students had only a secondary importance to the fact that Colonia Okinawan students were "working hard" and "making effort." Rewarding those who accomplished the secondary goal of the Japanese language education over those who achieved the primary objective, therefore, was considered "unfair" and "insensitive."

When possible, the teachers do manipulate the evaluation method in order to be "fair" and "sensitive" to the students. Mr. Sato, a JICA Senior Volunteer teacher and a judge for the Bo-Nikken Japanese Speech Contest, reported what had been discussed among the judges for the year's Bo-Nikken Speech Contest to other teachers, "Until the last year's contest, the judges have manipulated the final points of the contestants, so that all schools [that had sent the students to the contest] would receive the prizes evenly. I told them that as long as the event's title is a 'contest ('*taikai*'),' rather than an 'exhibition ('*happyō-kai*'),' it is a competition.[56] It seemed that there was concern among the contestants' parents that it would be too harsh to not give any award to the kids who worked on their essays so hard." Among the community residents, therefore, there was a strong sentiment that with regard to Japanese language education, effort to learn the language must be more commended than actual command of it, and that the competition among Colonia Okinawan youth in the writing and speaking abilities should be discouraged.

Through the annual speech contests, therefore, the Colonia Okinawan students were trained to develop not so much their writing and public speaking skills in Japanese, as their ability to relate to, and express, their life experiences in Colonia Okinawa in a "natural (i.e., childlike)" manner in Japanese. Moreover, Nisei teachers saw the event as a chance to develop the students' work ethic and encourage them to make an effort when facing difficult tasks, rather than to judge and criticize their intellectual skills in writing and speaking in correct Japanese. The contests, in short, served as a means to train the Colonia Okinawan children's morals and behaviors, and to ground their identities in their everyday experiences in Colonia Okinawa.

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[56] In fact, "*taikai*" does not necessarily mean a "competition," but Mr. Sato tried to highlight the difference between the pursuit of excellence in writing and speaking in Japanese by the contestants from a mere presentation of their writings.

Colonia Okinawa Track Meet: Competitiveness as Okinawan Spirit

While at the Japanese Speech Contest, the Colonia Okinawan students were rewarded for their effort, not for their performance and achievement, they were encouraged to fiercely compete in the Colonia Okinawa Track Meet. The annual event was considered the biggest of all community events of Colonia Okinawa, and the competition was taken very seriously by the participants. The Track Meet consisted of a wide variety of track races, such as short- and long-distance relays, long-distance races, sprints, and three-legged races, with different age groups (elementary school, intermediate school, youth, middle-aged, seniors, etc.) and sexes. Almost all competitions were track races, ranging from 100m sprint to 1,500m distance race, with a wide variety of formats. The five teams, Colonia Uno A, Colonia Uno B, Colonia Dos, Colonia Trés, and Okinawa Prefectural Association of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, participate in the Track Meet, and three Colonias in turn host the event. Each team selected an athlete for each race, and the teams competed with total points earned by individual contestants, who gained points according to their places. Although the event was principally organized and run by the outsider Japanese, such as JICA Volunteers and Okinawa Prefectural Program teachers, each team selected a captain and rigorously trained their team members before the track meet. Many Colonia Okinawans, however, said that because of the decreasing youth population due to dekasegi emigration to Japan from the 1980s, the intensity of the competition had declined. Many Colonia Okinawans recalled that the athletes and drunken spectators had been involved in brawls, and had verbally attacked the referees and staff over the rulings on the races.

Strong communal solidarity within each Colonia (Uno, Dos, and Trés), and rivalry and jealousy between the Colonias over various administrative and economic matters, were clearly factors for the intensive competitiveness at the track meet.[57] In 2000, which I helped as a staff, there was an uneasy occasion in which the male captains of two different teams furiously charged at the referees and the event organizer, the Okinawa Prefectural Program teacher at the CNE school, for a controversial call during the baton relay race.

At the staff meeting after the event, which included all the staff as well as representatives from all the teams, Mr. Shingaki, an Okinawa Prefectural Program teacher at the CNE school and the chief event organizer, questioned the format and nature of this event. Mr. Shingaki pointed out the competitive imbalance between the three Colonias due to the different population sizes, and suggested downsizing the event: "Should we reduce the number of competitions? I think the issue also involves a more fundamental issue: Is the track meet a recreational event for friendship among Colonia Okinawans, or a serious competition (*'kyōgi-kai'*)?" Mr. Higa Julio, the Okinawa Uno District Leader, responded, "I think we must maintain the track meet as a competitive event. If we make its objective mere recreation, I am worried that the athletes would lose motivation." Mr. Asato Toshiya, the team captain for Okinawa Uno A, agreed: "The track meet should basically retain the form of competition. [Because the event is competitive,] children can receive disciplines from the community's adults that they cannot receive at the school, through after-school practices [run by the volunteer parents from Colonia Uno]. However, if it becomes impossible [to have a fair competition] because of the depopulation, then we will need to gradually change the program of the event." Finally, the Nichibo Kyōkai President, who was a Colonia Trés resident, claimed that the competitiveness gave value to the Colonia-wide track meet, as it was lacking in the schools':

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[57] For instance, there was resentment among Colonia Uno residents regarding Nichibo Kyōkai's policy to distribute equal amount of money to the three Colonias as community activity budget, despite Colonia Uno's much larger population than the other two. On the other hand, the residents of Colonia Dos and Trés were still bitter that the Nichibo Kyōkai and CAICO headquarters were located in Colonia Uno, and that CBJ School was also built in Colonia Uno, after much debate between Colonia Uno and Dos as to where they should build the integrated private school. Colonia Dos claimed that the school should be in the geographical center of the entire Colonia Okinawa, while Colonia Uno insisted that it was more reasonable to have the integrated school in the administrative, economic, and demographic center (Mori 1998b:98, 1998c:111).

> Insistence on competition creates unity among Okinawans ('*Okinawa-jin*'). We can assign the recreational function to the schools' track meets, and serious competitiveness to the Colonia Okinawa Track Meet. Our frontier spirit ('*kaitaku seishin*') was fostered by the disciplining our spirit ('*seishin no tanren*') and by winning ('*katsu koto*').

The Colonia Track Meet, thus, would remain as a competitive event. What was highlighted in front of a number Japanese outsiders during these discussions was the Colonia Okinawans' affirmation of physical competitiveness, vis-à-vis Japanese Naichi-jin, who were stereotyped by Colonia Okinawans as intellectual (not physical) but complacent (not competitive). The track meet, unlike the Japanese Speech Contest, encouraged Colonia Okinawan youth to cultivate their competitiveness and winning attitudes. It demonstrates the prime importance of bodily strength and excellence in physical competitions, which was perceived by the community as an important aspect of Colonia Okinawan subjects.

School Choirs: Anti-Bolivianization

Another means of disciplining Colonia Okinawan students' bodies and minds was the enforcement of school chores by students. Every afternoon, after the third class, Japanese class students cleaned the classrooms, hallways, and bathrooms. After the cleaning was finished, the teachers went to their respective homeroom classroom to check for cleanliness before permitting the students to go home. During the staff meetings by the Japanese class teachers, the cleanliness (or, more likely, lack thereof) of the classrooms was a subject of frequent discussions, and the teachers were quite resentful about the students' lack of interest in keeping their school clean and tidy. At one staff meeting, the Class 5 teacher sighed and said, "My students seem to be learning bad habits from their upperclassmen. They are increasingly incapable of doing 'fundamental things (*'kihon-teki na koto'*),' such as cleaning."

The teachers were apparently concerned about the students' disinterest in cleaning, and their general unwillingness to do menial tasks, as an evident sign of "Bolivianization." In this case, "Bolivian" was referred not so much to behaviors of working-class genchi-jin laborers, as to these of upper-class hakujin farm owners, who employ farm laborers and domestic workers to do menial tasks around their houses. "Bolivian-ness" expressed in two contradictory stereotypes, therefore, indicates Colonia Okinawans' resistance to "culturally" belong to Bolivian society, as either blue-collar laborers or as wealthy patrones. Although the school was founded with an intension to limit Colonia Okinawan children's contact with the children of working-class genchi-jin laborers and encourage their socialization with the children of upper-class hakujin farm owners, Nisei teachers did not want the Colonia Okinawan children to learn the "cultural" behaviors and mentalities of hakujin patrones. During the year-end staff meeting, many teachers raised concerns that the students did not take cleaning and other school chores seriously:

Seki: It seems like they can't manage most basic tasks like cleaning.
Tomori: (Nodding in agreement) It's even worse for the upper-graders.
Yamashiro: I wonder if they even clean their rooms at home.
Miyamoto: I don't think they are doing it. Their *empleadas* (employees, housemaids) are cleaning their rooms.

The Okinawa Prefectural Program teachers also noticed a similar attitude among the students during their short stints in Colonia Okinawa. Mr. Uezu, an Okinawa Prefectural Program teacher at CNE school, was impressed by the enthusiasm and curiosity of his students, but disappointed with their lack of discipline. He said: "They are all good kids, and I love teaching them, but they haven't attached self-disciplines onto their bodies ('*kiritsu ga mini tsuite inai*'). I wonder if they have been 'Bolivianized ('*Boliviajin-ka*'),' as they don't do school chores, like cleaning, seriously. Their parents were not interested in it, either."

Mandatory chores at the school for the Colonia Okinawan students, therefore, were considered an effective means of preventing them from becoming 'Bolivianized.' In 1989, an Okinawa Prefectural Program teacher who was about to leave the CNE school left the report, describing how he had tried to change the Colonia Okinawan students' "little patrones attitudes" through creating a new school chore. He reflected on his effort:

> From the [Colonia Okinawan] children's behavior and comments, I noticed that they were little patrones ('*chīsana patoron*') from the moment of their birth. Realizing the necessity of giving them work experience and a warning against the use of pesticide, I created a school garden, with the help of PTA. By growing organic vegetables (without pesticide) and flowers, I intended to enrich their minds though appreciation of materials around them, nurturance of a cooperative spirit, joy of working, and a sense of responsibility. The work-learning still continues today, with the collaboration among the students and teachers. [Shimabukuro 1989]

A similar effort was made at the CBJ School. Each Japanese homeroom class (from levels one to eight) owned its own garden, and was responsible for planting and growing flowers. The classroom cleaning included watering of the class' garden, and the extracurricular activity time was occasionally used for gardening, such as weeding and thinning out overgrown plants. For the preparation of school events, the intermediate school students were expected to actively help the teachers clean Colonia Uno's community auditorium and the school's music classroom, carry the heavy long benches and tables, and decorate for events. It was not uncommon for the teachers to cancel Japanese classes by their own volition, and use the time to prepare for community or school events, such as the Respect for Elders Day and Mother's Day, and were never reprimanded for it. Moreover, the students' parents seemed to encourage the Japanese class teachers to make them do physical work, and, if the students were slacking off, use corporal punishment on them. When I met my homeroom students' parents, they often asked me about their children's behavior at the school. One of my homeroom students' father, albeit jokingly, said to me: "*Sensei* (teacher), is my kid behaving well at the school? If she is misbehaving or not doing her assignments, please feel free to hit her ('*tataite kudasai-ne*')!"

As the actual instruction of Japanese grammar, writing, and reading skills was not given the highest priority even in the Japanese classes of the CBJ School, therefore, it was not surprising that many parents showed little interest in the academic performance of their children in the Japanese classes. The major complaints that the Japanese class teachers received from the parents were, according to the principal, that their children had to do "too much homework" and there were occasional "grading mistakes by the teachers," instead of their children's struggling test scores or lack of improvement in writing. At the end of each semester, the Japanese class teachers handed out report cards to parents at open class sessions. Very few parents, however, actually showed up for the open sessions, and many would never inquire as to how their children had done in their Japanese classes. The teachers were somewhat disappointed by the parents' lack of enthusiasm in Japanese language education, but they understood that their major expectations for the Japanese classes at the CBJ School were to provide discipline and cultural education for the students, rather than to teach them correct usage of Japanese prepositions and articles. The main objective of "learning" Japanese at the school was, in other words, the cultivation of their morals and behaviors, rather than the development of intellectual capacities.

"Okinawan Blood": Eisa Dancing Bodies

Despite the fact that the Okinawa Prefectural Program teachers in the past had taught Eisa dances, Mr. Toguchi told me, to my surprise, that he had been disappointed by how "little" Colonia Okinawa had retained "Okinawan culture."[58] Since Okinawa had been witnessing "a cultural revival" in recent years (Hein 2001: 33), Mr. Toguchi was eager to spread the folk arts in Okinawa, such as popular Eisa dance and *shimadaiko* (Okinawan drum), to the people in Colonia, and thereby instill 'Okinawan' pride among the youth of Colonia Okinawa.

For major school and community festivals, such as the School Track Meet in June and the Okinawa Harvest Festival in July, he conducted a number of Eisa dance practice sessions for CBJ students, the Colonia Youth Association, and the Colonia Mothers Association. He also chose two intermediate school students, and intensively trained them to perform *Shishi-Mai*, or the Dancing Lion (Lion Dance), a popular trickster figure that performs acrobatics alongside the Eisa dancers and drum lines. Only eight months after his arrival in Colonia, he had trained Youth Association members and the CBJ students well enough to establish a Bolivian chapter of the Okinawan dance and drum performance team, to which he served as an international coordinator. Eisa was originally performed during the *bon* period (the occasion in summer when people remember and honor the souls of their dead relatives), and each village of the islands of Okinawa has its own version of Eisa dance and music. Every summer, villagers dance and sing for a day-and-a-night-long celebration. Mr. Toguchi's performance team incorporated various moves of karate (which was also born in Okinawa) to the dance, and became extremely popular among youth in Okinawa Prefecture, mainland Japan, and abroad.[59]

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[58] The Okinawa Prefectural Program teachers had had some teaching experience in teaching Eisa, because the dance is widely incorporated in physical education in Okinawa Prefecture's public schools today.

The Colonia Okinawa community had responded enthusiastically to Eisa and shimadaiko lessons for the teenagers, helping Mr. Yonamine by purchasing a new set of drums with locally available materials and by sending their children to the evening practices when they were back from high schools in the cities. Issei and Nisei parents of CBJ and high school students were happy to see their children participating in the dance team, not only because they would carry on Okinawan folk traditions through the performing arts, but also because the children, who often had little to do while they were back in Colonia Okinawa during the school breaks, had an opportunity to invest their energy in something positive. As an Issei parent, who had a teenager son in the performance group, told me: "I am glad that Mr. Toguchi began [the Youth Association's Eisa lessons]. It is great that [my son] became so passionate about something, instead of just riding a motorbike around. [Colonia Okinawan teenagers] need something to stay out of trouble, you know?" Indeed, high intensity and energy filled the Youth Association building in Colonia Uno, where some twenty high school and intermediate school students participated in dance and drum training by Mr. Toguchi. The training was physically demanding: the shimadaiko drums that boys strapped on their bodies were very heavy, and the dance's karate-like movements were fast and acrobatic. Mr. Toguchi himself was aware of how Eisa dancing helped to provide structure and guidance for many youth. He recalled, "In Okinawa, too, many of those who joined [the performance team] used to be rascals ('*furyō*'). Oftentimes, those kids just don't know what to do with their overwhelming energy, and end up becoming members of motorbike gangs ('*bōsōzoku*') or something. Eisa is one means to provide them with an opportunity to get excited about something, and get some disciplines through practice."

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[59] It has chapters in the US (Los Angels, Hawaii), Australia, Argentina, Brazil, and Peru, where a large number of Okinawan diasporas reside.

Through the instruction of Eisa, therefore, the Colonia Okinawa community encouraged their children not only to inherit a cultural practice of their ancestral land and to enhance the embodied cultural distinctiveness that separated them from Naichi-jin Japanese, but also to prevent them from "Bolivianization," which was seen as delinquency and laziness. Meanwhile, the essentialized Okinawan culture was projected upon these Colonia Okinawan youth's bodies as they performed Eisa. After teaching the CBJ students "Okinawan traditional culture," such as Eisa and stick fighting, a former Okinawa Prefectural Program teacher was overwhelmed by their performance, because he had felt that "the Okinawan blood ('*Uchinānchu no chi*')" in their bodies showed through in their performance (Okinawa Daiichi Nichibo-kou 2000). By instilling the stylized physical movements into the bodies of Colonia Okinawan youth through intensive practices, the instruction of Okinawan traditional performing arts, such as Eisa dance and shimadaiko music/dance by Okinawa Prefectural Program teachers shaped the children's bodies into distinct "Okinawan" subjects, and thereby differentiated them from either mere "Bolivian" or "Japanese/Nikkei" subjects.

Through the institutional means of making the Colonia Okinawan students "instill disciplines in their bodies ('*kiritsu o mi ni tsukeru*')," such as Japanese language speech contests and daily school chores, the presence of Japanese class teachers and the Okinawa Prefectural Program teachers in the community, sought to discipline the minds and bodies of the Colonia Okinawan students as "good Nikkei" – hardworking (and, thus, "un-Bolivian") – subjects. The instruction of physical and performative arts, like Okinawan Eisa dances and Shishi-mai performance, on the other hand, along with Okinawa Prefectural Program teachers at the Colonia schools, were inscribing the cultural distinctiveness of Okinawans into the Colonia Okinawan youth's bodies, and refusing to merely assimilate their minds and bodies into generic "Japanese." The particularities of Colonia Okinawan youth's self-understanding and behaviors, in short, were the products of complex productive processes that took place in their educational institutions.

