移民研究 第 21 号　2025　69-96

“The Tree of Hope”: Stories and Memories of Okinawan Immigration in Campo Grande/MS

Renata Otto Naomi Kawano

Kwywords：Okinawan Immigration, Okinawa, Japanese Immigration, Campo Grande

Ⅰ. Introduction

“Are you Japanese?” I begin with this question, which many Asian descendants often have to answer, despite the discomfort it may cause. Every time I am asked this question, I take a deep breath and reflect for a few minutes. The thoughts that cross my mind are: “yes” and “no”. Yes, in a way I am Japanese because I am a descendant of Japanese people, although not by birth. But also, no, because I was born in Brazil and I am Brazilian. However, that’s not all; I also have Okinawan ancestry. How can I explain this to people? So, I answer: “I am not Japanese, because I was born in Brazil, making me Brazilian with Japanese and Okinawan ancestry. I am many things that my ancestry alone cannot define.”

My interest in the topic of immigration stems from my paternal grandmother, who had Okinawan heritage. She was a strong woman who, despite lacking academic education, possessed a wealth of life experience. She was unashamed of her origin and the struggles she faced, and she was always present, offering advice to her children and grandchildren. A great friend and counselor to all. Therefore, I dedicate this article to you, Grandmother.

Ⅱ. Context

In order to understand the topic of this article, first, it is necessary to provide a brief explanation about Okinawa Island, its history, and its people. Where is Okinawa located? What is the Ryukyu Archipelago? Who are the Okinawan people?

Okinawa Prefecture is the largest island and administrative center of the Ryukyu Archipelago,

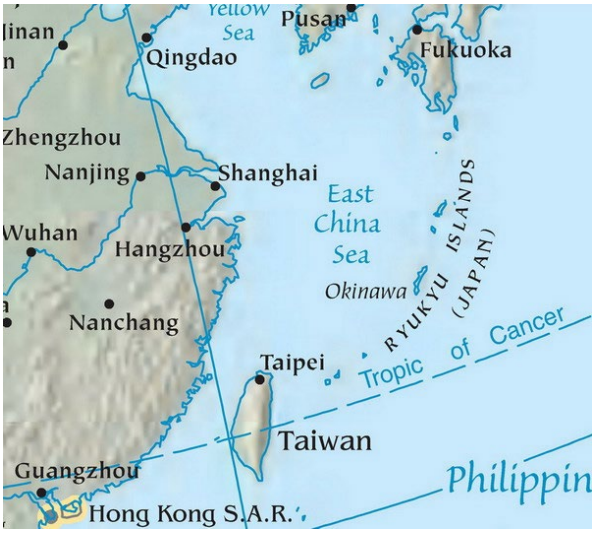

Image 1 - Map of the Ryukyu Islands

with Naha as its capital. The archipelago is composed of 169 islands, of which about 50 are inhabited, with a distance of 1,000 kilometers between Kyushu (southern Japan) and Taiwan (Higa, 2015).

Originally, Okinawa was a kingdom known as the “Ryukyu Kingdom” or “Liuqiu” (Loochoo, as referred to by the Chinese empire in the past), maintaining active exchanges with the Chinese and Japanese Empires as well as other Southeast Asian powers (Higa, 2015).

1.The Ryukyu Kingdom lasted more than 450 years

Much remains unknown about the origins of the Okinawan people. Similar to most of Japan, there are various hypotheses regarding how the region was populated. Tatsuo Sakima writes:

> "The early history of Okinawa is still shrouded in mystery, with no precise knowledge to date about the origins of the Okinawan people. It is very likely that part of them came through the Japanese islands from northern Asia, another part from Mongolia via the Korean peninsula, and other parts may have come from Southeast Asia through the Philippines or along the coast of China." (Sakima, 2000, p. 29)

The earliest record of the Ryukyu Archipelago appears in a Chinese document called “Zuisho” (Book of Sui), which contains the first recorded contact between the Chinese court and the Ryukyuan people. However, historians debate whether "Ryukyu" in this context refers to the archipelago or Taiwan, given the geographic imprecision of the time (Yamashiro, 1993). From this

encounter, the relationships of this small settlement went through several internal conflicts before establishing the Ryukyu Kingdom. Prior to the unification, it was divided into three kingdoms: Nanzan, Chuzan, and Hokuzan, which already had trading relations with various East Asian peoples, particularly China and Japan

This period is known as the “Sanzan Period”. Later, in 1429, Sho Hashi took control and unified the three kingdoms, becoming the founder of the first Sho dynasty of the Ryukyu Kingdom. With the unification, there was a significant expansion of trade and diplomatic relations, resulting in economic prosperity and making the kingdom an important stop point along East Asian maritime routes, as noted by author José Yamashiro (1993).

This economic prosperity, coupled with the strategic geographic location, attracted the attention of Japan during its expansionist expeditions. In 1609, the Satsuma domain sent troops to the Ryukyu Kingdom to incorporate it into the Japanese shogunate system. This moment marked the beginning of the subjugation of the Ryukyuan. José Yamashiro describes it as follows:

> "In 1609, the Japanese feudal domain of Satsuma dominated Ryukyu through a military expedition. Although the Ryukyu country was formally preserved with its king, the small archipelago was effectively subordinated to the lord of Satsuma, of the Shimazu clan, who, in turn, was under the orders of the Tokugawa shogunate, Japan's central power." (Yamashiro, 1993, p. 109)

Therefore, Okinawa became part of the shogunate. In 1872, during Japan's Meiji government, the kingdom became known as the Ryukyu Domain. In 1879, the Ryukyu Domain was abolished, and Okinawa Prefecture was established, gradually being incorporated into Japan's map. This series of events, known as the "Ryukyu Elimination," ended the approximately 450-year history of the Ryukyu Kingdom, which had begun with the first Sho clan, and Okinawa was finally incorporated into Japan.

Regarding the annexation of the Ryukyu Kingdom by the Japanese government, it is essential to emphasize that the diplomatic relations imposed by the Japanese conquerors were not the sole reason for the erasure of Okinawan identity as a distinct nation. According to Bauman:

> "Contemporary humanity speaks in many voices, and we know it will continue to do so for a long time. The central question is how to reshape this polyphony into harmony and prevent it from degenerating into cacophony. Harmony is not uniformity; it is always a reciprocal action of several different motives, each maintaining its separate identity while sustaining the melody resulting from that identity." (Bauman, 2008, p. 123)

Thus, the individualization within society is crucial. When discussing the difference between Okinawan descendants and those from the rest of Japan, distinctions can be made in culture, society, language, and religion, which developed somewhat independently

In seeking to find a nexus of identity among Okinawans, Japanese, and Brazilians, particularly regarding the annexation of Okinawa and the subsequent immigration of its descendants to countries in the Americas, Hall, when discussing the concept of identity, states that identities "are constructed through difference and not away from it. This implies the radically disruptive recognition that it is only through a relationship with another (...) that the 'positive' meaning of any term—and thus its 'identity'—can be constructed." (Hall, 2008, p. 110):

The construction of Okinawan identity is a process that had, still has, and will have visibility in all major migratory centers to which natives of the archipelago have moved. Since the conceptualization of identity has an undeniable connection with politics and the construction of society, as cited by Hall (2008, p. 109): "It is precisely because identities are constructed within and not outside discussion that we need to understand them as being produced in specific historical and institutional places, within specific discursive formations and practices, by specific strategies and initiatives. Moreover, they emerge within the play of specific modalities of power and are thus more the product of marking difference and exclusion than the sign of an identical, naturally constituted unity of an 'identity' in its traditional meaning—that is, an all-inclusive sameness, a seamless, whole, undifferentiated identity."

