Greetings

How have Japanese foods changed between generations of Nikkei since they first arrived in their adopted countries from Japan? On behalf of the Kikkoman Institute for International Food Culture (KIIFC), Mr. Shigeru Kojima of the Advanced Research Center for Human Sciences, Waseda University, set out to answer this question. From 2015 to 2018, Mr. Kojima investigated recipe books and conducted interviews in areas populated by Japanese immigrants, particularly in Brazil and North American, including Hawaii. His research results on Brazil were published in 2017 in Food Culture No. 27. In this continuation of the series, he focuses on North America.

With the long history of Japanese immigration to North America, as well as Nikkei internments during WWII, the researcher had some concerns as to how many recipe books could be collected. Thanks to Mr. Kojima's two intensive research trips, the results were better than expected. At a time of increasing digitization in publishing, we believe this research is both timely and a great aid in preserving historical materials. We expect these accumulated historical materials will be utilized for other research in the future.

The KIIFC will continue to promote activities that help the public gain a deeper understanding of diverse cultures through the exploration of food culture.

CONTENTS

Shigeru Kojima

A research fellow at the Advanced Research Center for Human Sciences, Waseda University, Shigeru Kojima was born in Sanjo City, Niigata Prefecture. After being a student at Sophia University, he went to study in Brazil and earned a master's degree in Social History at the Graduate School, Federal University of Paraná. While traveling throughout Brazil by bus, he became a fervent admirer of the country and was inspired to engage in immigrant studies in Curitiba, the capital of the state of Paraná. He lived there for roughly 10 years before returning to Japan. Among his positions in Japan, he worked at universities and helped establish the JICA Yokohama Japanese Overseas Migration Museum, where he currently works in the Project Management Division. His focus of research is the history of Japanese migration, the identity of the Nikkei, and changes in Nikkei communities in multicultural societies such as Brazil, the US and Canada. His main research themes include festivals, ethnic community, foods and translation.

Changes in Nikkei Cuisine as Viewed from Recipe Books

Recipe Books in North America

Shigeru Kojima
Research Fellow, Advanced Research Center for Human Sciences, Waseda University

Introduction

When beginning my recipe book research in North America (the US and Canada), I became aware that I was dealing with a much larger volume of resources than I had in South America. In time, that early impression was confirmed as I learned that recipe books have been mass-produced in North America at a level considerably beyond that in South America. Even today as I am writing, recipe books continue to be found thanks to my many helpful sources. As such, I am unable to list here all of the recipe books I collected. The 127 recipe books collected so far in both North and South America can be broken down to the following by country or region:

Hawaii	59
US	34
Brazil	20
Canada	8
South America (excluding Brazil)	6

Since this research was not conducted in any South American countries other than Brazil, the recipe books collected from the unresearched countries are a kind of byproduct. If more research can be conducted in other South American countries, the number shown above would naturally increase.

The first question one might ask is why there were so many recipe books published in North America, and why especially in Hawaii? Although I cannot confirm the reasons with confidence at the moment, I presume that a key reason might be that food is closely linked to the cultural identity of Nikkei-jin (Japanese immigrants and their descendants) and has served as a bond between generations.

In an attempt at rough classification, the recipe books collected in North America can be divided into the following categories:

Classification of recipe books in North America

1. Recipe Books Published by Buddhist Associations and Other Religious Groups
2. Recipe Books Published by Nikkei Associations (Excluding Religious Associations)
3. Mobile Kitchen Recipe Books
4. Recipe Books Published by Public Markets and Others
5. Books of Japanese Recipes as Ethnic Cuisine
6. Recipe Books as Handbooks for Living in Different Cultures
7. Hand-written Recipe Books

As was the case with South America, this classification is for the sake of convenience only, as there are many overlaps. However, in contrast with the recipe books in South America, some points stood out. The first point is related to the 1st classification. While agricultural cooperatives have played a major role in South America, this central role is assumed by Buddhist associations in North America. The second point relates to the 3rd classification of mobile kitchens, which are ubiquitous in North America but still uncommon in South America. The last point relates to the 5th classification of ethnic foods, which is a common expression that includes Japanese foods in Hawaii. Let's look closer at these characteristics.