Gendered Implications of Education

Although the Japanese language education was provided to both male and female Colonia Okinawan children, there were clearly different implications for the two groups. As I noted earlier, the all four Colonia Okinawan Nisei teachers at the Japanese language class of CBJ School were women. When I introduced myself to the CBJ's Japanese language school's principal upon my arrival to Colonia Okinawa, the first thing she said was how glad she was to "have a male teacher" on board, rather than inquiring into my educational background or if I had teaching experience. When I asked why there weren't more Nisei men teaching at the school, Mr. Ota Takashi, a rare Issei man who had taught at Japanese school, said, "Well, we [Okinawan men] came [immigrated] here for farming. So, we are not interested in salaried work very much. Besides, it is kind of miserable to be a salary earner, while your friends are all farmers and talking about their crops and such." While farming work was assigned with physical toughness (despite the fact that most day-to-day work was assigned to their non-Nikkei Bolivian employees) that was considered uniquely masculine task, education, and Japanese language education in particular, was regarded as distinctively feminine roles for their intellectual nature.

The feminization of school education, especially Japanese language education, produced female and male Colonia Okinawan subjects differently at the CBJ School. From first to eighth grades, female students generally showed better academic performance at both Spanish and Japanese classes. When the students with the best grades in Spanish and Japanese language schools were honored at the graduation ceremony in December 2000, female students nearly swept (all but two grades) the honors. The achievement gap between female and male students was more pronounced in Japanese language classes. One of the goals of CBJ School's Japanese education was to help the students pass the Level 2 exam of the Japanese Language Proficiency Examination (*Nihon-go Nōryoku Kentei Shiken*), with which the Japan Foundation (a governmental foundation that promotes Japan studies overseas) certified non-Japanese native speakers' level of proficiency in the Japanese language. Students of Japanese language classes from Class 4 to 8, took the exam, expecting to pass the Level 4, 3, and eventually, 2 (Level 1 is the highest) exam, before graduating from the school. When the CBJ School had a mock exam, the average scores of male and female students for each grades showed a noticeable gap between them. Among those students who took the mock Level 2 exam, the average score of male students were 232 out of possible 400 points, while female students scored 241 on average (Okinawa Daiichi Nichibo Gakkou 2000). Male and female students' different comfort levels with Japanese language were also apparent in casual conversations. While Colonia Okinawan girls at the school were chatting mostly in Japanese with a few Spanish terms, boys, especially upper-graders, talked mostly in Spanish, throwing in a few Japanese words in the conversation.

The difference in their proficiency in Japanese also created gendered division of their socializing activities outside the school. When I asked why girls at the school seemed to be far better at speaking in Japanese than boys, Mr. Nakamura Hitoshi, an Issei, said, "Well, girls normally stay at home, and played with their [Colonia Okinawan] friends who came over, or read Japanese books. But boys were playing outside, often with [non-Nikkei] Bolivian kids. . . . When they enter high school in Santa Cruz, they stop using Japanese. I mean they can still speak, but they are no longer comfortable with it. Girls keep using it, though." Indeed, I occasionally saw the Colonia Okinawan boys play football (soccer) with non-Nikkei Bolivian boys at the plaza of Colonia Uno. A few of them were even members of local youth club teams that had predominantly non-Nikkei players. In contrast, with a few exceptions, Colonia Okinawan girls tended to be more indoor-oriented, and played with their Colonia Okinawan female friends or read

Japanese books, including very popular comic books, which they borrowed from the school library. The Colonia Okinawan boys' aspiration to be respected by non-Nikkei Bolivians led them to use less Japanese and more Spanish, as they begin to see using Japanese language as a "feminine" behavior. Mrs. Yonamine Keiko, a Nisei mother, who had a son who attended the CBJ School, agreed, "Boys begin to hate the Japanese [language] when the Japanese language classes begin to deal with difficult materials. Even if a boy likes reading Japanese books when he is a first- or second-grader, he would no longer like Japanese when he becomes a fifth- or sixth-grader. Also, when they grow older, other [non-Nikkei] Bolivian kids [in the village] begin to make fun of [the Colonia Okinawan boys] when they use Japanese in front of them. So they become more reluctant to use it."

The female students' stronger interest and higher achievement in school education, particularly in Japanese language classes, put them in a better position to pursue higher education after leaving Colonia Okinawa, and to take advantage of kenshū *training* opportunities in Japan. Although there was no hard data to prove such assertions ,some Colonia Okinawan Issei and Nisei parents told me that high school dropout rate was lower among female graduates from Colonia schools than males, and more female students went on to colleges than their male counterparts. A former Okinawa Prefectural Program teacher at CNE school said: "Some parents say that [schools in Colonia Okinawa] should focus more on education in Spanish, because so many kids who had graduated from the [CNE] school have struggled in high schools in the cities. But I think they are wrong. If you look at the girls, who did well in Japanese classes and could speak Japanese well, they did very well for Spanish classes at high schools, too. It is, after all, up to the individual's motivation ('*yaruki*')." School education in Colonia Okinawa, as a result, produced more young Colonia Okinawan women than men who would excel in academics, both in Japanese language classes and Bolivian national curriculum.

"Trained" in Japan for Bolivia: Kenshū Programs

The Colonia Okinawan children who are constructed as "good Nikkei" subjects through primary and secondary school education in Colonia Okinawa can continue their subject formation process after their graduation from high school via numerous kenshū, or training, programs, offered by Japanese state and private institutions. JICA, Okinawa Prefecture, and Japan Overseas Immigrant Families Association (*Nihon Kaigai Ijū Kazoku-kai Rengō-kai*, JOIFA hereafter), a non-profit institution affiliated with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, are the three major agencies that have offered kenshū programs, which have provided the Colonia Okinawans with opportunities to study and experience on-the-job training in Japan. The sponsors of kenshū programs normally provide the trainees with airfare between the trainees' countries of origin and Japan, room and board during the programs, and tuition. The objectives of the kenshū programs, stated by these institutions and the Colonia Okinawan trainees' narratives on their actual experiences in Japan, reveal the transnational processes of subject formation through the technical and cultural educational institutions. The kenshū programs expect the Colonia Okinawan trainees to become "good Nikkei" contributors to Colonia Okinawa, and the Bolivian society at large, with knowledge of advanced Japanese technologies and culture, and the trainees perceive the programs primarily as a means to "experience" and observe Japanese society, as well as to form their own identities in both countries.

Kenshū Objectives: Training and Acculturating Nikkei Subjects

By 1994, while JICA's kenshū programs brought 72 Colonia Okinawans to Japan, Okinawa Prefecture's kenshū and study abroad programs accepted 47 to Okinawa Prefecture, and JOIFA invited 34 trainees to Japan (Aniya 1995:122-3). These programs offer an incredibly wide variety of subjects from which the trainees could choose, from accounting, automobile mechanics, nursing, bookkeeping, fish farming, administrative management, agricultural machinery, Japanese language education, to medicine, and different lengths of training, from one month to two years. The diversity of the programs and fields of training notwithstanding, all program descriptions explicitly stated a similar objective: the trainees must contribute to the "development" of their native country after being trained in technologically advanced Japan. JICA's brochure on the *Ijūsha Shitei Gijutsu Kenshū Seido*, or Technical Training Program for the Descendents of Immigrants Overseas, summed up the program's objective: "The trainees are chosen from those who came of age after migrating with their parents when they were very young, or Nisei or Sansei who were born in the Central or South America. For them, the kenshū in the country where their parents were born and grew up provided not only to a chance to attain technical skills, but also a good opportunity to learn Japanese culture. We believe that the all trainees will make a large contribution to their immigrant communities and the local societies after they have returned to their countries, by taking advantage of the knowledge and skills that they have learned through experience with their bodies ('*mi wo motte taiken shi, katsu, shūtoku-shita*') in the Japanese society which has accomplished rapid growth" (JICA Jigyō-bu-chō 1986:1). Okinawa Prefecture's International Technical Trainee Exchange Program (*Okinawa-ken Kaigai Gijutsu Kenshū-in*), meanwhile, emphasizes the development of fraternity among the Okinawan diaspora, in addition to the purpose of training the people of Okinawan decent overseas. The program description explains its purpose: "The objectives of this program are to accept technical trainees from developing countries to Okinawa in order to develope (*sic*) talent that can contribute to the development of their home countries through acquiring necessary techniques and contact with the people of Okinawa and uplift the ideas of international exchange among the Okinawan people and further, to promote the friendship relation (*sic*) between and among the developing countries, Okinawa Prefecture and Japan" (Okinawa Prefecture 1982).

In addition to providing Nikkeijin from the developing countries with technical training in "advanced" Japan, exposing the already acculturated Nisei and Sansei Nikkeijin to the culture of their ancestral origin was an important objective of the kenshū program. For young Nikkei children, JICA sponsored Japanese School Student Training Program (*Nihongo-Gakkou Seito Kenshū*), through which the intermediate school students travel to Japan and go to a local public school in Yokohama, while staying with a local family in the city for one month. The program description stated its objective: "The objective of this program is to invite students who possess an excellent academic record and good manners, and who have talent to contribute to the future development of Nikkei society. Through short-term schooling, travel, home-stay, and other activities, they will learn Japanese history, culture, and customs through "experience with their bodies ('*taiken-suru*')." Furthermore, they will develop understanding of, and competency in, the Japanese language, and will contribute to improving the Japanese language education and enriching the human resource development in Nikkei societies."

The program accepted 40 students from ten countries (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Columbia, Dominican Republic, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Venezuela), with the largest group (17) from Brazil. The kenshū programs, therefore, intended to transform Nikkei subjects, who were acculturated in their native countries, which had presumably inferior technological sophistication, into those subjects with more intellectually and technologically "advanced" knowledge and skills gained through the "experience with their bodies."

Gendered Implications of Kenshū

When I attempted to contact those Colonia Okinawan women who had returned from Japan, I was normally introduced to those who had gone to Japan not for work (dekasegi), but for kenshū, or training programs, sponsored by JICA or Okinawa Prefecture government. Although during the "dekasegi fad" in the late 1980s and early 1990s, young women, as well as men, had left Colonia Okinawa for Japanese cities, it was also common for the Nisei youth, particularly women, to take advantage of kenshū programs to satisfy their curiosity about Japan. Moreover, kenshū was considered a "safer choice" for Nisei women than voluntary dekasegi migration, which normally required them to work in blue-collar industries. Moreover, the Nisei women's superior command of Japanese language gave them a better chance to qualify for the kenshū training programs offered by JICA and other institutions in Japan.

The most common kenshū program offered by JICA was *Ijūsha Shitei Gijutsu Kenshū Seido*, or Technical Training Program for the Descendents of Immigrants Overseas, began in 1971. From 1972 to 1994, 41 Colonia Okinawans (16 men and 25 women) had gone to Japan through the Technical Training Program, and received education and on-the-job training at vocational schools, agricultural research centers, or private firms (Aniya 1995:122). Prior to 1980, when the qualifiers for the kenshū program were mostly those Issei who were born in Okinawa Prefecture and grew up in Colonia Okinawa, the majority of the trainees were men. During the 1980s, when Colonia-born Nisei came of age and became the qualified trainees, however, 13 out of 18 trainees from Colonia Okinawa were women. One reason for the predominance of Nisei women among the recent JICA's Technical trainees is the types of training programs that JICA offered and the requirement of "adequate Japanese communication skills" necessary to participate in lectures taught in Japanese (Nikkei Bolivia 1997b:21). Although applicants didn't have to submit any proof of their fluency in Japanese, they were expected to have passed the Level 2 of the Japanese Language Proficiency Examination prior to the application, and were required to write a two-page essay in Japanese as part of the application. Some of their application essays revealed stark difference in Japanese writing skills of the applicants; while the female candidates' essays were nearly free of grammatical errors and written with many kanji (Chinese characters), most men's essays were written in more a crude Japanese with many grammatical mistakes, and with fewer and awkwardly written kanji.

Although the trainees' could choose from a wide variety of specializations, the choices of specialization by Colonia Okinawan male and female trainees had been split along the gender lines. While men chose farming- and machinery-related training programs, women opted for learning clerical and white-collar work skills. From 1981 to 1990, five Colonia Okinawan men were trained in dairy farming, agricultural machinery, electronics, and meat processing through kenshū programs, whereas five women were trained in nursing, four in bookkeeping and accounting, two in childhood education, and one in tailoring and nutrition. The high concentration of Colonia Okinawan women in white-collar and human service professions reflects not only the women's superior communication skills in the Japanese language, but also their better fit to the technical training programs that are meant to provide the "advanced" Japanese techniques and knowledge in professional occupations to the Nikkeijin trainees.

After the kenshū program in Japan, however, few Nisei women who had returned to Colonia Okinawa actually utilized their trained skills. Among the 12 Nisei women who had gone to Japan through JICA's Technical Training Program from 1981 to 1990, only one still had a fulltime job as a nurse, while three others worked in Colonia Okinawa on a part time basis. Typically, they worked for a few years after their return from kenshū program, before becoming housewives. Mrs. Oshiro Harumi, a Nisei woman who was married a Nisei farmer in Colonia Okinawa, was among the former kenshū trainees who had returned to Colonia Okinawa and became housewives. After graduating from high school in the neighboring city of Montero, she worked as a nurse apprentice at the Colonia Uno Hospital for one year. She had wanted to become a nurse upon graduation, because the hospital staff had been so helpful when her mother was hospitalized. She knew little about nursing or medicine, so she applied for the training program to gain basic knowledge and practice in nursing. She went to JICA's training center in Yokohama from 1989 to 1991, and studied nursing at Kanagawa Prefectural School of Public Health and Nursing. In the second year, she had an internship at hospitals part-time, while she continued to go to school. She recalled, "During the first few months, I had difficulty understanding the textbooks. It took me about four months to finally be able to keep up with the lectures. . . . I was very busy, but it was fun to live in a dorm with other trainees. . . . It was a good experience to 'learn life (*'jinsei benkyō'*).'"[60] After returning to Colonia Okinawa, she worked a little more than a year, until she got married Mr. Oshiro. With two young children, she was too busy to work, but hoped that she could return to work "when the kids no longer need as much attention." When asked why many Nisei women, who had returned from kenshū program in Japan, did not work in Colonia Okinawa despite the valuable skills they had learned, she said, "[Nisei women] have little motivation to work, because there is no serious economic problem. . . . I mean, [Colonia Okinawan farmers] have much debt, but they also have assets (laugh)."

The Colonia Okinawan Nisei women's Japanese language skills and less exposure to non-Nikkei Bolivians throughout the elementary and middle-schools, in effect, made them better suited for white-collar job training in Japan through the state institutions. Their accumulation of cultural capital through school education and training programs, however, did not result in providing them with more economic and social power within Colonia Okinawa or the Bolivian society in general, because neither a superior command of the Japanese language nor their sophisticated professional skills learned through the kenshū programs helped them find well-paying white-collar jobs. What the kenshū programs primarily accomplished is the reaffirmation of gendered social roles within Colonia Okinawa, where women are encouraged to be intellectual and fluent in Japanese, whereas men are cultivated to become physically strong, farming-oriented, and fluent in Spanish.

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[60] Junior nurse and registered nurse licenses obtained in Japan are valid in Bolivia if registered with the Ministry of Health.

Observing Japan: the Trainees' Views

Those Colonia Okinawans who participated in the kenshū programs, meanwhile, had different objectives prior to their departure for Japan. Many returnees from kenshū programs recalled that their decisions were based on their general curiosity about Japan, their parents' recommendation, and the necessity to gain sophisticated higher education. Many Nisei were exposed to Japanese popular culture through books, magazines, and videotapes sent by their relatives living in Japan, so they had, at least, fragmented knowledge of Japanese society, and dreamed about going to Japan. In her application essay, a Nisei woman described why she was interested in applying for JICA's kenshū program, "When I was an intermediate school student at the [CNE] school, we received many books mailed from Japan. The books listed the donators' names and addresses, and I corresponded with a Japanese pen pal for a while. From that age, I have been reading Japanese books and magazines, and watching Japanese TV programs, which made me even more interested in Japanese history, culture, and tradition." Similarly, another former JICA trainee recalled her general fascination with Japan as her reasons for applying for the program: "I was always curious about Japan, because my parents had always told me about how things are in Japan since I was a child. So, I was hoping to go to Japan after graduating from high school. But I am too timid to go to dekasegi (laugh), so I decided to go there through kenshū [program]." Mr. Shiroma Takemitsu revealed more practical reasons for his application for the kenshū program in his essay: "I took and passed the [entrance] exam for the university [in Santa Cruz] in 1978, but I have studied the amount of only two and a half years for the last three years. I have given up the universities in Bolivia, because they have many class cancellations. That is why I am applying for [JICA's] *Gijutsu Kenshū-sei* program." Kenshū programs, in other words, offered for Nisei who were born and raised in Colonia Okinawa, not only free higher and technical education that was difficult to attain in Bolivia, but also a safe alternative to dekasegi in "experiencing" Japan.