The history of the Ryukyu Kingdom reveals the complex intersection of culture, political influence, and identity in the region. Over the centuries, whether during their time as an independent kingdom or under the dominion of other powers, Okinawans have continually fought to preserve their identity. This journey not only demonstrates resilience but also underscores the importance of safeguarding unique traditions in an increasingly globalized world. Understanding this process as not merely a relic of the past but as a living, ever-changing history, influenced by migrations, interactions with diverse cultures, and the persistent desire to keep a rich and meaningful heritage alive, allows us to truly appreciate the complexity and significance of this legacy.

2. The Erasure of the Ryukyu People

With the Japanese occupation, the Ryukyu people experienced significant erasure, particularly during the Meiji Restoration period. Marked by policies of social, cultural, and religious assimilation imposed by the yamatunchu (mainland Japanese) upon the uchinanchus (Okinawans), the Ryukyu Measures plan, launched in 1872, sought to transform the Okinawan into "authentic

Japanese." This plan replaced native leaders with Japanese officials from Kyushu, initiating the persecution of regional leaders and the imposition of Japanese language and beliefs (Inoue, 2007 apud Toma, 2022).

The erasure process is evident through measures such as the imposition of the Tokyo dialect, the prohibition of the native language (uchinaguchi), compulsory teaching of “kokka shinto” (nationalist religion), and the suppression of “yutas” (Okinawan shamans). These efforts aimed to eliminate Okinawa's unique cultural identity in favor of Japanese uniformity (Britannica, 2022 apud Toma, 2022). The transformation of Okinawa into an official Japanese province in 1879 did not end this cultural erasure but perpetuated it through national identity sovereignty, imposing Japanese cultural and political practices while abolishing traditional practices and repressing local customs.

To reinforce patriotic duty to the Japanese state and create a unifying national image, kokka shinto was made compulsory in schools, and emperor worship was imposed alongside efforts to absorb and erase Okinawan shamanism, the islands' original religion (Toma, 2022, p.7).

Okinawans were relegated to second-class citizenship, placed in inferior positions, and neglected, with the Japanese empire making no investments in the region's economy or education. This neglect caused an economic crisis after World War I, resulting in an exodus of uchinanchus to other parts of Japan, Hawaii, and Latin America in search of opportunities, highlighting the lack of economic development and infrastructure in Okinawa.

Despite these years of imposed modernization, the yamato (mainland Japanese) did not accept the uchinanchus as true Japanese. Okinawans were still regarded as inferior secondary citizens. No higher education institutions were established, and incentives were limited to sugar production. Okinawans were denied a political voice or representation within the government (Inoue, 2007 apud Toma, 2022, p.7).

Cultural suppression and political neglect deeply shaped the complex relationship between Okinawa and the Japanese government, impacting the region's social and cultural identity. Even after World War II, the legacy of this cultural erasure continued to influence dynamics between Okinawa and Japan, contributing to the tensions and challenges faced by the region.

III. Immigration

“The river, the current, where will it go?
We, the current, where will we go?
It is this current that carries ripe fruit,
Someday it will go,

Everyone will blend into these waters.
Tears fall and flow into the earth,
Where summer flowers will bloom,
With the strength for us to fight.”
— "Flowers for the People's Heart," Victor Kinjo

This section presents the historical context of Okinawan and Japanese immigration to Brazil and how these immigrants arrived in the state of Mato Grosso do Sul.

1. Modernization: Encouragement of Overseas Emigration

The Japanese migration of the 19th and 20th centuries occurred as a result of the "modernization" brought to Japan by the West. The Meiji Period (1868–1902), also known as the "Era of Enlightenment," brought significant social, political, and cultural changes, including the forced opening of ports to foreign influence and the restoration of imperial power. Historian Newton Itokazu writes:

> "In the final years of the Tokugawa Clan, Japan, which had been isolated and peaceful until then, experienced its first Western interference. The arrival of the Black Ships in 1853, under the command of American Commodore Matthew Perry, shook the Japanese military authority. Despite their xenophobic tendencies, they yielded to demands for the opening of their ports and commercial relations with the great powers." (Itokazu, 2000, p. 38)

The feudal social structure based on the warrior hierarchy (shogunate), which had unified Japan while closing its ports to foreign nations (except for the Ryukyu Kingdom, which maintained trade relations), was no longer sustainable. This system caused economic stagnation and an increased tax burden on farmers, who were responsible for sustaining the warrior class. Itokazu further explains:

> "During this period of decline, Japanese society faced severe disruptions. The warriors, despite their prestige, no longer possessed the wealth needed to maintain their high standards of living and resorted to borrowing from moneylenders and merchants. Meanwhile, the farmers, increasingly impoverished, were forced to mortgage their lands to large landowners and traders." (Itokazu, 2000, p. 37)

Modernization involved institutional reforms, industrialization, and social and educational transformations. Education was extended to all subjects, not just the elite, leading to national

development (Yamashiro, 1993). Concern over Russian expansion further drove Japan’s colonization of Hokkaido (resulting in the domination and extermination of the Ainu people) and the establishment of factories throughout the country. At this time, Japan also introduced mandatory military service, creating loyal subjects and spreading nationalist and militaristic ideals, which had profound effects on colonized regions such as Okinawa (Yamashiro, 1993; Itokazu, 2000).

> "The urgency to modernize and define Japanese territorial boundaries, in response to expanding global powers - particularly Russia's Czarist policies - accelerated the colonization of Hokkaido and the establishment of factories in various regions. This fueled large-scale internal migration, as unemployed masses sought work and wages. These individuals were called Dekasegi, a term still used today to describe those who migrate in search of employment." (Itokazu, 2000, p. 39)

As a result, many farmers moved to cities, leading to rural depopulation (dekasegi migration). However, once in the cities, they often faced difficulty finding employment. Widespread poverty forced people to engage in subsistence activities and, in extreme cases, resort to infanticide to reduce hunger, keeping Japan's population around 28 to 30 million (Itokazu, 2000).

According to historian Itokazu (2000), the solution was to send Japanese citizens abroad as temporary laborers or settlers after military invasions. Although the Japanese government initially did not legalize emigration, records show clandestine departures beginning in 1868 to Guam, the Philippines, and the independent Kingdom of Hawaii. This movement led to an agreement between Japan and Hawaii, marking the start of organized migration.

> "The urgency to modernize and define Japanese territorial boundaries, in response to expanding global powers - particularly Russia's Czarist policies - accelerated the colonization of Hokkaido and the establishment of factories in various regions. This fueled large-scale internal migration, as unemployed masses sought work and wages. These individuals were called Dekasegi, a term still used today to describe those who migrate in search of employment." (Itokazu, 2000, p. 39)

Migration became a viable alternative for those who found no opportunities within Japan, helping to alleviate social and economic pressures. However, despite their dreams of earning wealth and returning home, few migrants ultimately achieved this goal.