1 Recipe Books Published by Buddhist Associations and Other Religious Groups

In North America, Buddhist associations have long played a significant role in the Nikkei community. Even today, Buddhist associations are an important hub of social life for many Nikkei. *Obon* is actively observed in Nikkei communities in many places in North America from June to September. Unlike in Japan, Obon practices in America have undergone transformations, with the religious aspect somewhat diminished. Yet, Buddhist associations are integral to its very existence. During Obon, food culture plays a prominent role. Though South America also has Buddhism-related organizations, they have not penetrated the culture to the degree their counterparts in North America have.

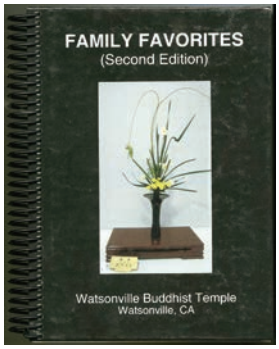
In numbers alone, the differences between Buddhist associations in North and South America are evident. The List of Overseas Japanese Organizations compiled by the International Trade Bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan in November 1932 contains a list of religious organizations, though the data is limited. The list notes religious organizations in the following numbers as: 105 (99 Buddhist and 6 Christian) in Hawaii, 56 (34 Buddhist and 22 Christian)

in Washington State, 6 (6 Christian) in 3 US States (New York, Illinois and California) and 3 (1 Buddhist and 2 Christian) in Canada. It can be confirmed that Hawaii is predominant in the number of Buddhist organizations. In contrast, there are none in South America. Why? It seems that "in order to press forward smoothly with emigration to Catholic countries in line with the Japanese Government's migration policies, Buddhist monks and Shinto priests were, publicly at least, discouraged from going to Brazil." As religious leaders could easily not go to Brazil, this would explain the background (*Brazil Nihon Imin 70-nen-shi* [70 years' history of Japanese Immigration in Brazil] p. 314)). The large number in Hawaii indicates that, as calculated with the Nikkei population (139,631; US census 1930) of the time, there was roughly one Buddhist association per 1,400 Nikkei residents. If each family had four members, it means that Buddhist associations had penetrated at a level of one Buddhist association for every 350 families.

In some regions or areas, the religious organization was not a Buddhist association but a Christian association. Yet, it was undeniable in North America that Buddhist associations were the organizations with the greatest spread. Of course, those who bore the leading role in producing recipe books were the members of women's societies in the Buddhist associations. These recipe books were published repeatedly on a regular basis in many of these cases. Though there are various schools of Buddhism, Buddhist organizations are generally called *Bukkyo-kai* or referred to as Buddhist churches in English. Among the recipe books collected in this study, most were published by these Buddhist churches. Four from this category are introduced below in chronological order.

Family Favorites (Second Edition)

Watsonville Buddhist Temple (Year of publication unknown)



Although the year of publication is not given, the dedication in the beginning of the book states that it is a reprinted edition published in response to many requests for the original edition, which was published in the 1960s. It was compiled with the cooperation of women's society members in the Buddhist association, as well as adult Buddhist federation members and their friends. Publication of the first edition in the 1960s indicates that such activities were already well underway by that time. In the 60s, a good number of the first generation (*Issei*) were still alive, and their influences remain in the book. The contents consist of the following six chapters, with an index at the end.

1) Drinks and appetizers
2) Soups, salads, and vegetables
3) Side dishes, jellies, and pickles
4) Main dishes
5) Desserts
6) Recipes from foreign countries

Ninety percent of the recipes from foreign countries here are Japanese recipes, and the recipe contributors' names are provided. Their names suggest they are Issei women. As it is a reprint of an edition published in the 1960s, it is considered that the food culture legacy of Issei is recorded here.