Once they went to Japan, the trainees realized that the kenshū program's value was not so much in the information they learned in classes or skills they developed through the on-the-job training, as in their direct experience in "real" Japanese society. A Nisei man who went to Japan to learn ranching techniques through JICA's kenshū program, reflected upon his experience: "Ranching in Japan and South America are so different in size, so I think the kenshū program should be held in a more spacious location. It could have been better if I could observe ranches in the US, for instance" (Ikehara 1990). Even so, many trainees positively recalled their life in Japan, which they thought of a fruitful experience to "learn Japan." A Nisei woman, who worked for six months at the agricultural cooperative in Kamakura city, after studying at a business vocational school for one year: "Everything has been computerized in today's Japan, so my work after returning [to Bolivia] will be different from what I did in the Kamakura city agricultural cooperative. The accounting in the cooperative was mostly done on the computer, so I couldn't understand much of the work, but I did learn the workplace's atmosphere, work processes, and mannerism when facing the customers. . . . Before coming to Japan, I was so worried whether I could achieve my goals, but I learned much more in the last year and a half than what I had expected, so I am very satisfied. I met many different Japanese people in the last year and a half, and I improved in the Japanese language usage, such as keigo [respectful form], and learned many kanji" (Yamashiro

1989:71-72). Others, while appreciating what they have learned from the kenshū program, gained a more balanced, if not critical, perspective on Japanese society. Another Nisei trainee observed reflected upon her living experience in Japan through the kenshū program: “I lived in an apartment during the first year. . . . Living alone often made me lonely, but it also taught me lessons for how to live alone and many opportunities to go out, rather than to stay inside. So I think I could see and hear more about Japan, and could see the life of Japanese people from many angles. . . . I feel that life in Japan means: packed train cars, a large crowd of people, living in a small space, material wealth, convenient public transportation, and stable life without desiring too much or being too miserable” (Nakada 1986:37). Mrs. Yamashiro Hiroe, a Nisei teacher at CBJ School, went to Japan for three months through JICA’s Japanese Language Teacher’s Training Program. She had never visited Japan, and, like most Nisei, had heard stories about how advanced other migrants had found Japan to be. She had been taught Japanese at the Colonia school by Japanese volunteer teachers in the 1970s. For her, the language she had learned in the school *was* Japanese, and she therefore anticipated that would be what she would hear in “real” Japanese society. After returning to Colonia, she told other teachers what had surprised her most:

> Well, I was surprised that people run in public, such as at train stations. You just don’t see people running around here. My colleague [at the training program] from Brazil said, “In Brazil, only thieves are running around in public!” (laugh) . . . I also heard so many [Japanese] expressions that are grammatically incorrect. They use strange Japanese! (laugh) For instance, a cashier at supermarket says, “I borrowed *from* 2000yen. (‘*2000yen* kara *oazukari itashimasu*’).” What does “from (‘*kara*’)” mean? Besides, why do they say, “borrow (‘*oazukari itashimasu*’)” money from you? I was wondering, “So, are you going to return the money you ‘borrowed’ from me?” (laugh). . . . I was also shocked by the Japanese girls’ [extremely revealing] clothes. They looked like they were walking on the street in underwear! It is often said that South American women are promiscuous, but it seemed to me that [Japanese girls] are

> much more immodest [than South American women].

Her narrative did not indicate awe for "advanced" and sophisticated Japanese society or admiration for the "authentic" Japanese customs or the language that the Japanese people spoke in their everyday lives. Instead, she was amused by, and sometimes became critical of, the "foreign" customs and lifestyles of Japanese in Japan that she had witnessed during her stay.[61] After laughing through the comical episodes and misunderstandings she experienced during three months she spent in Japan, Mrs. Yamashiro added, in a more serious tone, "I kind of expected it, but I definitely felt that I am gaijin (foreigner) in Japan. I mean, I am seen as gaijin in Bolivia, too, but I felt more so in Japan."

Through their kenshū experience, therefore, Colonia Okinawan Nisei in Colonia Okinawa gained a more grounded understanding of Japanese society, even if they have discovered themselves as gaijin in Japan. The most important 'skills' that the kenshū programs helped the Colonia Okinawan trainees to acquire and improve during their stay in Japan might be, then, their ability to live in Japanese society, even as foreign – not quite Japanese – subjects. Ms. Tamaki Aya, a Nisei trainee in nursing, stated before her return to Bolivia, "As I live in Japan right now, there is nothing I don't do, or can't do, simply because I am not Japanese. I now live 'as Japanese' ('*nihonjin to shite*'). If I am required to 'be a Japanese' ('*nihonjin de aru koto*'), I can do that. Back in Bolivia, I can live just fine 'as a Bolivian' ('*Boliviajin to shite*'). I really can change myself depending on situations. I used to feel uneasy when I thought about [whether I belonged to] either country, but now I think I don't have to struggle with such a question. So, I am neither 'in-between' ('*chūto hanpa*') nor 'half-and-half' ('*hanbun hanbun*'). Instead, I have both Japan and Bolivia inside me; so I am twice as much [as a single nationality]. I try to take it positively, that I am 100 [percent Japanese] plus 100 [percent Bolivian], so I am 200 [percent]" (Kaigai Ijū 1996:6-7). As a result, she was not decisive with regard to where she would end up living in the future: "Because I am here for kenshū now, so I want to go back to Bolivia after the two years [of the program]. But if it is necessary, I will come [to Japan], and live there for ten years, if that is what it takes. But I don't necessarily want to live in Japan. I don't have a clear reason, but I was born and raised [in Bolivia]. I think that it is a luxury for us Nikkeijin, who can afford to chose which country we would like to live" (ibid:8). Through kenshū programs, therefore, Colonia Okinawan subjects were not only trained to accumulate intellectual and physical skills, but also cultivated to adapt to the "transnational social fields" in which they reside (Glick Schiller 1992:12). It is no coincidence that many of those who had initially gone to Japan through kenshū programs, after gaining valuable experience living in and being trained in Japan, left Bolivia for Japan several years later for dekasegi. Although the kenshū programs' intentions were to train Colonia Okinawans and cultivate "good Nikkei" who could contribute to Bolivian society, they consequentially produced transnational subjects who could, even if they were distinctively marked as 'foreign' subjects, live in either Japan or Bolivia.

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[61] The sense of alienation and dislocation that Okinawan-Bolivians are feeling in Japan (through dekasegi or kenshū) was well-documented (Tsujimoto 1998a, 1998b, 1998c, 1999). The similar feeling of being foreigners in their "ethnic homeland" was found among Brazilian Nikkeijin in Japan (Linger 2001; Tsuda 2003; Roth 2002).

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored how cultural institutions, such as community schools and state-sponsored training programs, functioned to construct identities and behaviors of Colonia Okinawan Nisei youth in both Colonia Okinawa and Japan. These cultural institutions produce identities and bodies of Colonia Okinawan youth as "good Nikkei" subjects with distinct Okinawan (vis-à-vis Japanese Naichi-jin) awareness. The 'good Nikkei' subjects were produced through carefully constituted subject-positions of Colonia Okinawans against their Others within the school: minimization of the "Bolivianizing" influence by non-Nikkei Bolivian classmates, and by Spanish class teachers, who were perceived as overly laid-back; installment of authentic "Japanese" moral and work ethic, expected to be provided by Naichi-jin teachers from Japan; and practice of Okinawan performing arts, introduced by Okinawa Prefectural Program teachers. Due to the triangular poles of references, Bolivian-ness, Japanese-ness, and Okinawan-ness, the significance of Colonia Okinawans' subject-positions also shift depending on with whom they were facing. Against non-Nikkei Bolivian students and teachers, Colonia Okinawan students were conceived as vulnerable Nikkei subjects whose "Japanese" identities and behaviors were at risk, while in front of Japanese Naichi-jin teachers, Colonia Okinawans present themselves as less intellectual and more physical, thus, more "Bolivian," and Okinawa Prefectural Program teachers were an important reminder of their distinctive "Okinawan" history and culture that could not be simply reconciled within "Japanese."

The generously sponsored kenshū programs in Japan, offered by state and semi-state institutions such as JICA and the Okinawa Prefecture, added further complications to the subject formations for Colonia Okinawans. Despite the institutions' intention to construct Nisei trainees as "good Nikkei" through kenshū programs, by technological training and cultural "Japanization," and sending them back to their "home," Bolivia, many Nisei regarded the kenshū programs as an attractive alternative to dekasegi, for satisfying their curiosity about Japan, and the world outside of Colonia Okinawa in general. Through going to schools, working for Japanese employers, and "experiencing" everyday life in Japan, the kenshū programs provided Colonia Okinawan trainees not only school education and technological skills, but also living skills necessary to survive in "real" Japanese society. The kenshū programs, consequently, served as a vehicle for Colonia Okinawan youth to cultivate themselves as transnational subjects who could adapt themselves to the lifestyles of both Colonia Okinawa and urban Japan, even if they would remain as distinctively "foreign" subjects in both locations.

These cultural institutions functioned differently for Colonia Okinawan men and women. As Colonia Okinawan boys tend to be assimilated into non-Nikkei Bolivian friends, they become more familiar to physical (non-intellectual) tasks and the Spanish language, girls tended to remain the inside the circle of the Colonia Okinawan friends, and thus remained more comfortable with the Japanese language and academic learning. The different enculturation processes between the two gender groups led to different paths; while most men choose to succeed family farming or migrate to Japan and work as blue-collar laborers, many women "taste" life in Japan through the state-sponsored training programs. Outcomes of these cultural institutions' subject formation processes, however, Colonia Okinawans as either the large-scale farm owners within rural Bolivia, dekasegi migrant laborers in urban Japan, or rural housewives with sophisticated white-collar skills, did not contribute to the accumulation of cultural capital in either locale.

The contradictory functions of the cultural institutions, which produce Colonia Okinawans into transnational subjects, are precisely why Colonia Okinawans are embodied as partial citizens in both Bolivia and Japan. While being encouraged to become "good Nikkei" subjects at the school and kenshū programs, their subject-positions as such are constituted through partial *dissociations* from of the stereotyped "Bolivian," "Japanese," and "Okinawan" cultures. As a result, they remain outside of the culturally defined citizenry in either Japan or Bolivia.

CHAPTER 6: SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS
GENDER ROLES AND SEXUALITY

Because the dekasegi migration to Japan is generally regarded by Colonia Okinawans as a common phenomenon among young and middle-aged Nisei men, I started conducting many interviews with Nisei men in Colonia Okinawa who had returned from Japan. More often than not, however, when they had difficulty remembering the details of their dekasegi experience, their wives, who had been eavesdropping on our conversations, chimed in and eventually replaced their husbands in answering my questions. Though Nisei women were generally reluctant to be interviewed without their husbands, as I discussed in the previous chapter, they were more comfortable communicating in Japanese. Whereas the Nisei men's narratives about the dekasegi experience in Japan generally focused on their work, and hardships experienced at work, Nisei women had clearer recollections on the families' day-to-day experiences outside work, such as family vacations and their children's kindergartens, during their dekasegi stints in Japan.

Another interesting discovery during my interviews with Colonia Okinawans was the curious invisibility of intermarried couples, or, more precisely, non-Nikkei spouses of Colonia Okinawans, in community events and other informal gatherings. While there were growing numbers of intermarried couples and mixed children in Colonia Okinawa, it appeared that they were only partially integrated in the community, due to the strong, if not always overt, resistance to the intermarriages from the community, particularly Issei, who maintain negative stereotypes of non-Nikkei Bolivians. Once the Colonia Okinawans migrated to Japan, they seemed to date and marry Colonia Okinawans or

South American Nikkeijin, often those with some social ties to Colonia Okinawa. Their reluctance to date or marry Naichi-jin Japanese seems to be derived partly from mutual stereotyping between Colonia Okinawan migrants and Naichi-jin based on their nationalities, and partly from the fact that they would potentially face a difficult decision in the future regarding whether they should stay in Japan or move to Bolivia. Their marriages and relationships, therefore, are not merely a matter of individual choice, but a critical social process through which Colonia Okinawans' and their Others' sexualities and naturalized differences are constructed.

In this chapter, I will discuss gender roles of transnational Okinawans in Colonia Okinawa and in urban Japan, and how their gendered subject-positions in public, communal, and domestic spheres are not only constituted between men and women, but also between Colonia Okinawans and their Others in each locale. I also describe interethnic relationships and marriages to demonstrate how sexuality is an important discourse that produces racialized subjects through embodied stereotypes. My analysis of the gendered and racialized subject formation processes of transnational Okinawans draws upon recent feminist scholarship, which argues that gender is not separable from sex. Borrowing from Scott, I consider gender as a "knowledge that establishes meaning for bodily differences" (Scott 1988:2). Sexual differences as well as gender practices, in other words, are inseparable from our knowledge about the body.

To analyze transnational Okinawans' gender relations and sexualities, I draw upon Sylvia Walby's (1997) propositions of two distinct but interrelated "gender regimes" that produce gendered subjects. She defines the two regimes:

> The domestic gender regime is based upon household production as the main structure and site of women's work activity and the exploitation of her labour and

> sexuality and upon the exclusion of women from the public. The public gender regime is based, not on excluding women from the public, but on the segregation and subordination of women within the structures of paid employment and the state, as well as within culture, sexuality and violence. . . .In the domestic form the principal patriarchal strategy is exclusionary, excluding women from the public arena; in the public it is segregationist and subordinating. . . . In order to understand any particular instance of gender regime it is always necessary to understand the mutual structuring of class and ethnic relations with gender. [Walby 1997:6]

Although the concepts are derived from limited examples in advanced industrial societies, I find the frameworks' capacity to include class and racial/ethnic differences within the gender groups useful, as long as the "public" and "domestic" divisions in actual social situations are contextually defined. In fact, establishment, maintenance, and transformation of boundaries between "public" and "domestic" spheres are crucial factors for my analysis of gendered and racialized transnational Okinawan subjects in Colonia Okinawa and urban Japan. I discuss the changing boundaries between "public" and "domestic" spheres for transnational Okinawans by illustrating "communal" events, which they interpreted as a either public or private sphere, depending on the social contexts.

Different forms of transnational migrants' subject formations in public and domestic gender regimes have been explored by feminist scholars of migration. Studies on different patterns of immigration between men and women (Pedraza 1991), changes in family relations that immigrant men and women experience (Friedman-Kasaba 1996), and institutional forces that conditioned particular experiences of immigrant/refugee men and women (Ong 1991) have explored how immigrant men and women negotiate their subject-positions within different public and domestic spheres and gender regimes in their migratory origin and destination. While the majority of the feminist scholars maintain that what transnational passage meant for the migrant women was a movement "from one system of gender stratification to another" (Zlotnick, cited in Parreñas 2001:29), others examine the reconfigurations of women's roles and changing power dynamics within a household through the migration (Kibria 1993). Some scholars have focused on transnational immigrant women's oppression and resistance in public and domestic gender regimes (Glenn 1986; Lee 1990; Yung 1995), others have conducted comparative studies of male and female migrants' experiences (Espiritu 1997; Pessar 1999; Repak 1995). This chapter largely focuses on Colonia Okinawan women's experiences of dekasegi migration and their changing subject-positions within paid work and households in Colonia Okinawa and urban Japan. My analysis of sexual stereotyping examines intermarriages between Colonia Okinawans and their non-Nikkei Bolivian or Naichi-jin spouses.

I begin this chapter by illustrating Colonia Okinawan women's subject-positions in relation to their Others in the public spheres, such as Colonia Okinawan men and non-Nikkei Bolivian coworkers at work. Colonia Okinawan women's segregation from certain occupations and positions in both work and politics, and their power over certain non-Nikkei Bolivian workers at their workplaces indicate their particular subject-positions based on their gender, as well as ethnicity. I then move on to a discussion on Colonia Okinawan women's roles in individual households, in which their subject-positions are constituted through differentiations from their husbands and female non-Nikkei Bolivian domestic workers. The Colonia Okinawan women's particular subject-positions, which are established at work and in the home, produce them as a conflation of gender, class, and race.

Because a key aspect of domestic gender regime is sexual relations, I discuss intermarriages between Colonia Okinawans and non-Nikkei Bolivians as a site of racialized gender formation. I illustrate how intermarriages were viewed by other Colonia Okinawans, which reveals sexual stereotypes projected upon non-Nikkei Bolivians' bodies. The community's general disapproval of intermarriage and the intermarried couples' struggle to create their positions within the highly segregated society reveal that sexual bodies of Colonia Okinawans are a contested site in which their subject-positions (as men, women, Nikkei, or Bolivian) are constituted.

Relying upon the narratives of dekasegi returnees and my observations of the workplaces of Colonia Okinawan migrant women in Yokohama, I then illustrate how their subject-positions, vis-à-vis Japanese Naichi-jin and South American Nikkeijin, are differently constituted in public and domestic domains during their dekasegi stints in urban Japan. While their superior Japanese language skills often helped them to immerse into the paid labor market in urban Japan smoothly, they also struggled with fast-paced factory work and unfriendly Naichi-jin coworkers. Colonia Okinawan migrant women's participation in the paid labor market and urban lifestyle changed the form and amount of their labor within their households. I also discuss the intermarried Colonia Okinawans' experiences in Japan, which reveal how their gender roles were differently affected from the Colonia Okinawan migrant couples, due to their more visible Otherness in Japan. Finally, I turn to the courtship of Colonia Okinawan migrants in Japan as an example of racialized subject formation. I demonstrate how Colonia Okinawan migrants construct sexual stereotypes of Naichi-jin and South Americans, which are projected upon their bodies, and how Colonia Okinawans' bodies become an embodiment of their partial belonging to Japanese society, which created a large obstacle for the intermarried (Colonia Okinawan migrant-Naichi-jin) couples, due to the strong disapproval of their union by the Naichi-jin spouses' parents.