2. Kyuzo Toyama, "The Father of Okinawan Immigration"

Let's set out into the world
Our home is
The five continents
With sincere fortitude and determination
Remember the marble stone of Kin
— Kyuzo Toyama

The poem above, written by Kyuzo Toyama in 1903, speaks of venturing into the world without fear, as the five continents were also a home for all Okinawans (uchinanchus). With this vision, Toyama encouraged many Okinawans to migrate worldwide and provided support to those who did. For this reason, he is known as the "father of Okinawan immigration."

The following photographs were taken by Marcel Arakaki Asato in November 2023 during a visit to the Hawaii United Okinawa Association (HUOA). He participated in a meeting of the Okinawan Genealogical Society of Hawaii (OGSH). The monument is located in the garden of the Hawaii Okinawa Center in Waipahu.

The second image shows the monument of Kyuzo Toyama at the center, looking toward a world map—an artistic reference to his poem. The third image is a plaque narrating Toyama's history and his ideals for Okinawa's future. These two images are crucial in understanding the motivations behind and the beginnings of Okinawan immigration worldwide.

Kyuzo Toyama was born in 1868 in the city of Kin, Okinawa Prefecture. After graduating from the Okinawa Teacher Training Institute, Toyama taught at various schools in Okinawa. Later, he opposed the government's authority of the time and abandoned his teaching career. Instead, he dedicated himself to reforming the conventional education system and the social structures of the community. He also worked to advance agriculture, demonstrating strong political leadership. As a proponent of civil liberties and rights in Okinawa, he successfully arranged for the first Okinawan immigrants to be sent to Hawaii in 1890.

In 1903, he famously declared: "Let's set out into the world, our home is the five continents." Once again, Toyama demonstrated his leadership by organizing a second group of Okinawan emigrants to Hawaii. Later, the people of Okinawa honored his achievements by proclaiming him "The Father of Immigrants." He passed away in 1910 at the age of 43 (Kawano, 2023) .

In 1896, Toyama traveled to Tokyo to study and develop effective plans to improve the conditions of Okinawa's rapidly growing population, which was facing food and resource

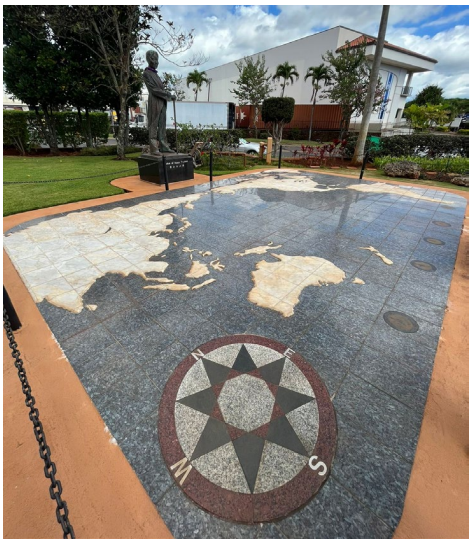

Image 2 - Statue of Kyuzo Toyama
Source: Marcel Arakaki Asato (2023).

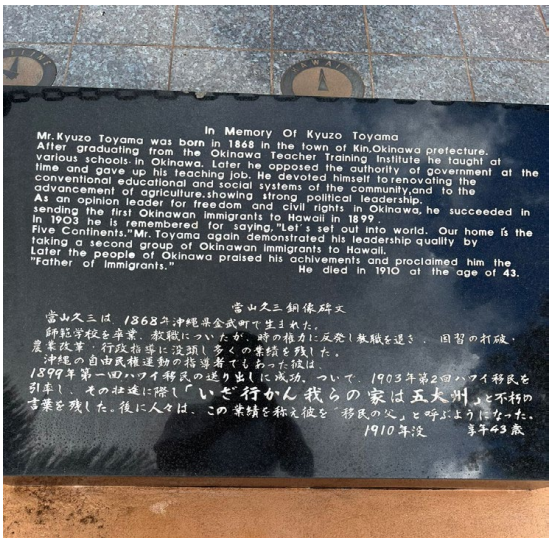

Image 3 - In Memory Of Kyuzo Toyama
Source: Marcel Arakaki Asato (2023).

shortages (Teruya, 2020). Japanese immigration had already begun in 1885, and while studying in Tokyo between 1896 and 1898, Toyama learned about immigration programs to Hawaii (OKINAWANDO, 2015). Upon his return to Okinawa, he was convinced that overseas emigration could help alleviate Okinawa’s dire situation (Teruya, 2020).

However, achieving this vision required overcoming significant obstacles. The first challenge was finding an immigration employment agency that would agree to send Okinawans abroad. The second was obtaining approval from the governor of Okinawa, who initially refused, arguing that Okinawans would become poor representatives of Japan overseas and tarnish the empire’s reputation (Teruya, 2020).

> "He sought assistance from an immigration employment agency in Kyushu that specialized in sending people abroad. The agency’s representative stated they would assist if Toyama could secure approval from the governor of Okinawa. However, this was no easy task, as Governor Shigeru Narahara rejected the proposal, believing that Okinawans would become impoverished representatives of Japan overseas. Toyama refused to give up, arguing that immediate action was necessary given Okinawa’s urgent circumstances." (Teruya, 2020)

Despite initial resistance from Governor Narahara, the civil movement led by Jahana Noboru and Kyuzo Toyama played a crucial role in securing a "trial authorization" for workers in 1899. Under Toyama's leadership, a group of 27 workers departed for Hawaii's sugarcane plantations, marking the beginning of modern Okinawan emigration (AOKB, 2012).

> "In response to the socio-economic crisis, movements led by Jahana Noboru and Kyuzo Toyama, began to gain traction, advocating emigration as a means to support families and develop the prefecture. To mitigate the situation, Okinawa Governor Shigeru Narahara granted a 'trial authorization' for 27 workers, who, under Toyama's leadership, traveled to Hawaii's sugar plantations in 1899. This marked the beginning of modern Okinawan emigration." (AOKB, 2012, p. 35)

Kyuzo Toyama's efforts extended beyond Hawaii, as he advocated for the migration of Okinawans to various parts of the world. His work was instrumental in organizing communities, negotiating favorable agreements, and establishing networks that enabled large-scale, successful migrations across multiple regions.

3. Okinawan Immigration to Brazil

"Good weather. Thursday. Arrived this morning in Santos. Docked at 5:00 PM. Speed: 22 miles per hour. Total: 12,000 miles."
— Ryo Mizuno (1908)

Okinawan immigration to Brazil began in 1908, coinciding with the broader wave of Japanese immigration. On July 18, the Kasato Maru arrived at the port of Santos at 5:00PM, carrying 781 Japanese immigrants who had departed from Kobe. Of these, 325 immigrants were from Okinawa (AOKB, 2012, p. 68). Many of these immigrants arrived in search of "the tree that grows money" and the dream of returning home as successful individuals. However, the reality that awaited them was far different. The promises made by immigration companies were illusions, as reflected in a song written by Tomoo Handa, which captures the sentiments of many early Japanese immigrants and Okinawans immigrants:

"They lied when they said Brazil was good
The Immigration Company lied
On the other side of the Earth,
I arrived believing in paradise,

Only to see hell
The way things are going,
The dream of returning gloriously
Is nothing but a fantasy
If the end is death by starvation,
Then it’s better to be eaten
By a jaguar, by any beast..."
— Tomoo Handa

Upon docking at the Port of Santos, the immigrants were taken to the Immigrant Inn in São Paulo. There, they underwent customs inspections and prepared to head to farms between June 26 and July 6. They were distributed as laborers to six major farms: Canaã, Floresta, São Martinho, Guatapara, Dumont, and Sobrado. Okinawan immigrants were sent to the Canaã farm (originating from the Nakagami region in central Okinawa) and the Floresta farm (from Shimajiri in the south and Kunigami in the north) (NOROESTE, 2021).