Most other recipes also have individuals' or groups' names attached. Judging from the contributors' names, we can ascertain that this book was produced with the cooperation of first and second generation Nikkei women. It was also noted that some recipes with the same names, such as *uri kasuzuke* (gourd pickled in sake lees), *kuri manju* (chestnut bun) and chicken teriyaki, come from different contributors, which suggests that they are recipes that were handed down in different families.

The following recipes are notable in terms of the naming or contents in the details:

1) Drinks and appetizers

Recipes with regional color
Hula Shake, Football Sandwiches, Submarine Sandwiches

2) Soups, salads, and vegetables

Recipes with Japanese names used without any change
Miso Shiru [miso soup], *Osumashi Jiru* [clear soup], *Kimpira Gobo* [sautéed and simmered burdock root]
Recipes whose names include Chinese designation
Chinese Watercress Soup, Cucumber Bean Thread Salad (Chinese), Gow Gay Soup, Cold Duck Salad (Chinese), Chinese Peas

It is understood that miso shiru, osumashi jiru and kimpira gobo were typical dishes handed down in Nikkei families, and that Chinese dishes were also popular among Nikkei people.

3) Side dishes, jellies, and pickles

Of 20 recipes, the following 11 are Japanese:
Cabbage *Tsukemono* [pickled cabbage], *Daikon Tsukemono* [pickled daikon radish], *Chosen Zuke*

[Korean-style pickles], Cucumber *Kimuchi* [cucumber kimchi], Cucumber *Mizo* [sic] *Zuke* [cucumber pickled in miso], Hawaii *Zuke Daikon* [Hawaiian-style pickled daikon radish], Pickled *Daikon, Sunomon* - Cabbage and Carrot [vinegared dishes including cabbage and carrot], Tokyo Zuke [Tokyo-style pickles], *Uri Kasuzuke* [gourd pickled in sake lees], *Uri no Kasuzuke* [gourd pickled in sake lees]

The many pickle recipes suggest that Nikkei people consumed them frequently. Seeing it from different perspective, they were consuming their vegetables in the form of pickles. Vegetables used were mainly daikon radish, cabbage, Napa cabbage and cucumbers. In the 1960s, a wide variety of pickles must have been made and eaten in Japan as well.

4) Main dishes

Of 49 recipes, only three had Japanese names.

Shoyu Fish, Skirt Steak Teriyaki, and Squid Patties (*Ika Dango*)

The use of soy sauce and Ajinomoto (monosodium glutamate: MSG) is common to the three recipes.

5) Desserts

There is no recipe that is particularly Japanese or has a Japanese name, but there are many cakes made with fruits. Some desserts that have the same names have slightly different recipes depending on the family.

6) Recipes from foreign countries

Of the 67 recipes in this chapter, the Japanese language is used in the names of the following 33, roughly half of them. This suggests that the Japanese diet was brought in by Issei who immigrated to the US.

Abura Age Niwatori (Japanese Fried Chicken), *Anko* [sweet bean paste], *An Pan* [sweet roll with sweet bean paste filling], *Cha-shu Manju* [steamed bun with barbecued pork filling], *Chawan Mushi* [unsweetened steamed egg custard], Chicken Teriyaki, *Ebi Zushi* [shrimp sushi], *Chirashi Zushi* [vinegared sushi rice topped with vegetables, seafood, julienned omelet and nori seaweed], Chicken Teriyaki (Fujinkai), Cold *Somen* [chilled thin noodles], Frothy *Yokan* (*Awa-Yuki*) [meringue jelly], *Gobo-maki* [burdock root wrapped in meat], Chicken & *Matsutake Gohan* [rice cooked with chicken and matsutake mushroom], *Kuri Manju* [chestnut bun] (two types), Lunch Box Beef (*Obento no Okazw* [sic]) [side dish for lunch box], *Maki Sushi* [sushi roll], *Oni-Gara Yaki* [prawns in the shell marinated in shoyu-based sauce and grilled], *Manju* [bun] (Square), *Nambanzuke* (vinegared fish), *Okara* [tofu dregs cooked with vegetables], *Nikomi Gohan* [rice cooked with seasonings and vegetables, etc.], *Nikudango* [meat balls], *Saba Zushi* (mackerel sushi), *Satsuma Age (Perch Tempura)* [fried fish cakes], *Shitake Hamyu* [sic], *Sukiyaki, Tempura* (Shrimp), *Takikawa Tofu* [tofu paste jelly cut into strips], *Unagi Donburi* [a bowl of rice topped with seasoned and broiled eel], *Inari Zushi* [pouches of fried tofu filled with sushi rice], *Umani* (chicken with vegetables), *Zenzai* [sweet red bean soup]