Public Gender Spheres in Colonia Okinawa

At workplaces in Colonia Okinawa, female Colonia Okinawan subjects were formed by particular constitutions of their subject-positions through occupational segregation not only between men and women but also between Colonia Okinawan women and non-Nikkei Bolivian workers. The public gender regimes in Colonia Okinawa, therefore, operates through gendered exclusion of Colonia Okinawan women from the major economic and political activities within the community, and the segregation of Colonia Okinawan women within the paid labor market based on their gender as well as their ethnicity.

Exclusion from Public Spheres

Gender relations in the Colonia Okinawa community followed a compromised version of ie ideology in Japan (See Chapter 2), in which patriarchal succession of family property is the norm. The ie ideal, rooted in Confucian ideology, was largely accepted by large scale farm owners in Colonia Okinawa, if somewhat flexibly. Among Colonia Okinawans families, eldest sons had exclusive primacy in the inheritance and succession, younger sons and daughters were left to make their own livelihoods. It was not uncommon, for instance, for an Issei father to give the largest portion of his farmland to his eldest son, and smaller lots to other sons, or, when the eldest son was not willing to succeed the family farming, a younger brother would fill in the position. Daughters, in any case, were never successors.

This patriarchal principle of inheritance was reconfirmed by Issei men when I asked them about their daughters. They were largely indifferent about how their daughters would make their livelihoods, and expected, sooner or later, that they would get married. Mr. Kochi Hiroshi, an Issei with seven children (four daughters and three sons), told me that he had expanded his farmland before retirement so that he could divide it for his three sons. When I asked what he had told his four daughters, he said, "I always told them, 'You won't get any land from me. So you will have to find somebody and get married.' Women are supposed to marry, so I was encouraging them to find good ones, not lazy ones (laugh)." Colonia Okinawan women, therefore, were excluded from farm ownership, and were left to make a choice between finding a job in the segregated paid labor market within the Colonia while living at home, or getting married, if they intend to live in Colonia Okinawa.

The patriarchal ie principle for family property excluded women not only from farming operation, but also segregated women from men in the paid labor market in Colonia Okinawa through "separation of spheres of influence" (White 2002:57). The Colonia Okinawan community draws on the *koseki* (family and residence registration) system of modern Japan that the Meiji government instituted, which required the male household heads to be an agent by which families participate in the state and through which the state intervenes in the family affairs. Within the koseki system, women and children are registered only as dependents of the male households. The membership of Colonia Okinawa's principal political and economic institutions, Nichibo Kyōkai and

CAICO, also consisted of male-headed households, and their wives and children as dependents of their fathers (or son, if he has taken over the family farming). Colonia Okinawan women could not become household heads and were ineligible to be participating members of these organizations, unless they were widowed, divorced, or married non-Nikkei Bolivian men.[62] As a result of this systematic gendered separation in spheres of influence, women were absolutely absent from leadership positions in all major political and economic institutions, such as CAICO and Nichibo Kyōkai. Since their inaugurations in 1971 and 1978, respectively, both organizations have had only male presidents and board members.

Gendered and Racial Division within the Labor Market

Most Nisei women who continued to live in Colonia Okinawa after graduating from high school were wives of farmers or CAICO or Nichibo Kyōkai employees, and spent most of their time doing household chores, such as cleaning, cooking, and laundry, and socializing with other Nisei women. Exclusion from farm property ownership and leadership positions within community organizations placed Colonia Okinawan women in only particular positions within the paid labor market: secretaries at the community institutions, such as schools, hospitals, and Nichibo Kyōkai, Japanese language teachers at the schools, and nurses at the Colonia Okinawa Hospital. As discussed in the previous chapter, Nisei women were nurtured through school education to pursue academic and vocational careers, such as nursing, bookkeeping, and Japanese language education, even if they may not eventually take up the jobs professionally.

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[62] They might become temporary household heads while their husbands are absent for dekasegi in Japan and the rest of the family stayed in Colonia Okinawa.

The Nichibo Kyōkai headquarters office employed several women as permanent staff to do secretarial tasks, and worked alongside with the secretary general, who directly assisted the association's President, and the JICA Youth Volunteer staff, who was replaced by a new volunteer every two years. While the official representative of the association, the secretary general is the one who was in charge of all day-to-day bureaucratic decisions of Nichibo Kyōkai, assisting the association's President with such matters as budget proposals, dealing with the Japanese Embassy, the Okinawa Prefecture, and selecting JICA kenshū trainees. The position has recently been filled by outsider men, who were recent settlers in Colonia Okinawa through former JICA Overseas Development Youth program participants.[63] The JICA Youth Volunteer was asked to help the secretary general with more specialized tasks, such as creating the association's budget proposals and managing the accounting balance sheet.

There were two or three other permanent employees, normally filled by Colonia Okinawan women. They primarily handled secretarial tasks at the front window, such as receiving and sending mail for the association members, handling the electricity and telephone bill payments for members, making and posting notices for the community, day-to-day bookkeeping, and lend the association library's Japanese books and videotapes to members.[64] They also served tea or coffee for the President or the secretary general, and to their guests, and prepared the conference room with the pots of coffee for the various meetings held at the headquarters. While the secretary general and the JICA volunteer were assigned the tasks that involved sophisticated clerical skills and decision-making, these secretaries were responsible for face-to-face dealings with the Colonia Okinawan members of the association and non-Nikkei Bolivians, such as representatives of local electricity and telephone company offices who bring the association members' bills.

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[63] For the roles of Japanese Naichi-jin volunteers, see Chapter 5.

[64] There was no mail delivery system to individual houses. Nichibo Kyōkai has its mailbox at the Santa Cruz de la Sierra's central post office, and the association's members can use its mailbox as their mailing address. Nichibo Kyōkai staff goes to the central post office once a week to mail the outgoing letters from the association members and retrieve the incoming letters to the members.

These secretaries were also in charge of directly managing non-Nikkei Bolivian employees at the headquarters. When the non-Nikkei Bolivian workers at the association, such as a security guard, janitor, or gardener, came in to work on a weekday morning, they first came to the Colonia Okinawan secretaries at the front window, not the higher-ranked staff like the JICA volunteer or the secretary general, to ask for their work assignment. It was the Colonia Okinawan secretaries' job to give detailed work orders to them, such as telling them which rooms to clean, which bathrooms to fix, which trees to trim, which part of the yard to mow, or what time to close the front gate. The verbal communication between them was kept at a minimum, and the non-Nikkei Bolivian workers did not interrupt the Colonia Okinawan secretaries' work by entering their office space. Despite their lowest rank among the administrative positions within the association, therefore, the Colonia Okinawan women's work at the front desk was also clearly distinguished from non-Nikkei Bolivian workers' tasks. While they were assigned mostly mundane tasks within the office, they were not responsible for menial tasks like sweeping the building's floors and weeding the flowerbeds around the building.

Mrs. Yonaha Reiko, an Issei woman who grew up in Colonia Okinawa, has worked at the office as a secretary for more than a decade, longer than the secretary general or the President. Because she has worked at the association for such a long time and knew the individual Colonia Okinawan members so well (unlike the rotating the

JICA volunteers and the relatively new settlers who had assumed the secretary general position), that she was widely regarded as the cornerstone of the association's headquarters. When Nichibo Kyōkai was looking for a new staff person to replace one of the female secretaries, the President of Nichibo Kyōkai thought it was important to hire someone who could keep Mrs. Yonaha happy. The President explained: "The next employee must be 'someone who would be below ('*shita ni naru hito*')' her, if we are going to hire Nikkeijin. . . . If we hire 'someone above ('ue no hito')' her, she would hate her work and quit. . . . The most important thing to consider in hiring is who would be the best person to have smooth relationships among the employees." Therefore, bringing in a Colonia Okinawan man, who would be placed 'under' her within the association's bureaucratic structure, could cause a problem. He said, "H [an Issei Colonia Okinawan man], who was the former CAICO factory manager, was considered as a potential candidate [for another position at the association]. But he has had twice as much experience in office work as [Mrs. Yonaha]. He was *too* good, because she wouldn't be able to 'hold him off ('*osaeru*').' Had he been hired, [Mrs. Yonaha] would have quit her job." The Nichibo Kyōkai President believed, therefore, unless he was younger and clearly less experienced than Mrs. Yonaha, a Colonia Okinawan man should not be hired to work as a secretary. The ideal candidate for the vacant secretary position, therefore, was a woman who was younger than Mrs. Yonaha. The President continued: "A young *señorita* (unmarried woman) who will be 'below' [Mrs. Yonaha] would be the best [person to take the position]. She can teach her how to do the job."

The position was eventually filled by a Nisei wife who was much younger than Mrs. Yonaha. Within the community's ideals with regard to gender roles and hierarchy, therefore, the Colonia Okinawan women within the Colonia's public spheres of paid work continued to be placed in positions that were under the Colonia Okinawan men's authority, but above the non-Nikkei Bolivian workers who handle more menial tasks than the Colonia Okinawan secretaries.

Communal Spheres: Women's Unpaid but Required Labor

While largely being excluded from the paid labor market, Colonia Okinawan women are expected to provide their labor for the Colonia Okinawa's numerous community events. These events were considered an instrumental part of the Colonia's communal solidarity, and Nichibo Kyōkai and other community organizations spent a lot of time and resources to organize them. As one Nichibo Kyōkai official jokingly said, planning and performing these events are like "work ('*shigoto*')" for the Colonia Okinawan community organizations. In this sense, despite the fact that these events were not intended to make monetary profit, organizing and participating in these events were an important "public" sphere of the community, akin to paid work or involvement in state affairs. This quasi-public sphere of communal events was where Colonia Okinawan women make their presence known to the male community leaders, and thereby increase their symbolic values, albeit in a contradictory manner, within the community.

At many occasions in Colonia Okinawa, such as parties to welcome new JICA Youth and Senior volunteers, new Okinawa Prefectural Program teachers and their families, and annual events like Mother's Day and the Respect for the Elders Day, Colonia Okinawans gathered and ate boiled yuca and *churasco*, or broiled beef, together at the community's auditorium or the Nichibo Kyōkai headquarters' banquet hall. Regardless of the types of events, there was always a clear gendered division of labor.

Women were behind the scenes, working in the kitchens of the auditorium or Nichibo Kyōkai headquarters, while men were busy drinking beer and entertaining the main guests of the event. Once the meal preparation was finished, women sat separately from men, even their husbands and fathers, and ate and chatted among themselves. These women's labor, provided by the Mother's Association in each Colonia, was considered indispensable for the community.

The gendered division of labor at the communal events was as strict as gendered segregation of labor in public paid work. As each party would begin to wind down, the women and youth (mostly girls) were the ones who cleaned the tables, washed the dishes, and cleaned the floor of the event space. Some Issei and Nisei men would usually keep drinking even after the other tables had been cleaned and stacked, and their wives and children would wait outside the auditorium and event hall and chat with the other wives. In fact, I was once scolded by an Issei man for helping other Colonia Okinawan women after a welcome party for the new Okinawa Prefectural Program teacher for the CNE school. After the event, I felt that I should help them because I was one of the school staff members who were hosting the event. Then an elderly Issei man, who was somewhat drunk already, yelled at me as I was bringing the dirty dishes from tables to the kitchen in the Colonia Dos Auditorium: "Hey, you! What do you think you are doing? Are you a woman, or what?" For him, my action appeared to violate the gendered division of labor at the communal events.[65]

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[65] At the all public occasions that I attended during my research in Colonia Okinawa, the only women who frequently sat at "men's" tables and socialized with them with ease were two rebellious Naichi-jin women: Mrs. Takagaki Keiko, an outgoing and outspoken woman who settled in Colonia Okinawa with her Naichi-jin husband, who was formerly a JICA Overseas Development Youth, and a Methodist Church pastor and a Japanese language teacher who had lived in Colonia Okinawa for more than two decades. Elsewhere, Mrs. Takagaki criticized both men and women in Colonia Okinawa who had allowed the continuing sexism in

There were, of course, some Colonia Okinawan women who were unhappy with the gendered division of labor, which put an uneven burden on women, and frowned at some elderly Issei men's chauvinistic comments on the "natural" division of labor between men and women. At the Nichibo Kyōkai's Christmas party in 1997, the Nichibo Kyōkai President at the time, an Issei man in his sixties, argued, "In Okinawan tradition, women were supposed to serve men and elders. Things might be changing in Japan today, but it won't happen in Colonia [Okinawa]." Some Nisei women at the occasion were appalled by his claim, and said that he was "archaic (*'furui'*)" and that things would change in Colonia Okinawa in the future. Some Nisei members of the Mothers' Associations in Colonia Okinawa even questioned the raison d'être of the associations, if they simply remained as Nichibo Kyōkai's convenient resource of labor for organizing the community events.

Many Colonia Okinawan women were reluctant to express their dissatisfaction with the unfair division of labor at the communal events, claiming that the women's donation of labor to the events was their "custom (*'shūkan'*)" and that it should be respected and maintained. At the aforementioned welcome party for Okinawa Prefectural teachers at Colonia Dos, I ran into a woman who was waiting outside for her husband to finish drinking and come home with her and their young children. I jokingly asked her if she could just leave without him. She smiled, and said, "Well, but he is having fun there, isn't he? Sometimes, our *fiestas* continue until after midnight (laugh)! . . . Are you

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the community. She observed that many Colonia Okinawan women, especially young women, were timid, and she was wondered how they put up with their oppressive situations (Terui 1997:17). After attending the Colonia Okinawa Mothers' Association meeting, she was disappointed with the introverted attendants at the meeting: "I was reminded today that [Colonia Okinawan] women here don't express their opinions! Everybody was so quiet until the meeting was over. Only then, they started criticizing others and pointing fingers. They seemed to be so afraid of being singled out. They were afraid that an argument at the meeting might affect their personal relationships."

already leaving, sensei (teacher)? Why don't you stay longer with them?" Indeed, donating their labor to the community events, even if their work was not monetarily compensated and they were asked to work in a segregated background space, provided the Colonia Okinawan women with not only a sense of solidarity among them but also a feeling of satisfaction for some that they did contribute to the events as an instrumental actor. Those Colonia Okinawan women who were not regularly participating in the Mothers' Associations' activities were often quietly criticized for being individualistic. At any community event, the Nichibo Kyōkai President never failed to thank the Mothers' Association's contribution to the occasions when he spoke during the opening ceremony. The Colonia Okinawan women's participation in the communal event primarily as voluntary and unpaid labor was, therefore, not merely an exploitation of their labor by the Colonia Okinawan men, but also an important means for the women to participate in the community's public events as recognized actors.

Domestic Gender Spheres in Colonia Okinawa

The domestic spheres of influence in Colonia Okinawa, such as family, belonged to women, who, by and large, were solely responsible for household chores inside and around their houses, while men were either at the farm fields or "hanging out" places like the CAICO offices, or running errands in Santa Cruz de la Sierra. The household division of labor, however, takes place along ethnic distinction as well as gender and class differences. The employment of non-Nikkei Bolivian domestic workers, fairly common among Colonia Okinawan families, created gendered as well as ethnic differentiations within the most intimate sphere of Colonia Okinawans. Colonia Okinawan women's subject-positions were constituted in relation to not only their husbands and fathers, but also their non-Nikkei Bolivian domestic workers, whose "cultural" attributes were racialized through stereotyping. Other important actors who produce gendered subjects of Colonia Okinawans within households were non-Nikkei spouses of intermarried couples, who disrupted the normative pattern of Colonia Okinawan family forms. The various sexual and cultural stereotypes that were attributed to the non-Nikkei Bolivian spouses of Colonia Okinawans conversely created bodies and "cultural" behaviors of Colonia Okinawans as an exact opposite of the non-Nikkei Bolivians'. The households of Colonia Okinawans, in other words, were where the racialized and gendered subject-positions of Colonia Okinawan men and women were produced and contested.

Gendered Division of Household Labor

Due to the exclusion from the farming operation and the scarcity of white-collar jobs in Colonia Okinawa, the large majority of Colonia Okinawan women did not have paid work outside of their households. When I asked a Nisei housewife in Colonia Okinawa what Colonia Okinawan women do during the day, she pondered for a while and said, "Well, they have a lot of time (laugh)." She normally spent her days with her Nisei friends, who were also wives with young children, at each other's house or stayed at her parents' house, chatting with visiting female friends. As I described in Chapter 4, however, wives of Nisei Colonia Okinawan farmers were in charge of not only household chores, such as cleaning and doing laundry, but also bookkeeping and making and delivering lunchboxes for non-Nikkei Bolivian field laborers. These tasks, as they were done in dusty rural environment, could keep them occupied for much of the day, especially during the busy farming periods, such as sowing and harvesting times, when they would need to prepare food for the extra field laborers working longer shifts. Furthermore, as also described in Chapter 4, male farm owners were not always fully occupied by supervising and managing their non-Nikkei Bolivian laborers. Therefore, despite the common perception that Colonia Okinawan women were idle and bored, a perception shared by both men and women in Colonia Okinawa, in my observations the difference between men's work and women's lied in their different domains of action and control, rather than in the amount of time their work took.