The difficult conditions on these farms, including low wages and harsh labor conditions, led many immigrants to abandon the plantations in search of better opportunities, particularly in urban areas like Santos. The journey of Okinawan immigrants in Brazil was one of hardship, resilience,adaptation and perseverance, ultimately leading to the formation of strong Okinawan communities across the country, particularly in the state of São Paulo, the state of Mato Grosso do Sul (especially the city of Campo Grande), and the state of Paraná.

3.1 Karenohoshi - Canaã Farm and Floresta Farm

"I think of the immigrants
Who fled into the night
Stars over the open fields"
— Uetsuka Hyokotsu

During the journey, there was great enthusiasm as the immigrants were captivated by the beauty of the coffee plantations. However, upon arriving at their assigned farms, they encountered a situation drastically different from what they had expected. Their disappointment was immediate when they saw the poor housing conditions provided, which were far below their expectations (Handa, 1987).

3.1.1 Canaã Farm

Canaã Farm was located at the Canaã Station along the Mogiana railway line. It was one of the destinations for Okinawan immigrants, where they began working on coffee plantations (Handa, 1987, p. 21). A total of 24 Okinawan families, comprising 152 members, settled there. "At Canaã Farm, there were other families as well: 190 Italian families, 84 Spanish, 2 Austrian, 6 Portuguese, and 24 Brazilian families (Brazil imin gojûnen — 50 Years of Japanese Immigration in Brazil, by Toraji Irie, p. 28)." (Handa, 1987, p. 55).

> "The payment for harvesting a 50-liter sack of coffee was 500 réis, but, like at Dumont, the yields were poor. The Okinawan immigrants, who had signed one-year contracts to work on the plantations, endured both the intense heat and the meager food provided (A History of 40 Years of Japanese Immigration in Brazil). Some even brought sausages received at the Immigrant Hostel to the farm, suggesting they had accepted the fatty food. However, burdened by the travel expenses incurred when leaving Japan and eager to send money back home as soon as possible, the 150 yen each had received individually was insufficient. This made it difficult for them to focus on agricultural work with peace of mind. This scenario was common in many places. For them, upon arriving with the Kasato Maru, the image of 'the color of the sea at Santos, which reminded them longingly of their homeland' (A History of 40 Years), was burned into their memory. Some fled, assuming that wages in the port city would be better than on coffee farms. It is said that after reaching São Paulo, many walked to Santos due to having almost no money." (Handa, 1987, p. 44).

The families, contracted to work on the coffee plantations for about a year, faced difficult conditions and limited prospects for repaying their debts. The low crop yields, coupled with the cost of travel and debts accrued at the farm stores, made it nearly impossible to save money. This harsh reality led many immigrants to abandon the farms in search of better wages in the city of Santos.

3.1.2 Floresta Farm

Handa (1987) describes that Floresta Farm was located at Itu Station, 106 km from São Paulo by road, and was assigned to 23 Okinawan families, totaling 173 members.

> "Here, alongside the interpreter Motonao Ohno—who, as previously mentioned, imposed his presence with his mustache among the immigrants—were the 173 members of 23 families (26, according to A History of 40 Years). Exceptionally, their contracts

> lasted only six months. It was reported that the harvest was abundant and that the immigrants worked diligently. However, they too shared the urgent need to send money back to Japan that same year to pay off their travel debts. Thus, their earnings were not considered satisfactory. Under these circumstances, despite the short six-month contract, impatience spread among them. After much distress, they were lured by dreams of easy earnings and fled." (Handa, 1987, p. 46)

From dreams to nightmares, the reality they faced was despairing. Instead of becoming wealthy and returning home prosperous, they found themselves trapped in debt and subjected to inhumane living conditions. A testimony from one immigrant illustrates this harsh reality: "Farmworkers were not treated as laborers. 'Wages were minimal, and meals were so scarce that I woke up at 2 a.m. to work in an attempt to earn more money.'" (Handa, 1987, p. 54)

This was not only the reality for Okinawan immigrants but for many Japanese immigrants in Brazil as well.

3.2. The Beginning of Immigration to Campo Grande, MS

"I ask for permission
My lord and my lady
Father, my mother of sweet waters
Grandfather and grandmother, I ask for your blessing
I came from afar
I came from a kingdom of the past
To plant beans, okra
Corn, kale, love, and mulberry"
— Permission, Victor Kinjo

This section delves into Okinawan immigration to the present-day city of Campo Grande, the capital of the state of Mato Grosso do Sul.

3.2.1 The Noroeste Railway

Many of the immigrants who fled or completed their contracts on coffee plantations sought a fresh start at the port of Santos. This was the case for many Okinawan immigrants. In a chapter dedicated to Okinawans in Campo Grande, Tomoo Handa writes:

> "Encouraging news from Santos lifted the spirits of the first wave of immigrants, who had been quite disillusioned by the limited prospects offered by the coffee plantations in São Paulo. The news was about job opportunities in railway construction in Mato Grosso, with considerably better wages. One day of work would earn nearly the same as an entire month in Japan. For immigrants who came with the purpose of making money and had taken on debt for their passage at very high interest rates, this was an opportunity they could not afford to miss." (Handa, 1987, p. 387)

Despite uncertainties and challenges, 75 immigrants—mostly from Okinawa, along with others from Kagoshima—left Fazenda Floresta in Itu and set off towards the so-called "Land of Promise." Departing from the port of Santos, they boarded a cargo ship chartered by the railway company responsible for constructing the Noroeste do Brasil Railway. After a 26-day journey, navigating the Atlantic Ocean, passing through the Río de la Plata estuary, and entering Argentine territory, they finally reached the Paraguay River, docking at Porto Esperança, their destination for railway construction work, in Mato Grosso.

Handa (1987) describes this journey:

> "Despite high expectations, no one knew for certain what kind of place this highly spoken-of state was. They only knew it was part of Brazil and that they would arrive there by ship. However, neither the hardships of transportation nor the uncertainty of how long it would take to get there dampened the spirits of men eager for better wages. Thus, many set out toward the 'Land of Promise,' just like the old pioneers, excited by the discovery of gold mines and indifferent to the long distances to be covered. The first group consisted of 75 immigrants, primarily Okinawans from Fazenda Floresta near Itu and some from Kagoshima who had deserted other plantations. Among them were also two women. They all embarked on a small cargo ship, chartered by the railway construction company, which also carried construction materials. The ship sailed south along the Atlantic Ocean until it reached the Río de la Plata estuary. From there, they continued upriver, passing through part of Argentina, then reaching the confluence with the Paraguay River, which they followed to their final destination, Porto Esperança. The journey was not easy. Near Montevideo, the ship was caught in a violent storm but miraculously survived. After 26 days, they finally arrived at Porto Esperança, once again in Brazilian territory. They had finally reached the eagerly anticipated railway construction base in Mato Grosso." (Handa, 1987, p. 388)

The construction of the Noroeste railway was completed in 1915, culminating at a station called Ligação (connection, in english), located between Campo Grande and Ribas do Rio Pardo. This was

where the railway construction efforts from the west (Itapura) and the east (Porto Esperança) converged.