Canned eel sold in Nikkei supermarkets 2018

We can see that pan, manju and zenzai were made with sweet bean paste at home. It is also noted that there are many chicken dishes, and that sushi, such as chirashi zushi, saba zushi and inari zushi, was popular. Another interesting recipe is the unagi donburi, for which canned eel is used. This supports the stories of many Nisei (second generation) who said they frequently ate canned eel as children. Canned eel is still being sold in Japanese grocery stores today.

Recipes from foreign countries with names of non-English origin are as follows:

Chow Mein, Enchiladas, Flour Tortillas, Goo Low Yuke, Lobster Cantonese, Prawns Cantonese, Shish Kabob

They include Chinese, Mexican and Middle Eastern dishes, typical of a country with as many immigrants as the US. Chow mein in particular is often cited by many Nisei in their recollections, as they often had it when they ate at restaurants with their families. Most of those restaurants were likely to have been Chinese restaurants operated by Nikkei owners.

Ajinomoto and Soy Sauce

Nearly a third of the recipes use Ajinomoto, which, along with soy sauce, is assumed to have been fairly common in cooking from around this time. In line with this, advertisements for these two seasonings were especially prominent, often taking full page ads in recipe books.

From *Family Favorites*

Oriental Recipies *The Veleda Club, 1969*

This 54-page book is small, well organized and rich with content. Produced by the Veleda Club in Portland, Oregon, the first edition was published in July 1963. The book used for this study is the sixth edition, published in August 1969, which means the book had such strong demand that it was reprinted

each year over those 6 years.
According to records found on the Internet, the Veleda Club was established by Nisei women in Portland after World War II. The club seems to have been actively engaged in events such as Japan Day and other programs to promote cultural understanding through the Portland YWCA. The record states that the club was named Veleda as it means "wise women" in Latin. The club's mission was "education, recreation and culture for the benefit of women," and provided a service to "both the Caucasian community and the Japanese community." The club appears to have been engaged in a wide spectrum of activities, including the provision of scholarships to local Japanese American students. Although the website introducing the Veleda Club has no reference to this publication, it does mention the sharing of personal photographs and recipes. It is assumed the club developed the idea of compiling a recipe book as a part of those activities.
Here, what draws attention is that the book is entitled Oriental Recipes, not Japanese Recipes. There might have been a particular reason to make a point of using the title Oriental Recipes rather than Japanese Recipes. However, as the majority of Asian immigrants in Portland and in the Portland YWCA at the time were Nikkei women, Oriental here is considered to essentially refer to Nikkei.
The book's preface emphasizes that the recipes introduced within are not simply Japanese dishes, but dishes women in Japan used to make in their hometowns. The preface adds that these recipes were widely used by Nisei families in the Pacific Northwest region, and should enrich the readers' diets and their joy of cooking.
The book has "useful tips" pages, which include how to cut onions without tears, the use of lemon to tenderize chicken, the proper way to make miso soup (where miso should be added last and not overcooked), and how to lightly freeze the meat for sukiyaki to make it easy to slice. It also touches on soy sauce and Ajinomoto, and recommends both to enhance the flavor of any dish. In addition, various ways of cutting ingredients are explained, such as cutting into quarter slices, coarse chopping and cutting into semicircular slices. A list of grocery stores stocking Japanese ingredients is also provided. The book talks about commonly used Japanese ingredients and how to use chopsticks, as well. In short, it is thorough and rich in content, not only covering how to make dishes, but extending to the pleasure of cooking and an introduction to the cultural background.
The recipes are divided into pork, beef, tempura, seafood, chicken, and egg dishes, dashi broth and soups, noodles, sushi, vegetables, salads, desserts, sauces, accompaniments and pickled vegetables. It is noteworthy that the recipes start with pork dishes. Dishes whose Japanese names were written in Roman characters are listed here:

> *Sukiyaki, Teriyaki, Tempura, Kazunoko* [herring roe], *Mizutaki* [chicken hot pot], *Sashimi, Oyako Donburi* [chicken and egg rice bowl], *Chawan Mushi, Dashi* [broth], *Ozoni* [soup with mochi, vegetables, and other ingredients], *Miso Shiru*, *Udon* [noodles], *Hiya Somen* [chilled thin noodles], *Maki Zushi, Inari Zushi*, *Nigiri Zushi* [hand-formed sushi], *Chirashi Zushi*, *Onishime* [simmered chicken and vegetables], *Kuromame* [black soy beans], *Yaki Manju* [grilled bun with sweet bean paste filling], *Sakura Manju* [steamed bun with sweet white beans and pickled cherry leaf filling], *Zenzai*, *Yokan* [jellied sweet bean paste], *Kanten* [agar], *Kaki Mochi* [rice crackers]

Presumably, these would have been foods eaten in the homes of Nikkei families, and their names would have been those actually used in conversation at that time, namely the 1960s, representing the tradition of food culture. In comparison with Brazil, there is little difference here, except for the following two foods noted as obvious differences:

Kazunoko

One of the more interesting foods mentioned above is kazunoko. It is considered an auspicious food and typically served to celebrate the New Year. Is this the reason kazunoko is included in the recipe book? Given the fact that canned kazunoko was exported from Japan to the US, Issei (Japanese Immigrants) most likely tried to maintain their Japanese customs. In Brazil, kazunoko does not appear in recipe books. It may be related to the difficulty of exporting to Brazil, even though it was exported to the US. Because of its distance from Japan and high tariffs, imported foods in Brazil were considerably less available than in the US.

JICA Yokohama Japanese Overseas Migration Museum
Permanent exhibit Crate of canned kazunoko marked with Seattle as the destination

Sukiyaki

Interestingly, this book introduces two types of sukiyaki recipes, typically Japanese and Nisei style. A comparison of the recipes reveals the points that made

Nisei-style different from the typical Japanese-style:

1) The amount of sugar, soy sauce, sake, and Ajinomoto is doubled.
2) The amount of tofu is reduced by half.
3) The amount of *negi* (long green onion) is reduced to a range from an eighth to a tenth of Japanese style.
4) Nisei-style uses dried onion, bamboo shoots, celery and green pepper, which are not used in typical Japanese recipes.
5) Egg, which is frequently offered in the typical Japanese style, is completely absent from the Nisei-style.
6) Beef and *shirataki* (konjac noodles) are the only ingredients that remain the same in terms of the items and amounts used.
7) Nisei style is easier to prepare than the typical Japanese style.

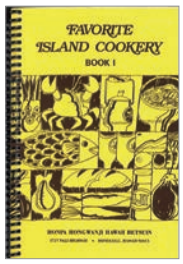
So, as the sukiyaki recipes were passed from the first to second generation, the taste grew stronger and sweeter, less tofu and *negi* were used, and onion, bamboo shoots, celery and green pepper were added. Does this mean that Nisei were not fond of *negi*, and preferred to put varieties of vegetables in sukiyaki? So far as taste, teriyaki in the US is generally much sweeter than in Japan, and it is understood that likewise sweeter sukiyaki is favored.

Here is another point that catches our attention, regarding how canned konjac noodles were used. It shows that in 1969, when the book was published, the only available konjac noodles were imported canned products. This tradition still remains, as Nikkei supermarkets sell canned ingredients for sukiyaki called Sukiyaki no Tomo.