"Other" in the Households: Non-Nikkei Bolivian Domestic Workers

Many Colonia Okinawan families employed non-Nikkei Bolivian women as housemaids, helping with cleaning, laundry, cooking, and ironing. The pattern of employment varied considerably, and I could not obtain statistics on the non-Nikkei Bolivian domestic workers employment by Colonia Okinawan families, but from my observations and conversations with Colonia Okinawans, I noted that it was common for Colonia Okinawan households of diverse generational and financial means to have middle-aged non-Nikkei Bolivian women as full-time domestic servants, and high school-aged girls working on part-time basis. Most of them commuted to their employers' house, but some of them lived in a separate house built by their employers on the same property, which was a legacy of the established finca system, the lowland version of the hacienda, in which the farm owners relied upon their employees' inexpensive labor for their agricultural enterprise, while providing them with housings, education, and medical care (Stearman 1985:28-9, also see Chapter 2).

The division of domestic labor and status between Colonia Okinawan wives and non-Nikkei Bolivian maids and gardeners was produced and reproduced through the segregation of working spaces. Two non-Nikkei Bolivian women, Emilia and María, both 29 years old, had worked in the large house of Mr. and Mrs. Tsukamoto in Colonia Uno for seven years. They walked to the Tsukamoto house from their own homes in the nearby neighborhoods where mostly non-Nikkei Bolivians (camba) lived, though Mr. Tsukamoto often gave them a ride home. They worked from 9AM to 5PM from Monday to Saturday, and were paid 20Bs (US$3) a day. Their main tasks were cleaning the floors and doing laundry, although they occasionally helped Mrs. Tsukamoto with cooking. The tasks were roughly divided between them; while Emilia mainly cleaned the second floor of the house, María worked in the less-used first floor. The Tsukamotos also employed non-Nikkei Bolivian men for doing numerous odd jobs, such as cutting grasses around his properties, assembling doghouses, or planting trees in the garden. Their employment, unlike the female domestics', was extremely unstable, as they were rotated frequently.

Non-Nikkei Bolivian maids' had little verbal or physical contact with their employers, despite the physical proximity and time spent in the same house. When there was any interaction between them, the domestics acted with deference to the Colonia Okinawan employers, similarly described by Judith Rollins (1985), whose work on the domestic workers in UK illustrates interactions between domestics and their employers that perpetuates unequal social relationships. Non-Nikkei Bolivian maids rarely initiated talk with their Colonia Okinawan employers, and their employers called to them only when their service was needed. From my observation at the Tsukamoto house, Emilia and María, for instance, rarely exchanged words with Mr. and Mrs. Tsukamoto while they were engaged in their daily chores, and they were spoken to only when receiving orders or directions. They hardly spoke to each other when Mr. or Mrs. Tsukamoto were nearby, and avoided any contact with the Tsukamotos' friends and guests, such as my wife and me, who were staying in a house on the Tsukamoto property.

There seemed to be no particular rule for cleaning rooms, but the maids normally avoided the places where their Colonia Okinawan employers and their children were. Whenever they had idle time, they retreated to a small (4 by 6 foot) laundry room behind the kitchen on the second floor, connected to both the kitchen and the outside staircase. The space had no door, and had two large refrigerators, a washing machine, two cabinets that had cleaning and laundry detergents and tools, and a small table with two chairs. They also ate lunch there that they had brought from home. The avoidance of physical and verbal contact with their Colonia Okinawan employers was extended to their friends and guests. When I tried to talk with Emilia and María, as with another domestic worker at another Colonia Okinawan family I stayed with, they were visibly startled and kept our conversations to minimum.

From my observations of other Colonia Okinawan families who provided the housing and daily necessities for their non-Nikkei Bolivian farm laborers' families, non-Nikkei Bolivian employees' wives were not allowed to enter their employers' houses, except when the Colonia Okinawan wives needed domestic help. Even when the wives of non-Nikkei Bolivian laborers needed to buy bread, vegetables, and other food or condiments from the Colonia Okinawan wives, they waited outside of the backdoor. While I was staying with the Kuniyoshis in Colonia Trés, the wives of non-Nikkei Bolivian field laborers at Kuniyoshis' farm came to the house's backdoor in mornings and evenings. They called out, "*¡Señora!*" from outside the Kuniyoshi house's kitchen, and bought foods from Mrs. Kuniyoshi on credit. Mrs. Kuniyoshi, in turn, brought vegetables and processed foods from the family's storage to the women, who kept waiting outside the kitchen door. The everyday transactions of commodities between Colonia Okinawan señoras and non-Nikkei Bolivian wives of farm laborers created and affirmed the hierarchical relationships between the creditors and renders, employers and employees, and Colonia Okinawans and non-Nikkei Bolivians through spatial divisions.

The stereotypes of non-Nikkei Bolivians as untrustworthy and sneaky, as described in the previous chapters, were also heard from the Colonia Okinawans when they described their maids. During my stay in the Otas' house in Colonia Uno, Mrs. Ota often expressed her distrust of Julia, the non-Nikkei Bolivian high school girl, whom they employed as a domestic worker. As her daughter came out of the living room when the maid was still cleaning the room, she said to her daughter in Japanese, "Don't let her [the maid] stay there alone! You never know if she might steal something." Her Nisei daughter angrily responded, "*Mami* (Mommy), don't say such a thing! How do you know if she will?" The longer the non-Nikkei Bolivian domestic workers worked for the same family, though, the more trust they were awarded by their employers. While the Otas hired Julia only a few months before, the Tsuzakas had employed Nancy and Juanita for seven years. During long absences, such as when Mr. and Mrs. Tsukamoto were visiting their daughters in Japan, the domestic workers were given the keys to the house, and continued to perform the domestic work during the daytime without their employers being at home. While Mrs. Tsukamoto's nephew was also asked to live in the house during the Tsukamotos' absence, Emilia and María were, by and large, allowed to come and go whether or not he was present at the house.

From my observations of other Colonia Okinawan families who employed non-Nikkei Bolivian domestic workers, regularly or temporarily, cooking was one task that non-Nikkei Bolivian maids and Colonia Okinawan wives often did together. Mrs. Tsukamoto and the maids, for instance, did work side by side when they cooked lunch for Mr. Tsukamoto and his guests (my wife and me, in this case), but the maids quickly left the room as soon as their help was no longer needed. They never ate with the Tsukamoto family, and ate their own meals brought from home. Mrs. Tsukamoto often called up Emilia and María from her seat at the dining table, when she needed extra help from them. Even when the space and task were shared by the Colonia Okinawan and non-Nikkei Bolivian women, however, there was a clear hierarchy of work and space. While Colonia Okinawan women were in charge of actual cooking, such as seasoning, frying, boiling, and baking, non-Nikkei Bolivian maids were assigned preparatory tasks, such as washing and peeling vegetables, removing guts of fish and cleaning them. For these "dirty" tasks, it was common for the maids to use outdoor sinks and water basins, which the Colonia Okinawan women rarely used, and they entered the kitchen only to deliver the prepared materials. As other studies on domestic workers demonstrate, by relegating the undesirable menial tasks to the paid domestic workers, and by keeping physically light and less demeaning work to themselves, employers produce and affirm race and class inequalities between women (Parreñas 2001; Rollins 1985; Romero 1992). Moreover, by employing non-Nikkei Bolivian domestic workers and managing the work and spatial distinctions between the domestics and themselves within their households, Colonia Okinawan women defined themselves by fashioning their identities and activities as "not maids" and as "not (non-Nikkei) Bolivians."

The hierarchical relationship based upon class and ethnic differences between señoras and domestic maids was not unique to Colonia Okinawa, but also observed in the altiplano, where *indigena* (indigenous women) domestic workers were often depicted as "dependent" and "childlike," and in need of material and moral assistance from the upper-class (and Spaniard or mestizo) women (Stephenson 1999:28-9). Just as on farm fields, in which the hierarchical and essentialized differences between Colonia Okinawan patrones and non-Nikkei Bolivian trabajadores were made and affirmed through everyday practices, in a domestic sphere of individual households, distinctive class and racial subject-positions of Colonia Okinawan women vis-à-vis non-Nikkei Bolivian domestics were formed through differentiated household labor practices of Colonia Okinawan señoras and non-Nikkei Bolivian domestics.

Ambiguous Insiders: Intermarriages

In a Japanese language class at the CBJ school, a teacher asked her students to write a sentence with the expression they had just learnt: "it is very likely that . . . ." One student, a Colonia Okinawan Sansei girl, raised her hand, and read aloud her sentence: "It is very likely that all people in Colonia (i.e., Colonia Okinawans) will become relatives in the future." Indeed, the vast majority of those of the small Nisei population in Colonia Okinawa had married another Nisei, and there were very few intermarried couples who lived in Colonia Okinawa. As a distinct minority within the community, the intermarried couples expressed what Nazli Kibria (2002) called "ethnic aspirations" through their social and sexual transgressions. Colonia Okinawans' narratives on intermarriages showed their "wishes and desires about the developing form and character of ethnic identity in their lives" (Kibria 2002:159), as well as their naturalized stereotypes of

"Bolivian," "Japanese," and "Okinawan" men and women. At the most general level, intermarriages radically disrupted the community's ideal of endogamous unions. In Anbo et al.'s survey conducted in 1996, 55 percent of Issei preferred Colonia Okinawa-born Nikkei as "very desirable" potential spouses for their Nisei children's and Sansei grandchildren, while only two percent said the same about non-Nikkei Bolivians ('Boliviajin') (Anbo, et al. 1998:252).

Issei's general disapproval of intermarriage always pointed to what they regarded as the questionable qualities of "people here" (non-Nikkei Bolivian men and women), whom they believed to be unfit for marriage with their children. They feared that their grandchildren would be morally corrupted by a non-Nikkei Bolivian parent. Mr. Sasajima Makoto put this way:

> I think 90 percent of [intermarriages] have failed. People here ('*kocchi no hito*') are good talkers ('*kuchi ga umai*'), so we (i.e., Colonia Okinawans) tend to be enticed by their talking. . . . But [mixed] kids tend to become Bolivians ('*Bolivia-jin*'), especially after they go to high school in the city, even if they used to be good kids in the Colonia. . . . They don't keep their promises, aren't punctual, and lose sympathy ('*ninjō*'). . . . The kids should maintain Japanese culture, even after leaving here.

Despite the negative stereotypes of non-Nikkei Bolivian spouses and mixed children, which were shared among most Colonia Okinawans, especially Issei, intermarried couples and their children coped with the social divisions in the community that profoundly affected their sexuality and household affairs.

Oversexualized Non-Nikkei Bolivians

Colonia Okinawans' intermarriages with non-Nikkei Bolivian spouses initially faced strong opposition from the Issei parents, because non-Nikkei Bolivian (both men and women) were stigmatized as promiscuous, irresponsible, and extravagant, which were interpreted as the common "Latin" moral and cultural characters.[66] Those Issei whose daughters were, or had been, married to non-Nikkei Bolivian men uniformly expressed their disapproval of their daughters' spouses, even if they appeared to be happily married. Mr. Yamakawa Akira, whose daughter had married and divorced an Argentine man, and had remarried a non-Nikkei Bolivian man, didn't hide his bitterness over her past decisions. He insisted, "People here (*'koko no ningen'*), especially Spaniard men, were so unfaithful. If a husband is Nikkeijin and his wife is genchi-jin, it would be okay, but the opposite combination is not good. We Issei often talk about this. . . . Even for [his daughter's] second marriage, we opposed it, because we were worried that he might have an extramarital affair." The stereotype of over-sexualized Bolivian men might originate in the earlier days of Colonia Okinawa, when the Colonia Okinawan community suffered from several cases of sexual violence by non-Nikkei Bolivian men, and had to "defend their women" without much protection by police. Those Colonia Okinawan women who married non-Nikkei Bolivian men, therefore, had to cope with a dominant stereotype of sexually irresponsible "Latin" men.

Unions between a Colonia Okinawan husband and a non-Nikkei Bolivian woman were slightly more common than the opposite, partly because Colonia Okinawan men were more sexually exposed to non-Nikkei women outside of the Colonia Okinawa community from the early settlement period. An elderly Issei told me that in the early settlement period, single Okinawan men often went to the city to "buy [non-Nikkei Bolivian] women," and that they would take new Okinawan settlers to the whorehouses.

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[66] This view was shared among Nikkei Peruvians, too. See Miasato (2002) on intermarriages and sexualities of Nikkei Peruvians in Lima.

Perhaps because of these experiences, non-Nikkei Bolivian women were seen as promiscuous and unfit to be their spouse, while non-Nikkei Bolivian wives of Nisei Colonia Okinawan men were often stigmatized as sexually irresponsible. Mr. Yara Satoshi, an elderly Issei, told me that Issei parents generally discourage their sons from intermarriage. He said, "There are many Issei who warn their sons not to marry a local woman ('*genchi no onna*'). . . . First of all, those [Colonia Okinawan] guys who can't tolerate a wife's infidelity shouldn't marry [a non-Nikkei Bolivian woman], because local [non-Nikkei Bolivian] men and women are very tolerant of infidelity, saying, 'Even if you have an affair, nobody will notice after you wash yourself' (laugh)." Non-Nikkei Bolivian women were also considered materialistic and extravagant. Rather than being thrifty and supporting their husbands and children, non-Nikkei Bolivian wives were stereotyped as spending all her husband's money on herself and her own family. Mrs. Shinjo Yoshiko, whose Nisei son was married a non-Nikkei Bolivian woman, explained: "If you have a Bolivian wife, your family can't survive because she wastes money. [Her son] always gives money to his wife's siblings. [Her daughter-in-law's relatives] exploit a relative who has money." The intermarried couples with a Colonia Okinawan husband and a non-Nikkei Bolivian wife, therefore, had to fend off stereotypes of the Bolivian wife being unfaithful and gold-digging.

Between Nikkei and non-Nikkei

The intermarried couples struggled to overcome not only the Colonia Okinawa community's prejudice against their union, but also their children's ambiguous position within the sharply divided social world of Colonia Okinawa. Mrs. Nakamoto Eriko got married to Mr. Carlos Lozada in Yokohama, soon after they went to Japan for dekasegi together. Like many Colonia Okinawan women, she decided to go to Japan in 1990, after graduating from high school and "staying home for a while, and working in the hospital for a while" in Colonia Okinawa. They had known each other since high school, but Eriko's parents were against their marriage. Mrs. Nakamoto Sumiko, Eriko's mother, explained: "We were opposed to [Eriko's] marriage. We were so worried about the 'language problem,' that we wouldn't be able to understand each other. . . . Right now, we have grandchildren, and things have been smoothed over." According to Eriko and her parents, Carlos talked to her parents in "rudimentary Japanese" and they managed to communicate with each other.

When they went to Japan together, Carlos entered Japan with a tourist visa, and after they married in Japan, he switched his visa to a working visa. Their first daughter, Sayaka, was born in Yokohama, and grew up there until December of 1996, when they decided to return to Colonia Okinawa, and, with the money they had saved through dekasegi, opened a hardware, machinery parts, and construction material store for the farmers and builders in the village. In early 1999, with the recession sinking in Colonia Okinawa, however, their store was hit by a decreasing demand from Colonia Okinawan farmers, their main customers. In April, Carlos again left for dekasegi in Japan, "to make money to keep the store running" (Eriko). Eriko considered moving with him to Japan, but the Japanese economy's recession made her think twice about the decision: "If we can manage to keep the store open with only remittances from Japan, we would rather stay here."

Although Eriko said that she wasn't particularly uncomfortable despite her family being a minority within the community, she had concerns about the discrimination that

Sayaka, her mixed and Japanese-born daughter, had experienced at kindergarten and at CBJ School:

> When Sayaka heard that we might join my husband in Japan, Sayaka was happy. (Suzuki: '*Why?*') Because, at the [CBJ] school, her classmates sometimes say things like, "I don't want to play with you because your father is Bolivian." . . . Although I heard that things have improved lately, there were some [divisions] among the students [based on their parents' ethnicities].

After the family returned from Japan, Sayaka went to both the Methodist kindergarten, a Nikkei-only school, and the San Francisco Xavier kindergarten, where almost all students were non-Nikkei Bolivians. She had difficulty adjusting to both schools, but for different reasons. At the Methodist kindergarten and the CBJ School, Sayaka's mixed heritage and her background as Japanese-born meant that other Colonia Okinawan kids had reasons to pick on her. Eriko said:

> At the Methodist kindergarten, [Sayaka's] friends said to her, "Your Japanese is weird," because it had mainlanders' [i.e., not Okinawan] accent. Sayaka tried to change her speech to fit in. . . . They picked on such trivial differences! For example, they made a big deal when Sayaka was wearing an undershirt underneath the school uniform. Also, whenever she says, "In Japan . . . ," her friends resent and pick on her. . . . Lately, though, she is becoming more assertive.