> "Despite the casualties and numerous losses, the Noroeste railway was finally completed in 1915, at the appropriately named Ligação station, located between Campo Grande and Ribas do Rio Pardo. This was where the railway construction teams from Itapura in the west and Porto Esperança in the east met. The historic station remains in the same location today, isolated in a vast pastoral landscape. By the time the railway was completed, the few remaining members of the original 75 immigrants had mostly dispersed—except for one couple and a single man. Some moved to Argentina, while others, intending to return to Japan, followed the Noroeste railway back to São Paulo. The remaining couple continued working for the railway, supplying firewood and railroad ties. They are the oldest Okinawan residents in the region." (NOROESTE, 2021)

The migration of Okinawan immigrants to Santos in search of new opportunities in Mato Grosso's railway construction reflects a journey filled with hope and unique challenges. Their passage through unfamiliar lands, facing uncertainties about the future and overcoming hardships, highlights the determination and bravery of these pioneers in pursuit of a better life. The completion of the Noroeste railway in 1915 not only marked the end of a major construction project but also the beginning of a new chapter.

3.3 Settlement in Campo Grande, MS

Among the many reasons Okinawan immigrants chose to settle in Campo Grande, two factors stand out. First, the construction of the Noroeste railway concluded near Campo Grande, leaving the immigrants already in the municipality. Second, the land they found in Campo Grande was promising: the city was surrounded by green fields and had excellent topography. Moreover, there was the promise of future investment through the planned construction of a military barracks (Handa, 1987). As the author states:

> "What led the Japanese to settle and establish their economic foundation in Campo Grande was the possibility of colonizing the virgin forest surrounding the city. The Peruvian immigrants who arrived there via Chile and Argentina, following the railway construction, had no doubt upon discovering the Campo Grande plateau and its surrounding forests that their future would surely thrive there. The affordability of land was also an advantage. The cost of food was exorbitant, as it was transported from distant locations due to the lack of agriculture in the region. With the savings earned from the arduous railway construction work, the Japanese began exploring the forest daily, searching for suitable land." (Handa, 1987, p. 392-393)

For the Okinawan immigrants — whether those arriving from neighboring countries or those who had made their way through Brazil's interior — Campo Grande represented a land of opportunity. The invitation to stay and put down roots in this city came with numerous advantages, as previously discussed, making the prospect of seeking another location unnecessary

3.2.1. Early Years, Rural and Urban Settlement, and Growth

Many of the first lands purchased around Campo Grande, then part of Mato Grosso, were initially acquired through the savings accumulated by immigrants during the railway construction (AOKB, 2012, p. 85). The intention to engage in agriculture was a dream rooted in the experiences of the previous section, where Campo Grande seemed like an invitation to cultivate the land. There was an analogy that growing crops in this place also meant growing and evolving their own lives as immigrants.

As documented in One Century of History: The Okinawan Community in Brazil Since the Kasato Maru:

> "Kosho Yamashi and Shiei Miyahira began cultivating vegetables in the Dom Aquino neighborhood; the couple Kamado and Uto Oshiro (Kasato Maru) acquired land in partnership in 1914 in the outskirts of the city, where they dedicated themselves to horticulture. The following year, in 1915, Kisa Akamine, Ushi Hokama, and Toku Akamine (Kasato Maru) purchased 17.5 hectares of land, where they established a colonial settlement focused on growing rice, corn, and vegetables. During the second half of the 1910s, Japanese colonial settlements grew. The couple Bisaburo and Kame Arakaki cultivated vegetables on a large scale, contributing to the incorporation of vegetable consumption into Brazilian eating habits. In 1918, Inanaga Arakaki, Inagyu Arakaki, and Inakichi Arakaki, together with Seiko Yonamine (Kanagawa Maru), founded the Bandeira Colony, which specialized in vegetable farming and became the main supplier for Campo Grande in the 1930s. At that time, the Bandeira Colony comprised 30 families who practiced agriculture, pig farming, and poultry farming." (AOKB, 2012, p. 85)
>
> Over the years, immigrants started to be employed in various trades within the city, including hairdressers, hoteliers, taxi drivers, carpenters, merchants, midwives, and bar owners (AECNB, 2008, p. 108-109). The same source also highlights how the city's growth required more workers, stating that "the establishment of the headquarters of the 9th Military Circumscription of the Army (...) led many men to seek jobs as bricklayers,

> carpenters, general assistants, etc., in the construction of its facilities" (AECNB, 2008, p. 108).

Regarding the urban integration of immigrants, progress was slower and more gradual. Often, additional services were carried out by wives who, "taking advantage of the rare breaks in caring for their children, used soap, a brush, and a wooden board (...) to help with household expenses by working as laundresses" (AECNB, 2008, p. 108).

Over the years, immigrants started to be employed in various trades within the city, including hairdressers, hoteliers, taxi drivers, carpenters, merchants, midwives, and bar owners (AECNB, 2008, p. 108-109). The same source also highlights how the city's growth required more workers, stating that "the establishment of the headquarters of the 9th Military Circumscription of the Army (...) led many men to seek jobs as bricklayers, carpenters, general assistants, etc., in the construction of its facilities" (AECNB, 2008, p. 108).

Eventually, as families took on new professions, settled into different trades, and integrated into a growing society—driven by investments such as the Noroeste Railway and the establishment of a new military barracks—the immigrant communities became deeply rooted in the city. Families grew, and a promising future began to take shape, marking the emergence of the first generations of Okinawan descendants in Campo Grande.

Regarding how immigrants ensured the integration of their children into society, the following record highlights this transition:

> "Okinawans who achieved economic stability through agriculture developed alternative forms of future livelihood by sending their children and descendants to secondary or technical education, which enabled them to pursue technical professions, administrative activities, or liberal professions such as medicine or law." (AOKB, 2012, p. 183)

Over the years, the Okinawan community became increasingly integrated within the broader Campo Grande population. Today, immigrants and their descendants work in virtually all professional fields in the city.

Additionally, numerous institutions emerged over the years in the capital as a reflection of the Okinawan presence, such as: The Visconde de Cairu School, founded in 1918 as the "Japanese Language School of Campo Grande," later renamed in 1927; The Okinawa Association of Campo Grande, established in 1922; The Agricultural Cooperative, founded in 1935 (AECNB, 2008, p. 208-212).

IV. The Influence on Campo Grande's Culture

When discussing the historical context behind the arrival of immigrants from an archipelago annexed to Japanese territory to the city of Campo Grande, it is essential to return to their origins to understand the various consequences of their immigration. The previous chapters of this academic work have addressed these topics. Now, it is necessary to highlight how and to what extent the customs, habits, and traditions of Okinawan immigrants have become intertwined with the city.

In this context, historian and scholar Michel de Certeau discusses how the "Ordinary Man" takes his place in history. He emphasizes that, for the solidification of historical facts and the continuity of humanity, society must move forward through its collective hero—the social mass that advances over time and through lived experiences. As he states in The Practice of Everyday Life (Certeau, 1990, p. 57-58):

> "This anonymous hero comes from afar. He is the murmur of societies. He has existed throughout time, even before written texts. He does not wait for them. He mocks them. Yet, within written representations, he gradually takes center stage. Little by little, he occupies the heart of our scientific scenes. The spotlight has shifted away from named figures with coats of arms to focus on the chorus of nameless extras at the margins, and eventually onto the vast audience itself. The sociologization and anthropologization of research have privileged the anonymous and the everyday, where zoom lenses capture metonymic details—parts taken for the whole. (...) It is about the continuous, moving multitude, densely packed as an unbroken fabric, a mass of quantified heroes who lose their names and faces, becoming the mobile language of calculations and rationalities that belong to no one."

The study of Okinawan immigration to Campo Grande and the influence generated by their decision to settle in the city is, in essence, a study of the "ordinary people" so frequently referenced by the French scholar's research on daily life.

It is also worth highlighting how local residents, many of whom had no prior direct contact with Okinawan culture, gradually embraced elements of it. A typical example is the gastronomic dish Soba, which, as Certeau explains, becomes part of society through its use and repetition in daily life: "The presence and circulation of a representation (...) do not indicate at all what it is for its users. It is still necessary to analyze its manipulation by practitioners who do not create it." (Certeau, 1990, p. 40).

In a similar vein, another renowned French historian, Roger Chartier, deconstructs the rigid and immutable view of history, arguing that we can take an inverted approach—observing a text, an action, or a social phenomenon and tracing its historical roots. He asserts:

> "Starting from objects, forms, and codes rather than from groups leads to the consideration that socio-cultural history has relied too heavily on a mutilated conception of the social." (Chartier, 1991, p. 180)

Chartier further elaborates on the reinterpretation of cultural elements in a new society (Chartier, 1991, p. 186-187):

> "These two examples lead us to consider cultural differentiations not as the translation of static and immovable divisions, but as the effect of dynamic processes. On one hand, the transformation of the forms through which a text is presented allows for new receptions, thereby creating new audiences and new uses. On the other hand, the shared cultural assets among different groups within a society prompt the search for new distinctions capable of marking the deviations maintained."

The cuisine of Campo Grande is diverse, shaped by the influences of migrants who settled in the city. Paraguayan dishes such as chipa and sopa paraguaya, Syrian and Lebanese contributions like tabbouleh, kibbeh, and esfiha, and Gaucho traditions such as churrasco and regional music all demonstrate the rich cultural exchange. Similarly, Japanese cuisine, particularly that of Okinawan origin, stands out prominently due to the presence of Okinawan immigrants.

A prime example of this cultural fusion is Soba, an Okinawan dish that has been adapted to local tastes. When a new society (Campo Grande) adopts an immigrant dish (Okinawan Soba), it molds it according to its own preferences, creating a cultural amalgamation between two peoples.

1. Soba

In terms of popularity, soba is undoubtedly the most prominent Okinawan influence in Campo Grande. Through Municipal Decree No. 9,685 of July 18, 2006, the dish was recognized as an intangible cultural heritage of Campo Grande by IPHAN (National Institute of Historic and Artistic Heritage) due to its significant importance within the city.

Before discussing its influence in the city, it is essential to review the history of the dish, even before it arrived through immigration. According to the text published on the website Food in Japan:

> "Okinawa soba has its roots in the Ryukyu Kingdom era, a period when Okinawa was independent before becoming part of Japan. During this time, the Ryukyu Kingdom had active trade relations with China, leading to speculation that Chinese noodle dishes influenced the early forms of soba. Historical narratives suggest that it was initially a luxury dish served only to the royal court and wealthy merchant houses, as wheat was an expensive raw material imported from China at the time." (FOOD IN JAPAN, 2023)

Okinawa's rich history of trade is reflected in the originality of one of its most typical dishes. Over the years, Soba became popular throughout Okinawa, gaining more popularity under Japanese rule but mainly after World War II. In the aftermath of the Battle of Okinawa, the American administration government started to supply wheat, as a countermeasure against the food shortage caused by the war. Being a wheat-based noodle soup, this resulted in Soba being more accessible than before, turning it into a widely consumed dish by the population. As a result of this popularization, soba eventually made its way to Brazil alongside Okinawan immigrants.

Records indicate that the first mention of soba being sold in Campo Grande dates back to 1954, associated with the name Eiho Tomoyose. However, soba only became widely popular in 1964 when Hiroshi Katsuren and his brother Tsiyoshin Katsuren set up food stalls at the Central Market of Campo Grande (Cruz & Toyama, 2020).

Initially, soba was intended only for immigrants and their descendants. The food stalls were set up with cloth curtains, as the descendants were embarrassed to eat a dish considered exotic, especially using chopsticks. However, the curtains had the opposite effect, piquing the curiosity of Campo Grande residents visiting the Central Market. Soon, locals also began consuming the dish, leading to its widespread popularity (Luna Kubota, 2008, p. 3).

As the dish became more popular, misinformation and disagreements regarding its origin and recipe emerged. It is important to highlight that the dish from which Campo Grande Soba derives - Okinawa Soba - originates from Okinawa, as its name suggests, and differs from the soba consumed in the rest of Japan. To confirm this, Luna Kubota states:

> "The term soba refers to the type of noodle used in the dish. However, it is important to note that in Japan, soba is made from a specific type of wheat known as 'buckwheat,' which is not the case with Okinawa soba, which is made from regular wheat. The dish consists of a broth containing, in addition to the noodles, pork and some seasonings." (Luna Kubota, 2008, p. 2)

Later, the dish was officially recognized by IPHAN, and presented yet another variation. It was

described as a broth-based dish made with beef, white wheat noodles, shredded omelet, chives, and beef. The Campo Grande Soba, as described in the official decree recognizing it as an intangible cultural heritage, has already evolved from the dish originally brought from Okinawa. This adaptation reflects local preferences, as beef consumption in Brazil is significantly higher than in Okinawa, where pork is more commonly used.

However, this modification has not distanced the dish from the Okinawan community in Campo Grande. As Lenita (2013, p. 102-103) states: "Soba is the most representative element of the relationship between the people of Campo Grande and Japanese immigration. All street markets in Campo Grande have soba stalls, usually run by the children or grandchildren of Japanese immigrants. This connection began with the arrival of Okinawans in the post-war period. (...) The acceptance of soba as a part of Campo Grande's heritage is practically a declaration of acceptance of Japanese immigrants, even though this acknowledgment was formalized nearly a century after the first immigrants set foot in Mato Grosso do Sul."

Today, Campo Grande has countless food establishments selling soba, from small neighborhood eateries to the iconic Central Market, the birthplace of Campo Grande Sobá. The influence of this Okinawan dish in the city is so profound that the term sobaria, used to refer to restaurants specializing in soba, has become widely recognized and popular in the city.

2. The Moai System

As immigrants arrived and began to settle, many sought to establish life goals and economic plans, whether as farmers, merchants, or service providers. However, achieving these aspirations often required initial capital. In this context, the question arose: Which banks would be generous enough to extend credit to immigrants who often arrived with barely enough food for the next few days?