She attributed the children's rejection of Sayaka to 'Okinawan' characteristics. She said, "Okinawans ('*Okinawajin*')" are close-minded. Even in Bolivia, such character has remained."

At the San Francisco kindergarten, however, bullying was never a problem. Eriko believed that it was because Sayaka was "seen as Bolivian," and was a fast learner of Spanish. The problem was, rather, the class difference between Sayaka's family and other children's, which resulted in thefts of her belongings by other children: "Her belongings were stolen very often. Her snacks, lunches, stationary goods . . . . Her pencil case was stolen three times, and her notebook once. As a parent, it was difficult to talk about stealing at the school in front of your children, you know?" Even though Eriko understood that the class difference between Colonia Okinawans and non-Nikkei Bolivians was the origin of such "moral" problems, it was too sophisticated for Eriko to explain the complicated issues of economic inequality and delinquency to a small child like Sayaka, much less help her to cope with.

Perhaps because of the clear class difference she had witnessed in the Nikkei and non-Nikkei schools, Eriko said, Sayaka seemed to consider herself 'Japanese ('Nihonjin'),' rather than 'Bolivian ('Boliviajin'),' despite her trouble with fitting in with other Colonia-born Okinawan friends, and the fact that her father was a non-Nikkei Bolivian. Eriko said that Sayaka not only identified herself as Japanese, but also justified her Japanese identity by claiming that her father was more "Japanese" than other non-Nikkei Bolivians. According to Eriko,

> Sayaka prefers playing with Nikkei kids [to non-Nikkei Bolivian kids]. She says, "[Non-Nikkei Bolivian kids] have different customs," even though I always tell her that's wrong. . . . We parents keep telling [Sayaka] that she is both Japanese and Bolivian, but she herself has a stronger self-awareness of being Japanese. . . . When asked about her father [Carlos], she insists, "Dad is Japanese, because he speaks Japanese. He has a 'Japanese face ('*Nihonjin no kao*'),' too." She said that her uncles – her father's brothers – have a different kind of face. . . . She also told me, "If you [Eriko] have to go to Japan [to join Carlos] without me, I would rather stay with Nakamoto grandma [instead of her paternal grandparents]."

One reason Sayaka may have had these feelings was because she had a much easier time fitting in with her friends at nursery school in Yokohama. Eriko said, "[Sayaka] seemed to have enjoyed her nursery school in Japan more than the Methodist kindergarten [in Colonia Okinawa]. . . . She was born in Japan and grew up surrounded by Japanese, so she had no idea that she was half or Nikkeijin when she was in Japan. That's why she socialized with everybody without prejudice. These children who grew up here since when they were babies notice the difference [between Colonia Okinawans and non-Nikkei Bolivians] from an early age, but Sayaka was oblivious to it." Sayaka, however, had quickly learned such differences between non-Nikkei Bolivian and Nikkei students once they moved to Colonia Okinawa, and longed to return to Japan, where Sayaka believed that class differences were less severe. Eriko recalled that Sayaka told her, "Japan is better than here, isn't it? There are less 'pitiful people ('*kawaisona hito*')' over there." Of course, Eriko was not so optimistic about Sayaka's adjustment to Japan this time. She worried that as a grade school student, rather than a preschooler, Sayaka would have much more difficulty in Japan as a "half" Japanese. She sighed, "Even we (i.e., Nisei Nikkeijin) are seen as foreigners in Japan, so I am worried that Sayaka, as a "half," would have a difficult time." Soon after her father's departure for Japan in 1999, Sayaka began to suffer from recurring headaches, which was diagnosed as stress-related. When I returned to Colonia Okinawa in July 2000, Eriko and her daughters had already moved back to Japan.

Colonia Okinawan men who married non-Nikkei Bolivian women also had to grapple with both their parents' prejudice against their wives and their children's sense of alienation within Colonia Okinawa. Mr. Gima Ken, a Nisei, had been married to Eliana, a non-Nikkei Bolivian woman, since 1992, and they had a daughter, Ayumi, and a son, Toru, between them. Soon after he had graduated from high school, Ken had lived in Japan from 1984 to 1986, through the kenshū program. Since then, he worked at Nichbo Kyōkai and CAICO. He tried farming in his father's small lot (50 hectares), but "it was difficult to do both 'paid work ('*tsutome*')' and farming." He thus remained a rare Nisei man who did not farm. When I interviewed him in December of 1998 to ask him about his kenshū experience in the 1980s, he surprised me by telling me that he was planning to leave for Japan again. It was unexpected to hear that a Nisei man in his mid-thirties, who was not farming and, therefore, not suffering from the burden of debt, had decided to quit his stable job and leave for dekasegi. Other Issei I talked to also found his decision puzzling, saying, "Why does he go [to Japan], despite his job at CAICO? It is not like he has debt, right?"

Ken, responding to my question, said that his decision was not really based on economic reasons. His decision was partly based on his prediction that CAICO might have to lay off some employees because of its sagging profits, and his desire to begin specialized farming in his small lot, such as growing fruit, rather than soybeans and wheat, in the future. He wouldn't really call his move to Japan a dekasegi, because his objective was "not for making money, but for living in Japan as a family." Ayumi and Toru were about to enter elementary school and kindergarten, respectively, so he thought it was good timing for his family to move to Japan. He made up his mind to move when Ayumi, who had difficulty fitting in with her Colonia Okinawan friends at the kindergarten because her mother was "different" from her friends', said to Ken and his wife, "I want a mom who can speak Japanese." Ken also realized that she was becoming more comfortable speaking in Spanish than Japanese. When I asked him what Eliana thought of the decision, he said, "She kind of knew that [dekasegi to Japan] was coming, because everybody around her were Nikkei. So she didn't oppose the idea."

Their motivation to live in Japan was partly due to their desire to be more accepted by the Colonia Okinawan community. Like the Nakamoto-Lozada couple, Ken and Eliana struggled to gain acceptance by the community, particularly among Issei. The community's reluctance to accept them affected their day-to-day interactions with Colonia Okinawans. Ken said:

> I personally think that [Eliana] shouldn't worry about her being Bolivian within this [Nikkei] society, but she does. We have no reason to be ashamed of ourselves; I mean, we don't have to be extremely outspoken, but just be normal. We had a formal wedding ceremony and a wedding banquet; actually, we were the first to have a wedding ceremony as a Nikkeijin and a person here ('*koko no hito*,' i.e., non-Nikkei Bolivian). There are other Nikkei people [who are married non-Nikkei Bolivians], but they normally just cohabited, and then married afterwards, without having a wedding ceremony. . . . They kind of began to 'drop out ('*hazurechau*')' from the [Nikkei] society. Earlier, I was the same, too. My parents were opposed to our marriage, you know? So, I began to think, "Maybe they don't want to be bothered by us," and I started to dissociate from [Colonia Okinawans]. After I got together with my wife, I thought that we wouldn't be able to live here, and would have to move to the city and live and work among 'people here ('*koko no hito*').' But some [Colonia Okinawans] told me, "She is a good person, so don't be ashamed."

Non-Nikkei Bolivian wives felt more alienated among Colonia Okinawan wives than non-Nikkei Bolivian men who were married to Colonia Okinawan women, because Colonia Okinawan women socialized only among themselves at their homes and talked in Japanese, rather than Spanish. Eliana, therefore, sometimes had to cope with getting cold shoulders from other Colonia Okinawan women. Ken said, "My wife kind of understands how it is among [Colonia Okinawan women]. She has figured out which women think of her in what way (i.e., positively or negatively)." After living in Japan for two years, Eliana's Japanese had significantly improved, but she was still not actively reaching out to other Colonia Okinawan women. Ken said:

> [After returning from Japan,] she has not suddenly become outgoing, saying "Hey, I have learned Japanese this much" or something. She is still being very careful. But however little it might be, she did learn Japanese culture before coming back here. So, she is saying, "I am a gaijin in either place, after all, but I have gotten

> along with that many Japanese and other gaijin [in Japan]. So I might make friends with Japanese (i.e., Colonia Okinawans) now."

Ken, however, didn't expect that other Colonia Okinawans would completely accept Eliana with open arms, because of her physical appearance: "After all, it is all about appearance. Some [Colonia Okinawans] are very stubborn and still avoid her, simply because she is 'a person here ('*koko no hito*' i.e., non-Nikkei Bolivian).' If you are 'a person here' you must keep that somewhere in your mind."

During our conversation, he stressed how "different" his wife was from other Bolivian women, telling me several times that his wife was "never extravagant." He told me that how thrifty she was during their dekasegi in Japan: "My wife is very different. She is never wasteful; she never bought clothes for herself. When she had to, like when she had to go to [Ayumi's] school [for PTA meetings and other functions], she went to second-hand stores and bought a 500yen piece of clothing." His emphasis on his wife's frugality indicated how pervasive the negative stereotype of non-Nikkei Bolivian wives was, and his insistence on Eliana's difference from the "typical" non-Nikkei Bolivian women, without challenging the stereotypes themselves, showed that even those Colonia Okinawans who shared the most intimate domestic sphere of the household with their non-Nikkei Bolivian spouses were not immune to the social constructions of differentially racialized sexualities within the Colonia Okinawa community.

Transition through Dekasegi in Japan

The gender regimes in Colonia Okinawa, which were also racially stratified between Colonia Okinawans and non-Nikkei Bolivians, were inevitably challenged and sometimes transformed when Colonia Okinawans were placed within the drastically different socioeconomic conditions of urban Japan. As both Colonia Okinawan men and women were thrown into the Japanese society as lower-paid immigrant laborers, and as they experienced a different lifestyle in urban Japan, they had to reorganize their relationships both in public and domestic spheres. For intermarried couples, dekasegi experience in Japan also posed new challenges for their families in understanding and transforming their gendered and racialized subject-positions within a new social environment.

Public Spheres: Women's Earning Power and Encounters with Others

Most couples who went to Japan intended to save as much money as possible, so wives' participation in the paid labor market was not regarded negatively by their husbands during their dekasegi stints in Japan. The biggest change that Colonia Okinawan dekasegi couples experience in the public gender regimes was the women's active participation in the labor market as paid workers. In contrast with the lack of jobs in Colonia Okinawa, where there were only a limited number of non-farming-related jobs, in Japan, Colonia Okinawan women could find jobs that were not educational or health service-related, such as assembly line workers in manufacturing factories, and, less frequently, clerical positions at offices and cashiers at retail stores. In addition, Colonia Okinawan migrant women, who had grown up primarily speaking in Japanese rather than Spanish, generally had an easier time fitting in than their male counterparts. Women in Colonia Okinawa who had lived in Japan unanimously told me that they had never had a problem communicating in Japanese, and often found it easy to "pass" as Japanese. Many Colonia Okinawan women, of course, had found it difficult to adjust to the fast-paced work of assembly line jobs at factories or to work for long hours at offices, and their employment was no more stable than their husbands'. They added, however, that their jobs at least provided them with opportunities to earn extra money to pay for their living expense in Japan, such as the cost for their children's preschool, and to keep themselves active, which was not an option back in Colonia Okinawa.

As a result, most of my female interviewees told me that they found their work experience in Japan "fulfilling (*'yarigai ga aru'*)," and that their lack of employment in Colonia Okinawa left them feeling that their lives in rural Bolivia were somewhat boring. In fact, during my interviews with Colonia Okinawan couples, who had returned from dekasegi in Japan, most, if not all, told me that the wives would have liked to have stayed in Japan, whereas their husbands were eager to return to Bolivia. I met a few Colonia Okinawan women who had stayed for an extended period in Japan and owned restaurants in Tsurumi. Mrs. Afuso, who was born in Okinawa, Japan, but grew up in Colonia Okinawa since she was six, currently lives in Tsurumi, Yokohama. She is the owner of a small restaurant that served Okinawan and South American dishes in the Nakadori-Ushioda neighborhood of Tsurumi District, and is also doing the accounting for her sons' electric installation firm in the same area. She explained her busy schedule: "Right now, I work at the restaurant six days a week. On Mondays, when the restaurant is closed, I do bookkeeping for my sons' company. When I tell that to my friends back in Colonia on the phone, they say, 'You sound so busy! Are you all right?' (laugh) I think I have become accustomed to the fast pace of life here. When I went back to Colonia three years ago, I became kind of restless after ten days or so. After driving a camioneta (pickup truck) to the grocery store and cleaning house, doing laundry, taking care of the garden, there was nothing to do. I started feeling bored (laugh). No wonder so many

[Colonia Okinawan] mothers there practice sanshin (Okinawan musical instrument), Eisa dance, and such. They need things to do to keep themselves busy." Many Nisei women similarly said that while they were happy to be home in Colonia Okinawa when they returned, but they also felt somehow unfulfilled. Mrs. Nakamoto Eriko, a Nisei returnee from Japan, said, "I do think my home is here, and I like living here, because, after all, this is where I was born and grew up. But there just aren't any jobs for women, so I don't find much motivation in my life ('*seikatsu ni hariai ga nai*'). Everyday, I feel like I am missing something ('*Mainichi nanika monotarinai*')."

Through their experiences at a paid work place, Colonia Okinawan migrant women in Japan constructed various stereotypes of their Others, such as Naichi-jin Japanese, non-Nikkei South Americans, and Okinawans from Okinawa Prefecture. Those women who worked in assembly lines of manufacturing factories recalled how hectic their work was, and lonely they felt among their Naichi-jin coworkers, because they would "suddenly change their attitudes when they found out that you are Nikkeijin" (quoted in Tsujimoto 1998b:7). Other Colonia Okinawan women I interviewed also remembered how people in Japan frowned when they asked directions in Tokyo, because their 'Japanese' physical appearance made Naichi-jin Japanese expect that they must be able to read Japanese maps and street signs. Mrs. Nakamoto, who worked in a window frame manufacturing factory in Yokohama, was afraid of riding the bus for a while, after the bus driver had rudely and repeatedly asked her whether she had paid the proper fare. Despite the abundance of work and earning power they had gained while they were in Japan, they were not impressed by Japanese society in general, claiming that it was not a good place to live permanently. These moments, in which Colonia Okinawan women found themselves viewed as gaijin (foreigners/strangers) in Japanese society, in turn made them view Naichi-jin Japanese as their Others, who appeared unfriendly and "cold" in their eyes.

Through their paid work, other Colonia Okinawan women seemed to have departed from the simple Naichi-jin vs. Japanese-Bolivian dichotomy, and recognized multiple "points of reference" to identify their own subject-positions within the Japanese society. Mrs. Ashimine Rieko was born in Okinawa Prefecture, grew up in Colonia Okinawa, and eventually moved to Japan in the late 1980s. In 1998, she opened a small restaurant that served Okinawan and South American cuisine in Tsurumi. She told me that her restaurant's clients were mostly Nikkei Bolivians and Peruvians, while some Okinawans (from Okinawa Prefecture) also came to eat her Okinawan-style noodle. She kept her restaurant sparsely decorated, except for a small Bolivian national seal framed and hung on the wall, and a small statue of *Shīsā*, a mythical guardian figure that houses in Okinawa Prefecture place on the rooftops to protect their houses from evil. I asked why her restaurant didn't show as stronger Okinawan style, she said, "The restaurants with such strong 'Okinawan taste ('*Okinawa-fū*')' would keep Japanese (i.e., Naichi-jin Japanese) customers away. But if the restaurant is too 'clean and stylish ('*kirei*'),' Okinawans [from Okinawa Prefecture] would not come. Even this place, some of my Okinawan clients say, 'This place is so clean-cut that it makes me uncomfortable sitting here!'(laugh)"

Her stereotyping extended beyond the dichotomy between "stylish" Japanese Naichi-jin and earthy Okinawans. She also made a contrast between Colonia Okinawan migrants and non-Nikkei Bolivians, both of whom frequented her restaurant, claiming that Nikkei Bolivians were better adjusted to "Japanese" culture and customs. Once I visited her restaurant, she was preparing for a fiesta planned by Nikkei Bolivians at her place. She looked quite worried, and told me why: "I don't even know how many of them will come. My place is very small, you know? If there are only Nikkei [Bolivians], I wouldn't mind, because if they see more people coming to the restaurant, they would stand up and make room for those who just came in. But non-Nikkei ones, I mean 'pure Bolivians (*'junsui na Boliviajin'*),' wouldn't care and would occupy the seats for hours. . . . (*Suzuki: "How many will be coming?"*) You know how South Americans' (*'Nanbei no hito no'*) fiesta is. They would come to the fiesta even if they don't know who is hosting it. There will be a lot of them coming, including those who just have heard about the fiesta. I think there will be some people who will come in, eat, and drink, but will never pay [for what they have eaten and drunk] (sigh and frown)." The various stereotypes she presented here were not simply the contrast between behaviors of generalized 'Bolivians' and 'Japanese,' but different types of Japanese – Naichi-jin and Okinawans from Okinawa Prefecture – customers and South American – non-Nikkei ("pure") or Nikkei – clients at her restaurants, which she essentialized based on their ethnic and national backgrounds.

Colonia Okinawan women, who had largely been excluded from the public spheres of paid labor market within Colonia Okinawa, obtained earning power once they migrated to urban Japan. This transition meant that they gained a new sense of empowerment and satisfaction that they were unable to feel back in Colonia Okinawa. The transition also enabled Colonia Okinawan women to understand their own identities and behaviors not only in terms of their gender and their relationships with Colonia

Okinawan men, but also their self-understanding as Colonia Okinawans, vis-à-vis Naichi-jin Japanese, Okinawans from Okinawa Prefecture, Nikkei Bolivians, non-Nikkei Bolivians, and South Americans in general.