Some fortunate immigrants had sponsors or relatives who had arrived earlier and were willing to lend them the necessary funds to start their new lives. However, the majority did not have this privilege. This led to the emergence of the moai, a system that combined financial cooperation with cultural principles brought by the immigrants. As described in the AOKB (2012, p. 183):

> "As previously mentioned, the urban integration of Okinawans made good use of the cultural characteristics of their province, particularly the spirit of yuimaru (mutual assistance). In practice, this led to the formation of mue also known as tanomoshi (a type of rotating credit association practiced in Japan, where the payout was given in cash). During the initial stages of migration and settlement in the cities, the tanomoshi,

> provided opportunities to obtain capital and achieve financial independence. Through this system, immigrants secured the means to purchase land and houses, acquire production assets (such as vehicles and business expansion resources), and invest in their children's education, greatly contributing to the economic success of the Okinawan community."

With the population growth of Campo Grande and the establishment of the military barracks, the demand for vegetables gradually increased. This created opportunities for new farmers around the city. To start farming, many immigrants turned to the moai system, allowing them to pool resources and support each other in building their agricultural ventures.

Takayasu (2023, p. 36) provides a broader explanation of the moai system and its role in financial development: "'Moai' is a mutual financial aid organization that has spread among the population since ancient times to provide financial flexibility. In the Okinawan language, it is also referred to as mue, yurē or tanomoshikō. It is a system in which a group of people forms for a set period, periodically collecting a predetermined amount, which is then awarded to a selected member either by lottery or bidding. Once all members have received their payout, the group dissolves. (...) The Okinawan immigrants extensively used this mue system, supporting each other by forming financial funds for starting businesses or ensuring subsistence."

The culture of informal financial pooling among friends, brought by Okinawan immigrants as a means to secure monetary credit—the moai—is one of the enduring legacies of the early immigrants. Today, this practice remains common in many social circles in Campo Grande, including those unrelated to the Asian community.

3. Agricultural Cooperative

Jacyara de Souza, citing Piva, points out that on May 5, 1935, the COOP Campo Grande - Agricultural Cooperative of Campo Grande Ltda., composed of over one hundred Okinawan immigrants, was created with the aim of providing a broader and more beneficial platform for agricultural producers, focusing on crops such as rice, beans, corn, potatoes, and coffee (Piva, 2001 apud Souza, 2017). Okinawan immigrants established various agricultural colonies around the city in the early 20th century. To protect themselves from harmful competition and falling prices for their products, these farmers initiated negotiations to create a cooperative entity for mutual assistance. The foundation of the Agricultural Cooperative of Campo Grande was the result.

A significant effort was made by Jinsiro Guenka to promote and persuade members of the colonies to join the Cooperative. The leadership was formed by Takemori Oshiro as president,

Kokichi Guenka as treasurer, Gonsiro Nakao overseeing accounting, and Hiyoshi Katayama and Saburo Gibo as board members, along with representatives from each colony established in Campo Grande. It is important to note that the majority of these leaders were of Okinawan origin (AOCG, 2019).

Throughout its history, the Cooperative faced challenges related to the national economy and climatic factors, such as the severe drought of 1944 that significantly impacted the agricultural production of its members, which led to financial difficulties. However, the cooperative members, aware of these adversities, chose to assume nearly the entire debt through contributions, compulsory savings, and other measures, allowing the Cooperative to recover (AOCG, 2019).

Cláudia Regina de Brito (2000) states that the consumption of fresh produce was introduced by the Japanese (a joint effort between Okinawan and non-Okinawan colonies), who became the main suppliers of vegetables in Campo Grande during the 1920s. The production by these settlements enabled the widespread adoption of vegetable consumption in the diet of the city's residents at the time.

> "The production and consumption of fresh produce in Campo Grande were practically introduced by the Japanese. Previously, these products were brought from other regions, arriving at high prices and already quite damaged due to their perishable nature. The vegetables produced by the Japanese were sold by women who roamed the streets with carts, announcing their goods. They were also sold at open markets on Sundays and Thursdays, in what is now the Municipal Market on 7 de Setembro Street. Besides vegetables, sugarcane cultivation for alcohol production was also very common among the Japanese." (Brito, 2000, p. 65)

The Agricultural Cooperative of Campo Grande stands as one of the most evident impacts of Okinawan immigrants in the region. This initiative not only represented a collective effort (yuimaru) by the immigrants but also demonstrated their determination to build a solid foundation for their community. The active involvement of Okinawan leaders in managing the cooperative highlights their contribution and their vital role in seeking solutions during challenging periods, such as economic crises and adverse climatic conditions. Moreover, the cultural influence of these immigrants is notable in the introduction of vegetable consumption in the city, altering dietary habits and impacting the local economy. This legacy endures, underscoring the resilience and positive influence of these groups in shaping the history and identity of Campo Grande.

4. Okinawa Association of Campo Grande

This section begins with a quote that succinctly explains the simplest and most enlightening reasons behind the establishment of the Okinawa Association of Campo Grande:

> "Between 1917 and 1918, a surprising number of Okinawan immigrants arrived in Brazil. Virtually all of them gathered around fellow immigrants from their homeland who were already settled in the country, mainly in Santos, Juquiá, and Campo Grande. When a large number of compatriots come together, the natural consequence is the need for mutual cooperation, leading to the organization of an Okinawa Kenjinkai (association of Okinawan provincials)." (AECNB, 2008, p. 110)

The Okinawa Association of Campo Grande (AOCG) was founded in 1922, with Kame Chinen serving as its first president. Initially, it was attached to the premises of the Visconde de Cairu School (AOCG, 2008, p. 243).

Later, recognizing the need for expansion and an independent headquarters, future presidents undertook the mission of constructing the Okinawa Association of Campo Grande outside the school premises. The AOCG (2008, p. 247-248) narrates its own history:

> "Thus, under the leadership of Oshiro Takemori (...), part of the Okinawan community in this city began engaging in intensive activities to make the construction of the Association's own headquarters viable. Eventually, with the donation of land by leader Takemori and the acquisition of additional adjoining plots through pooled resources and fundraising efforts by the board, members, and the community at the time, they managed to begin construction. The project took about six years and was finally inaugurated on September 17, 1966."

The construction was carried out by its own members through a system of mutirão (community workdays), scheduled on dates and times when members could collaborate on the project (AOCG, 2008). The Okinawa Association of Campo Grande was established and continues to operate today, welcoming descendants, immigrants, and supporters of Okinawan culture.

It remains a pillar in preserving history and culture, facilitating academic, diplomatic, community, cultural, and social relations with Okinawa Prefecture through connections with municipalities, the prefectural government, universities, and sociocultural organizations. The association offers classes and training in numerous activities related to Okinawan culture, such as: Sanshin classes, teaching the three-stringed traditional Okinawan instrument; Eisā taiko training,

a form of Okinawan drumming combined with dance, whistles, and shouts; Buyō practice, a classical Okinawan dance style; And many others (Kawano, 2023).

V. Conclusion

Researching, studying, and gathering data and references for this thesis allowed me to gain a deeper understanding of my own family's origins and the arduous journey undertaken by my ancestors, grandparents, siblings, cousins, and relatives to reach Campo Grande, and settle here.