Communal Spheres: Changing Characters of "Community"

Whereas communal events in Colonia Okinawa were constructed as a quasi-public sphere where women were important participants, even if they were relegated to the background tasks of cooking and cleaning, Colonia Okinawan migrants in Japan had neither a geographically concentrated community like Colonia Okinawa, nor a formal community organization like Nichibo Kyōkai to organize large-scale communal events. The character of the Colonia Okinawan community, in other words, significantly shifted from a structured and quasi-public institution in Colonia Okinawa to a more spontaneous and private networks among personal friends and relatives in Yokohama.[67] This changing meaning of the Colonia Okinawa community from public to private institution changed the Colonia Okinawan women's roles in the communal events as well.

Mrs. Afuso, who lived in Yokohama with her sons, explained how her socializing networks are: "There are so many relatives and friends here that you really don't have to socialize with anyone other than your own relatives and people from Colonia." The largest socializing occasions they had were occasional barbeques at the river banks of the Tsurumi River in Yokohama or Hiratsuka River in Hiratsuka, and soccer games in the Hiratsuka city parks. Unlike Nichibo Kyōkai-organized communal events in Colonia Okinawa, which placed a large amount of responsibility on the members of the Mothers'

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[67] Tsujimoto (1999) notes that *Boribia Shinboku-kai* (Bolivia Friendship Association), a community association among Colonia Okinawan migrants was founded in 1994 for recreational purposes. When I conducted fieldwork in Yokohama in 2000, however, I was told that the association was virtually defunct.

Associations, and required significant amount of voluntary labor contribution from the women, these sporadic events required little labor for preparation from Colonia Okinawan migrant women, partly due to the availability of pre-made food at convenience stores, and their participation in these occasions was, unlike those in Colonia Okinawa, completely voluntary. Moreover, as the Colonia Okinawan migrant women worked in the public spheres of paid labor market, and significantly contributed to the household economy with their earnings, they were not expected to show how valuable their labor power was to their husbands and other Colonia Okinawan men through labor donation at the quasi-public communal events. The change of communal events from "public" in Colonia Okinawa to "private" in urban Japan made the division of labor between Colonia Okinawan men and women at the communal events far less significant in Japan than in Colonia Okinawa.

Domestic Spheres: Advantages and Limitations of Urban Life

Colonia Okinawan women's domestic work became much easier when they moved to urban Japan with their families. While they had to clean their large houses in a dusty, rural setting in Bolivia, their small apartment units in urban Japan required much less labor. They also enjoyed the convenience of urban Japan, where they could purchase food and other necessities at supermarkets and convenience stores, many of which were open twenty-four hours, seven days a week. What Mrs. Yonamine Keiko, a Nisei returnee from dekasegi in Japan, most missed was the convenience of life in Japan. Knowing that I am originally from Japan, she said, "Compared to here [Colonia Okinawa], isn't Japan better? I mean, there are crimes and accidents because it is so urban, but the life there is so convenient. Whenever our child got sick, for instance, we could just run to a convenience store or a pharmacy nearby, even at midnight. You can't do it here, because health insurance and medical systems are not established in Bolivia. I am glad that we could return to Colonia, but sometimes I think that life was much easier when we were in Japan."

Colonia Okinawan women's preference for urban Japan was also expressed when they mentioned their children's social life and school education. Urban Japan had a more structured school education and abundant entertainment for children and families, such as neighborhood parks and playgrounds, amusement parks, and zoos. Many women fondly recalled family excursions to an amusement park and a zoo in the weekends, and how their children enjoyed nursery school or kindergarten in Japan. Mrs. Yonamine Keiko told me how her son, Shun, had difficulty adjusting to the life in Colonia Okinawa, when the family moved from Japan:

> For the first few years after we came back here, [Shun] insisted, "I'm Japanese, not Bolivian," and didn't like playing with other [Colonia Okinawan] kids. He loved playing in a sandbox when he was in preschool in Japan. But when we came back, kids here didn't play with sand, so they just destroyed the things he had made, like buildings, train railways, or a cake. Then, he got into a fight with them (laugh). The [Colonia Okinawan] kids here spoke Japanese, too, but they frowned when [Shun] spoke 'clean ('*kirei na*')' Japanese. You wouldn't be accepted in a group unless you use this place's Japanese language ('*koko no nihon-go*': i.e., Okinawan-accented Japanese).
> . . . For children to get an education, Japan is much better. Children learn hard work and making efforts to accomplish their goals at school. That's why I wanted to give him education over there for a few years to build some foundation, even though I knew we would come back [to Bolivia] soon. If you build a solid foundation [at a school in Japan] for children, they would succeed here, too, even if they initially struggle for the first few years.

For her, education meant discipline and character development, rather than academic skills and knowledge, aspects that Colonia Okinawan women felt were lacking in Bolivian education.

Nevertheless, most Colonia Okinawan migrant women did not plan to live in Japan for good, because they realized that they would permanently remain 'foreigners' in the society. Mrs. Nakamoto recalled that socializing with her neighbors in Yokohama was difficult at times. When she brought Sayaka, her then-preschool daughter, to a nearby playground, other Japanese Naichi-jin children and their mothers avoided them. She said, "It might not have had to do with us being Nikkeijin from South America, but these mothers [who brought their young children to the same playground] didn't want their children to play with Sayaka. It seemed really hard for a newcomer to join a circle of friends among Japanese wives." One of Tsujimoto's interviewees, who migrated from Colonia Okinawa and married to another Colonia Okinawan migrant man in Japan, told him that she did not want raise her children in Japan because they would still be seen as, after all, "*gaikokujin* (foreigners)" by "Japanese here (i.e., Naichi-jin Japanese)" (Tsujimoto 1998b:7).

With the plan of returning to Bolivia in the future in their minds, therefore, Colonia Okinawan mothers were worried that their children might not be able to fit in Bolivian society, had they stayed in Japan too long. Mrs. Yonamine Keiko, who returned from Japan with her children when they were preschoolers, told me that the main reason that she and her husband decided to return to Bolivia was for their children to master Spanish. As a Nisei woman, Mrs. Yonamine bitterly remembered how difficult it was for her female friends and herself to try to catch up with urban Bolivian students at high school in Santa Cruz de la Sierra, after primarily speaking and reading Japanese in the insulated domestic sphere of the Colonia Okinawa community. She, therefore, also wanted to make sure that her children would come back to Bolivia early enough to learn

Spanish well and to be able to compete with urban Bolivian children ("not the rural Bolivians") when they advance to high schools. Colonia Okinawan women struggled to manage the complicated processes of their Sansei children's "Japanization" and "Bolivianization" through school education in two different social conditions, in hope of nurturing "good Nikkei" subjects, who possessed "Japanese" moral and discipline as well as 'Bolivian' linguistic and social competence.

Intermarried Couples

For intermarried Colonia Okinawan couples, their alienness was more visible, because of their Bolivian spouses' physical appearance, than it was for endogamous Colonia Okinawan dekasegi migrant couples in Japan. Such visible markers of Otherness forced both Colonia Okinawan men and women to transgress the social boundaries of public and domestic spheres, and cope with their spouses' and children's problems, as they suffered overt and covert prejudice in both the domestic and public spheres of their lives in urban Japan. As a result, these Colonia Okinawans had to become the spokesperson for their household while they were in Japan, even if they occasionally found themselves in uncomfortable situations. Colonia Okinawan women who were married to non-Nikkei Bolivian men, for instance, often found jobs where their husbands worked, partly because their husbands couldn't communicate with their coworkers and supervisors.

Colonia Okinawan migrant women were in charge of visiting real estate agencies in town to find the family's apartment, because, as Mrs. Nakamoto de Lozada, an intermarried Nisei woman, said, "If a non-Nikkei [husband] goes to the real estate agency, they will turn him down just by looking at his face." In contrast, Colonia Okinawan husbands with non-Nikkei Bolivian wives partook in the roles that had been primarily fulfilled by their wives in Colonia Okinawa. When Mr. Gima Ken, whose wife was a non-Nikkei Bolivian, attended his daughter's elementary school functions in Hiratsuka city, he often felt overwhelmed by the dominance of women (mothers) at PTA meetings and at parent-teacher conferences ("I was stunned at the PTA assembly; they were all mothers! There was literally no father at all!"). Although his daughter didn't suffer from serious bullying at the school, he said, she still struggled to make friends with her classmates. Because his wife was unable to help her out, he had to assume the role of caretaker. He described how he helped his daughter's problems at school:

> We went there in January, and [his children] hadn't gone to preschool or kindergarten over there, so they had no friends at all. They, of course, didn't understand the language, either. [His daughter] is not an outgoing type, so she didn't go out and mingle with others. . . . So soon she started to say, "My head hurts." For the first half a year, or a year or so, she was always like that. So I took her to T University [hospital] to see a doctor, and received some medicine – the Japanese medicine was pretty safe. Then, the doctor said to us, "[The daughter's headache] had a lot to do with stress." . . . So, after the first year, after I accompanied her to all her sessions with the doctor, the number of her visits [to the doctor] finally began to decrease.

He had to deal with his daughter's emotional and physical problems on his wife's behalf, while his wife struggled with her own adjustment in a foreign land. She took a few different part-time jobs at supermarkets and other stores in the span of two years, but she struggled to find employment and was often fired from the jobs she did obtain. With an extremely tight part-time job market across industries and regions, Mr. Gima believed that his wife's difficulty in finding and retaining jobs had less to do with her 'gaijin' status and lack of fluency in Japanese than the fact that she had young children, which disallowed her to be flexible in the hours she could work. Mr. Gima recalled his wife's problems:

> While she was working at a store, when she heard difficult [Japanese] expressions, like "*tanaoroshi* (storewide inventory count)," she called my cell phone at work and asked me what they meant. . . . She was turned down for some jobs, not when they found out that she was gaijin, but after they asked her, "Do you have children?" . . . It was so stressful for my wife when she didn't have any job, because she would have to stay home all the time. It was so different [from being at home in Colonia Okinawa]. If she was at home here, she could go outside and take care of the garden and other stuff, but in Japan, our apartment only had a kitchen, a room, and a closet. Shopping might be another [chore], but my wife wasn't spendy at all.

Mr. Gima had to help with household labor more than he had to in Bolivia, such as following ordinances on sorting out different kinds of garbage, because his wife was unable to read the rules. He did so also because he was aware that he and his gaijin wife would be under his neighbors' microscope. He said, "We were so careful at first. I mean, how was I supposed to know how to sort out our trash? Here, we just burn them all (laugh). It was much stricter over there. . . . There were some [Naichi-jin Japanese] neighbors who were not doing it in the right way, but it is gaijin who can get blamed. . . . So you can't do anything bad." He was, therefore, even more aware of his wife's and his own alienness in Japanese society, projected upon his wife and himself by their Japanese Naichi-jin neighbors, than endogamous Colonia Okinawan migrant couples in Japan. He added, "If I were there by myself, people might not really notice that I am from South America. But I have my [non-Nikkei Bolivian] wife with me, and [his neighbors] would see her or our [South American] friends, speaking in Spanish, visiting our apartment. Then, they would realize [that he was not native Japanese]."

Because of their spouses' visibility as "foreigners," intermarried Colonia Okinawan migrants had to assume their gender roles more flexibly and be even more careful not to cause trouble in their neighborhood than endogamous Colonia Okinawan migrant couples in Japan. In so doing, they became more aware of their own ambiguous subject-positions as the cultural and linguistic mediator between their "pure" foreigner spouses and the "pure" Naichi-jin Japanese in household and neighborhood affairs in and around their residence in Japan.

Intermarriage and Dating with Naichi-jin Japanese

Most single Colonia Okinawans who migrated to Japan dated or married other Colonia Okinawan migrants or other South American Nikkeijin (from Brazil, Peru, or Argentina), with only a small number of cases of intermarriage or dating with Japanese Naichi-jin partners. Among my Colonia Okinawan coworkers at T Denki, only one of them was dating a Japanese Naichi-jin woman, who had lived in Dominican Republic as a JICA Youth Volunteer, while the rest were dating or married to women from either Colonia Okinawa or South America.[68] Mr. Kabira Yoshiki, an unmarried Nisei, gave me his explanation of why intermarriages between Colonia Okinawan dekasegi migrants and Japanese Naichi-jin were infrequent: "Frankly, we [Colonia Okinawan dekasegi migrants] don't have much time to socialize. We are here to work, save money, and go back [to Bolivia]. So most of us work overtime and go home just to sleep. There aren't many chances to meet [Naichi-jin women]."

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[68] Ikuno (2000:302) stated that it was also common among Nikkei Bolivians to marry other foreign immigrants in Japan. I heard about only one such case of intermarriage, between a Nisei Okinawan-Bolivian man from Colonia Uno and his Thai wife. They met each other a through JICA's kenshū program.

The lack of opportunities to meet Naichi-jin women was not the only reason that there have been few cases of intermarriage. Those Colonia Okinawan migrant men who had dated Naichi-jin women in the past told me that the stereotypes the women and their parents held about Bolivia scared them away. Mr. Shimabukuro Tomoki, who had worked in Chiba Prefecture in Japan for three years before returning to Colonia Okinawa, recalled his relationship with his Naichi-jin girlfriend. Before leaving Japan for Bolivia, he asked his girlfriend to come to Bolivia with him to "see how it is" in Bolivia, but she refused: "She thought that there was only jungle in Bolivia. She didn't know how it really is." Mrs. Kinjo Sawako, one of a few Japanese Naichi-jin women who had married a Colonia Okinawan, met her husband, Mr. Kinjo Gustavo, when he was working in Japan. They faced strong opposition from Sawako's parents, because "they had never been out of Japan their entire lives" (Gustavo), and "they were afraid that their daughter would be gone to a faraway place for good" (Sawako). Upon her marriage with Gustavo, she knew that she would eventually move to Bolivia with Gustavo and their children. Her parents were not happy about her decision to marry him, much less their move to Bolivia. The couple was still trying to invite Sawako's parents over Colonia Okinawa to visit, and hope that "time [would] cure their [bitter] feelings" about their marriage.

Japanese Naichi-jin women and their parents were not the only ones who were reluctant. Higa Yuji, my colleague at T Denki, was dating with a Nisei Colonia Okinawan-Bolivian girl, whose father used to work at T Denki. She was born in Peru, from which her family migrated to Colonia Okinawa when she was four. I asked why Okinawan-Bolivians seemed to date or marry among themselves:

Suzuki: Why do you guys (i.e., Colonia Okinawan migrant men) all seem to date with girls from Bolivia? I mean, you guys speak Japanese pretty well, so I don't think that communication problem can be a hung-up.

Yuji: Hmmm, I don't know why. Most guys from Bolivia are dating with South American women, like Brazilian. . . . Bolivian or Brazilian guys are not having any success picking up Japanese girls.

Suzuki: So, which do you prefer to date, Japanese ('Nihonjin') or South American girls?

Yuji: I think . . . hmmm . . . , compared with South Americans, Japanese girls seem too delicate to me.

Japanese women's "delicateness" was contrasted with the supposed frankness and vulgar sexuality of South American women that Yuji and other Colonia Okinawan migrant men at T Denki seemed to prefer, even though these qualities were precisely detested by the Colonia Okinawa community.

The stereotyped differences between the characters of Japanese Naichi-jin and South American women were often naturalized and highlighted through the over-sexualized bodies of South American women. At T Denki office (Mr. Tamashiro's apartment), there were a number of nude pictures of Brazilian (white or mestizo) female models, color-photocopied from an imported Brazilian edition of Playboy magazine, hung on the walls. Onaga, another Colonia Okinawawan electrician, was often teased by his colleagues because whenever he saw a voluptuous woman with large hip on the sidewalk, he whistled and yelled at her, "*¡Hoy, Brasilera!* (Hi, Brazilian girl!)," without knowing if she was Brazilian or South American. Their preference of over-sexualized and easygoing South American women reified by their glamorous bodies, seemed to perpetuate avoidance of and Japanese Naichi-jin women by Colonia Okinawan migrant men, and led them to seek South American women. In reality, though, there were few non-Nikkei South American migrants in Japan, so Colonia Okinawan migrant men mostly dated and married South American Nikkeijin women, who might not have "glamorous" bodies of stereotypical "South American" women, which represent abundant sexuality and easygoingness.

While there no statistical information available, I was often told by Colonia Okinawans that more Colonia Okinawa women married Naichi-jin Japanese men than had their male counterparts while they were in Japan. One of the reasons for this gender imbalance was hinted by Ikuno (2000:301), who found that those Bolivian Nikkeijin in Japan who married Naichi-jin Japanese met their spouses at vocational schools and on-the-job-training sites where they studied and worked during kenshū training programs. The kenshū programs, as I discussed in the previous chapter, were predominantly participated in by Colonia Okinawan women, and they studied and worked with mostly Japanese Naichi-jin. Due to this environment, they improved their Japanese language, which they already spoke more fluently than men even before leaving Bolivia, and had more exposure to Japanese Naichi-jin. Intermarriages between Naichi-jin men and Colonia Okinawan women were less likely to be opposed by the parents of either side than Colonia Okinawan migrant men's marriages with Naichi-jin women, because the couples were considered more likely to live in Japan for good. Colonia Okinawan parents of the wife also rarely objected to their daughter's decision to stay in Japan.

Despite these differences, though, the vast majority of Colonia Okinawan migrant women in Japan socialized mainly with other Colonia Okinawan migrants and South American Nikkeijin, and preferred dating or marrying Colonia Okinawan men over Japanese Naichi-jin men. Tsujimoto (1998b), who interviewed several Colonia Okinawan women who had migrated to Japan, found that the women, like their male counterparts, found Japanese Naichi-jin unfriendly and "cold." One of his interviewees, who had married another Colonia Okinawan man and worked in a Colonia Okinawan-owned company, felt that she could never completely pass as 'Japanese,' and was always "discovered" as a "foreigner ('gaikokujin')" by "Japanese (i.e., Naichi-jin)" even outside the workplaces (Tsujimoto 1998b:7). Another female interviewee, who also lived in Japan (her marital status was not revealed), told Tsujimoto that she could not make friends or date Japanese, because she thought "Japanese men ('*Nihon no dansei*') [were] lousy ('*hetakuso*') in dealing with women," unlike Bolivian men, who she considered "very kind" (ibid:8). Although it was unclear whether by "Bolivian men" she meant Nikkei or non-Nikkei Bolivians, it was apparent that those men from Bolivia and South America were viewed by her as having more desirable cultural qualities when it came to dating. These stereotypes of "cold" and unkind Japanese Naichi-jin men, which were contrasted with "warm" and kind Bolivian men, discouraged Colonia Okinawan migrant women in Japan from socializing, dating, or intermarrying Japanese Naichi-jin men.

These examples suggest that domestic spheres of sexuality are also a critical site in which Colonia Okinawan migrant men and women's subject-positions are formed through categorization and stereotyping of Bolivian, Japanese Naichi-jin, and South American Nikkeijin. These stereotypes, which were projected on the bodies and behaviors of Colonia Okinawan migrants and their Others in urban Japan, were produced and valorized through their marriage, dating, and other intimate connections in everyday social life. These embodied differentiations between Colonia Okinawan migrants and their Others, in turn, created a profound sense of nonbelonging in Japanese society among Colonia Okinawans. Some of the Colonia Okinawan men who had returned to

Bolivia from Japan told me that breaking off a relationship with a Japanese girlfriend was one of the reasons they finally decided to come back to Colonia Okinawa.

Changes and Unchanges after Dekasegi

Although there seemed to be little lasting change in gender regimes after they returned to Colonia Okinawa from dekasegi stints in Japan, some Colonia Okinawans, particularly Issei men who had remained in Colonia Okinawa throughout the pre- and post-dekasegi years of their Nisei daughters, were perplexed, if not disturbed, by the influence of dekasegi had had on them. Nisei women returnees from Japan appeared to them to be too materialistic and career-oriented after their dekasegi experiences. When I asked Mr. Machida Susumu, an Issei man, why many Nisei women still lived in Japan, and seemed to prefer living in Japan, he said, "Women prefer a more extravagant lifestyle than the Colonia's." Some other Issei men also complained "today's young mothers" had become lazy after tasting the convenience of urban life in Japan.

Issei fathers were concerned about their daughters, who seemed to have changed after their dekasegi stints in Japan. Mr. Tamashiro Yoshio, whose daughter had recently returned from Japan, complained that she was not yet married at 29 years old. After working in a computer manufacturing factory in Kawasaki city for ten years, she returned to Bolivia, and opened a wholesale business in Santa Cruz de la Sierra with the money she had saved in Japan. Mr. Tamashiro said with a sigh, "I am urging her, 'You are already 29 years old. It's about time to marry.' But she says that many of her friends in Japan were single after 30. She says, 'So I am still *joven* (youth).' . . . Besides, she had never drunk alcohol before she had gone to Japan. But now she has been totally 'Japanized ('*Nihon-ka sarete*'),' she drinks a lot." Drinking, as I mentioned earlier in the chapter, was regarded as a man's, not woman's, habit in Colonia Okinawa, so Mr. Toyama thought that his daughter's newly acquired drinking habit was yet another bad influence of urban life in Japan on Nisei women.

It appears that those families who have moved to the city (Santa Cruz de la Sierra, for example) had to shift to double income households, due to the increasing family expenditures, but Colonia Okinawa's stagnant labor market and the tight-knit social fabric of an ethnic community prevented Colonia Okinawans, both men and women, from addressing and transforming the rigid gender regimes in public, communal, and domestic spheres. There were, however, some signs of change, largely due to the strained financial situations of Colonia Okinawan families. Traditionally, the New Year's festivities, beginning on New Year's Day and ending on the third of January, were quite extravagant in Colonia Okinawa, and each family (i.e., wives) had to constantly prepare many dishes and provide abundant liquor for the guests, mainly young men, who went from house to house. Although the occasions were jovial and regarded as an important annual event, many women had long complained about the amount of work it entailed. A Nisei housewife told me, "It is too much work for women! The guests come and go incessantly and randomly, so women had to serve the food on the table, and put them away, only to serve them on the table again for the next visitor." In contrast, New Year's Day in 2001 was celebrated by Colonia Okinawan families of Colonia Uno at the newly completed gymnasium next to the Nichibo Kyōkai headquarter, where they had a lunch and a banquet in the evening. There, while they still had to prepare a large amount of food for all the guests, Colonia Okinawan mothers and wives were able to celebrate the New Year with their families and friends, playing and cheering for volleyball and *futsal* (floor soccer) games. The official reason given for the change was the inauguration of the new gymnasium, but it resulted from a considerable number of requests from Colonia Uno residents, including women, to organize the community event to ease the financial burden on the family and to reduce the work and stress put on the women.[69]

Conclusion

Constructions of transnational Okinawans' gendered subject-positions in Colonia Okinawa and urban Japan were inevitably linked to their class and racial formations in both locations. I have explored how Colonia Okinawan women's identities and behaviors were defined by everyday divisions of labor in public spheres, such as paid workplaces and community organizations, where their designated roles and positions were differentiated from Colonia Okinawan men's and non-Nikkei Bolivians'. Once they moved to Japan, the gender bifurcations among Colonia Okinawans in public spheres were radically challenged. Economic necessity and Nisei women's generally superior communication skills in Japanese pushed the women into the public and sphere of the paid labor market, and made them significant financial contributors within their households.

Transnational Okinawan women's roles within the communal spheres also differed between Colonia Okinawa and urban Japan, because the communal spheres themselves changed drastically. In Colonia Okinawa, where the communal events were regarded with prime importance for the community's existence, the women had to donate their labor significantly more than men, and thereby proved their value within the community to their male counterparts. Once they moved to Japan, in contrast, there was neither a coherent communal sphere among Colonia Okinawan migrants, nor were there large-scale communal events. Furthermore, as the Colonia Okinawan migrant women were participating in the public spheres of society through paid work, they had little need to prove their importance to their male counterparts. As a result, Colonia Okinawan migrant women were primarily involved with private leisure activities within their family, relatives, and friends.

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[69] This change, however, took place only in Colonia Uno so far. When I told this news to a male resident of Colonia Trés, he snickered: "I heard about [the change], but we [Colonia Trés] hasn't changed and will not change. That is how it is supposed to be."

The gender roles and subject-positions of transnational Okinawan women in individual households were also differently defined in the two locales. In Colonia Okinawa, although household chores were primarily women's responsibility, they also followed typical upper-class women's practices in Bolivia, using their racial-class advantage within the Colonia Okinawa community by outsourcing their work to the non-Nikkei Bolivian domestic workers. By introducing the race-class divisions of the community into their private households, and by micro-managing the spatial segregation of labor and social life between the non-Nikkei Bolivian maids and themselves, Colonia Okinawan women's subject-positions were constituted as "not Colonia Okinawan men's" and "not non-Nikkei Bolivian's." Those Nisei Colonia Okinawans who married non-Nikkei Bolivians had to cope with the racialized stereotypes held in the Colonia Okinawa community, and projected on their spouses, which included ideas of both their character and sexuality. They had to fight the negative perceptions of many of the community members and prove that they, too, belonged to the Colonia Okinawa community.

After Colonia Okinawans migrated to Japan, the convenience of urban life significantly lessened the women's domestic labor, and gender division within the individual households became less significant. Intermarried Colonia Okinawan migrant men, furthermore, frequently participated in domestic affairs, such as socializing with neighbors and meeting their children's healthcare and education needs. Through their expanded roles in household affairs, they realized their profound Otherness within the Japanese society, because they often had to play the role of mediator between their non-Nikkei Bolivian spouses and the Japanese Naichi-jin neighbors. Colonia Okinawan migrants' intermarriages and relationships with Japanese Naichi-jin, or difficulties therein, revealed the various sexual stereotypes attached to Japanese Naichi-jin, South Americans, and South American Nikkeijin, with which Colonia Okinawans identified their own sexual subject-positions within Japanese society. The feeling of alienation they felt in Japanese society and their yearning to return to the idealized Bolivian society (and South America in general) were projected onto both the sexually desirable Bolivian/South American bodies and behaviors and the undesirable bodies and characters of Japanese Naichi-jin.

The transnational Okinawan womens' changing social roles and different sense of belonging and alienation in Colonia Okinawa and urban Japan were reflections of their different subject-positions vis-à-vis their Others in each locale. These differences were manifested in differently valued cultural capital represented by their Colonia Okinawan or South American Nikkeijin bodies in public and private labor situations and sexual relationships. Their embodied privilege as Nikkei, and deficit as women, in Colonia Okinawa constituted them as the labor force who were inferior to Colonia Okinawan men but superior to non-Nikkei Bolivians, and more responsible and less promiscuous sexual beings than non-Nikkei Bolivians. In urban Japan, the same bodies of Colonia Okinawan women were awarded with nearly equal, if not more, symbolic capital than their male counterparts. In their private sexual relationships, however, Colonia Okinawan migrants felt far less of a sense of belonging to Japanese society, which represented, and was represented by, the embodied cultural and character differences between Japanese Naichi-jin, whom they viewed as guarded and "cold," and themselves and other South Americans, whom they considered easygoing and "warm."

CHAPTER 7
CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I have explored the subject formation processes of transnational Okinawans in Bolivia and Japan, and their fluid and situational racial citizenship that manifests cultural and socioeconomic belongings in a local community. Through both an historical analysis of changing categorizations of Self and Others in different political and socioeconomic contexts, as well as an ethnographic examination of the actual social processes through which subject-positions are constituted, I have attempted to demonstrate the symbolic gains and losses of transnational Okinawan subjects in particular moments of history and locale.

Through my historical overview of transnational Okinawans' subject-positions under Japanese colonialism, US military occupation, and transformations in Bolivia from the 1950s to 1970s, I have demonstrated that Okinawans, as colonial subjects under Imperial Japan, and as second-class citizens in the postwar Ryukyu Islands under US military rule, were manifested through a naturalized and essentialized cultural difference from Japanese Naichi-jin's, projected upon them by both prewar Japanese and Okinawan intellectuals, and US military officials in postwar Okinawa. By imperial discourses of the Japanese "family-state" and the US military's political strategy to exclude Okinawans from US legal citizenship, embodied Okinawan-ness was constructed as a reification of non-belonging to either Japanese or US (legislative and cultural) citizenship. Okinawans' emigration to Bolivia was, in a sense, an attempt to resolve their ambivalent subject-positions and exclusion from the economic, political, and cultural boundaries of citizenship.

Local demographic and economic changes in Santa Cruz from the 1950s to 1980s created a drastically different social backdrop against which Colonia Okinawans' subject-positions were defined and transformed. Their changing status from the members of an isolated and largely autonomous ethnic community, engaged in self-sufficient, small-scale farming, to the affluent ruling class in rural Santa Cruz as large-scale, capital-intensive, commercial crop farm owners has been manifested by their subject-positions as "Japanese," vis-à-vis non-Nikkei Bolivian groups (camba and kolla) who have occupied a subordinate social class as farm laborers for Colonia Okinawan employers. In relation to other groups in the region, whose ethno-racial categories were also constructed through a naturalization of social class and cultural belonging to the Bolivian nation, Colonia Okinawans' changing social class and belonging were reflected in the essentialized cultural and psychological characteristics projected upon the bodies of non-Nikkei Bolivians' and their own.

The dekasegi migration from Colonia Okinawa to urban Japan beginning in the 1980s further complicated the subject formation of increasingly transnationalized Colonia Okinawans. Abundant financial and political support provided by Japanese state institutions created a financial crisis for Colonia Okinawan farmers, a result of the immersion of Colonia Okinawan farming operations into the unpredictable international agricultural market. These factors, combined with the development of transnational networks among Colonia Okinawans, pushed them to migrate to urban Japan in the 1980s and 1990s. The subject formations of transnational Okinawans in both Colonia Okinawa and urban Japan were no longer an exclusively local process that produced Okinawans' identities and behaviors based on the dichotomy between stereotyped cultural "Bolivian-ness" and "Japanese-ness." Instead, their subject-positions are constituted in conjunction with their social class status in relation to working-class non-Nikkei Bolivian laborers (genchi-jin/Boliviajin), upper-class Bolivian urban elites (Boliviajin/hakujin), Japanese mainlanders (Naichi-jin), and Okinawans of Okinawa Prefecture. These categories, invested with essentialized psychological and behavioral characteristics, serve as both reasons for and consequences of their social class positions and specific cultural belongings in the local communities in Bolivia and Japan.

In examining subject formations of transnational Okinawans in Colonia Okinawa and Yokohama through ethnographic studies of economic institutions, cultural institutions, and social institutions, I argue that transnational Okinawans in Colonia Okinawa and Yokohama experience different citizenship processes, i.e. forms of socioeconomic and cultural inclusion by, and alienation from, local and national communities, due to their varying social class status and cultural belonging in each locale. The different social class statuses and cultural belongings to the two communities are differentially signified in the identities and *habitus* of transnational Okinawans and their Others in each locale.

Through everyday interactions with, and dissociation from, non-Nikkei Bolivian laborers in farm fields, Colonia Okinawans embodied abundant symbolic value of their 'Japanese' national origin, which implicitly signifies their transnational connections and resources. The same embodied signs of Japanese-ness and transnationality, however, become the symbols of their deprived cultural capital in urban Bolivia, where they have to compete against affluent and politically powerful "white" Bolivians. In other words, the essentialized "Japanese" national character and culture, which are represented by

Colonia Okinawans' identities and bodies, are manifestations of their privilege and deprivation in their socioeconomic and cultural belonging to Bolivian society.

Cultural institutions that produce transnational Okinawan subjects seem to produce contradictory outcomes of racial citizenship. Although the cultural institutions of Colonia Okinawans are intended to enriching Colonia Okinawan youth's cultural capital through inculcating "Japanese" morals and manners, 'Bolivian' linguistic skills and academic credentials, and "Okinawan" cultural heritages, they have failed to enable Colonia Okinawan youth to increase cultural capital and sense of belonging in Bolivian society. Instead, they have nurtured Colonia Okinawan youth to become transnational subjects who can only partially achieve cultural capital accumulation and national belonging in both Japan and Bolivia, as their identities and *habitus* came to signify their locally limited privilege as patrones japonesas in Colonia Okinawa and a handicap as Nikkeijin rōdōsha in urban Japan.

Finally, I have argued here that the racial citizenship of transnational Okinawans in Bolivia and Japan is also a formative process of their gendered subject-positions, not only in relation to their male counterparts but also against their Others in each locale, such as non-Nikkei Bolivians and Naichi-jin Japanese. My analyses of transnational Okinawan women's subject-positions in public and domestic spheres in Colonia Okinawa, and in urban Japan indicate that social constructions of gender and sexuality are also racial citizenship, that is, the embodiment of socioeconomic and cultural belonging. Colonia Okinawan women's subordination to their male counterparts and privilege over non-Nikkei Bolivian workers in public and domestic spheres in Colonia Okinawa are manifested in the women's subject-positions, which are defined as not men's, and not non-Nikkei Bolivian's. Colonia Okinawan women's socioeconomic empowerment *and* cultural alienation in urban Japan's public and domestic spheres are expressed in their preference for urban convenience in Yokohama to rural idleness in Colonia Okinawa, and stereotypes of Japanese Naichi-jin's sexual undesirability and South American Nikkei men's desirability.

This study, both as an ethnographic account of transnational Okinawans' racial citizenship whose cultural and socioeconomic belongings are differentially embodied in Bolivia and Japan, and an attempt to understand the contradictory formative processes of transnational subjects, explicates why transnational Okinawans achieve only partial citizenship, due to their particularly constituted subject-positions, and why they continue to occupy ambivalent social class statuses in both Bolivia and Japan. Moreover, my inquiries into the racial citizenship of transnational Okinawans, who seek to accumulate cultural capital in each locale in which they reside, demonstrate contradictions of individual agency within the transnational social field; their racialized bodies are symbols and vehicles of both their social class mobility and immobility, and their cultural belonging and alienation. Racial citizenship, in other words, is a social process through which individual subjects' socioeconomic and cultural powers (or lack thereof) are localized and visualized in and through their bodily practices.

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