Knowing that the impact of this long journey and years of dedication put into building a home in this city, the capital of Mato Grosso do Sul, continues to resonate today—several generations later—serves as living proof that history is built by people. The decisions made by individuals, collectively, shape the course of humanity and create unimaginable turning points. After all, it would have been difficult for anyone in Okinawa, a century and a half ago, to imagine that their descendants would be spread across the globe, holding prominent positions in a city on the other side of the world.

The social implementations of immigrant influence remain alive in the city. Whether through Soba as a traditional dish, Moai as an informal cooperative system, or the numerous institutions founded, built, and strengthened by Okinawan descendants. The preservation and study of this immigration history are invaluable treasures, safeguarding years of struggle and dedication from resilient people who, despite their hardships, chose to forge a new path.

This ensures the preservation of their cultural history—embedded in the conversations spoken in the old Okinawan language, in the culinary traditions replicated in the city, in the artistic performances taught by the Okinawa Association of Campo Grande, and in the stories heard from parents and grandparents and passed down through generations, stories of settlement and the growth of each family within the city of Campo Grande.

As previously mentioned, Stuart Hall (2008, p. 110) highlights how identity becomes apparent when placed in contrast to its adversary—when it encounters a culture or society different from the one it seeks to assert itself within. In this sense, it is a social mission of the Okinawan community in Campo Grande—through its institutions, leaders, and historical records—to promote, celebrate, and educate others about its own existence and the ways in which its people have contributed to the cultural and social fabric of Campo Grande, Mato Grosso do Sul.

This article is based on the undergraduate thesis presented to the Faculty of Human Sciences at the Federal University of Mato Grosso do Sul as a requirement for obtaining a Bachelors degree in History.

References:

AECNB. Ayumi: The Saga of the Japanese Colony in Campo Grande. Campo Grande, 2008.

AOCG. Land of Hope Kibo no Daitsi. Campo Grande, Life Editora, 2019.

AOKB. One Century of History: The Okinawan Community in Brazil Since the Kasato Maru - 1908–2008. São Paulo, Paulo´s Editora, 2012.

AOKB. 90 Years Since the Kasato Maru: Okinawan Immigration to Brazil. São Paulo, 1998.

Barros, José D'Assunção. Cultural History and the Contribution of Roger Chartier. In: Diálogos, DHI/PPH/UEM, v. 9, n. 1, p. 125-141, 2005.

Bauman, Zygmunt. The Individualized Society: Lives Told and Stories Lived. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar, 2008.

Brito, Claudia Regina. Japanese Schools: The Construction of Ethnicity in Mato Grosso do Sul. Campo Grande - MS: UNIDERP, 2000.

Calado, Lenita Maria Rodrigues. It Was a Market Where We Went in Flip-Flops: Campo Grande and Its Central Free Market. Dourados - MS: Ed. UFGD, 2013.

Certeau, Michel de. The Practice of Everyday Life. 3rd ed. Petrópolis: Editora Vozes, 1998.Hau'ofa,

Chartier, R. The World as Representation. Estudos Avançados. São Paulo, v. 5, n. 11, p. 173-191, Jan/Apr, 1991.

Cruz, R. L.; Toyama, J. A Portion of Japan in Campo Grande? Sobá as Memory, Consumer Experience, and Imagination. Equatorial, v. 7, 2020.Kim, Jody. Ends of Empire: Asian American Critique and the Cold War. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010.

FOOD IN JAPAN. Okinawa Soba. July 31, 2023. Available at: https://www.foodinjapan.org/kyushu/okinawa/okinawa-soba/. Accessed on: Nov. 19, 2023.

Hall, Stuart. Who Needs Identity? In: SILVA, Tomaz T. Identity and Difference: The Perspective of Cultural Studies. Petrópolis: Vozes, 2008. chap.3, p.103-133.

Handa, Tomoo. The Japanese Immigrant: History of His Life in Brazil. São Paulo, T.A.Queiroz, 1987.

Higa, Laís Miwa. Umi nu Kanata – Beyond the Sea: History and Difference in the "Brazilian Okinawan Community". Dissertation (Postgraduate Program in Social Anthropology) – USP. São Paulo, 2015.

Itokazu, Newton. The Reasons for Okinawan Emigration. In: AOKB. 90 Years Since the Kasato Maru: Okinawan Immigration to Brazil. São Paulo, p. 33-55, 2000.

Luna Kubota, Nádia Fujiko. Paths of Sobá: From Okinawa to Campo Grande. In: 28th Brazilian Anthropology Meeting - Contemporary Anthropological Challenges, 2012, São Paulo.

NOROESTE BRAZIL OKINAWA. Available at: https://www.noroeste-brazil.okinawa/pt/chapter2.html. Accessed on: Nov. 19, 2023.

OKINAWANDO. The Father of Okinawan Immigration. Okinawando. June 22, 2015. Available at: https://okinawando.wordpress.com/2015/06/22/o-pai-da-imigracao-okinawana/. Accessed on: Nov. 19, 2023.

Sakima, Tatsuo. A Brief History of Okinawa. In: AOKB. 90 Years Since the Kasato Maru: Okinawan Immigration to Brazil. São Paulo, p. 27-32, 2000.

Souza, Jacyara. Determinants of Value Creation in Agricultural Cooperatives in Mato Grosso do Sul. FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OF MATO GROSSO DO SUL: Dissertation (Postgraduate Program in Administration). UFMS. Campo Grande, 2017.

Takayasu, Hiroharu. Chimugukuru Culture and Uchinaguchi: Uchinaguchi that Touches the Heart. In: AOKB. Muribushi: v. 8,9. Okinawan Immigration Research Center in Brazil, Paulo’s, p. 32-42, 2023.

Teruya, Lynette. Ukaji Debiru: Kyuzo Toyama. The Hawaii Herald, August 21, 2020. Available at: https://www.thehawaiiherald.com/2020/08/21/ukaji-debiru-kyuzo-toyama/. Accessed on: Nov. 18, 2023.

Toma, Priscila Miki Cortez. Between Okinawa and Ryukyu: The Consequences of Dual Colonialism. 2022. Undergraduate Thesis (Degree in International Relations) - Federal University of Uberlândia, Uberlândia, 2022.

Yamashiro, José. Okinawa: A Bridge to the World. São Paulo, Cultura Editores Associados, 2000.

（かわの　おっと　なおみ　れなた・琉球大学国際地域創造学部・研究生・歴史学）

希望の樹：「カンポ・グランデにおける沖縄移民の記憶と物語」

川野オットナオミレナタ

カンポ・グランデ市は、日本の沖縄県を出自とする移民が多く集まる地域の一つであり、ブラジルは世界最大の沖縄系移民・子孫を抱える国である。かつて独立した王国であった沖縄は、独自の文化、宗教、言語、習慣を有していた。沖縄移民のカンポ・グランデへの定住は、同市における沖縄文化の存在を鮮明に刻みつけることとなった。その代表的な例が、「カンポ・グランデのソバ」である。この料理は沖縄移民によって伝えられた沖縄そばを起源とし、現在ではカンポ・グランデ市の無形文化遺産として認定されている。本論文では、沖縄移民のカンポ・グランデへの歴史的軌跡をたどり、彼らが移住に至った歴史的背景、そして移民が同市の文化に与えた影響について考察する。

キーワード：沖縄移民、沖縄、日本移民、カンポ・グランデ