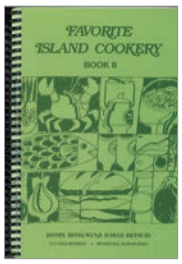
Can of Sukiyaki no Tomo

Favorite Island Cookery

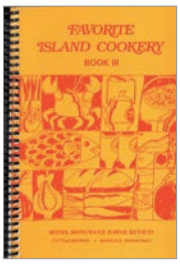
Honpa Hongwanji Hawaii Betsuin Book 1 1973 – Book 6 1995



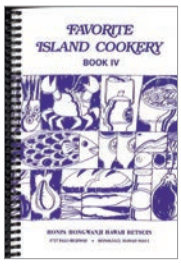
Book 1 December 1973



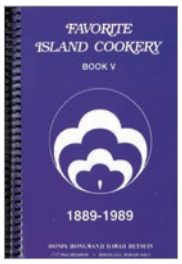
Book 2 December 1975



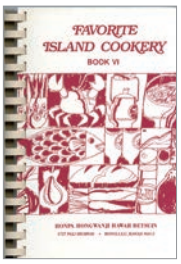
Book 3 December 1979



Book 4 December 1985



Book 5 March 1989



Book 6 December 1995

"Island" in this title would mean "Hawaii." All six volumes of this recipe book were published by Honpa Hongwanji Hawaii Betsuin (Hawaii Branch Temple of the Nishi Hongwanji of Jodo Shinshu Buddhism). Three of them were issued as part of a commemorative project: Book 1 in commemoration of the 85th anniversary of the temple, Book 4 in commemoration of the centenary of the convention contract laborers*, and Book 5 in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the temple.

Each book devotes quite a number of pages to explanations of the teachings of Buddhism, and the foods associated with them. Book 1 covers New Year's Day and food. Book 2 covers annual events such as *Higan* (a Buddhist holiday celebrated during the spring and autumn equinox) and *Hanamatsuri* (a flower festival that celebrates Buddha's birthday), *Obon* (a festival that honors the spirits of ancestors), *Hina Matsuri* (Doll's Day) and *Tango no Sekku* (Children's Day), as well as *shojin ryori* (Buddhist vegetarian cuisine). Book 3 covers Buddhist memorial services held in the months and years following a death. Book 4 introduces "*itadakimasu*" as the word Japanese say before eating, and discusses respect, gratitude and consideration. And Book 5 covers mankind and food, and introduces "*gochisosama*" as the word Japanese say upon finishing a meal. These explanations were written by a Buddhist missionary of the time to propagate Buddhist teachings, with some having the authors' signature. Book 6 was written by female Buddhist missionary and introduces a Food Guide Pyramid.

For the contents of the recipes, recipes with Japanese names are notable, starting from Book 1 (1973). The following are just a few:

Curried C*hikuwa* [curried fish paste wrapped around a stick and broiled], *Osumashi* [clear soup], Cucumber *Namasu* [vinegared cucumber], *Yakumi* [condiment], *Makina no Tsukemono* [pickled leaf vegetable], *Kiriboshi no Sanbaizuke* [dried julienned

※Japanese migrants who crossed the ocean to Hawaii in the period from 1885 to 1894 went mainly for the purpose of laboring in sugar cane plantations under contracts made between the Hawaiian Kingdom and the Japanese government.

daikon radish pickled in a mixture of sugar, vinegar and soy sauce], Cabbage *O-Koko* [pickled cabbage], *Takuwan* [pickled daikon radish], *Shira-Ae* [salad dressed with tofu, sesame and miso], Lemon *Shoyu no Yakitori* [grilled chicken seasoned with lemon and soy sauce], Bamboo Chicken *Nikomi* [simmered bamboo chicken], Oyako Donburi

There are too many more to mention. These recipes were presumably produced through involvement of Issei or Nisei, and suggest that the tradition of Japanese cuisine was steadily passed down and maintained. Notably, many recipes such as the following are also found in the books:

Filipino Chicken Soup, Korean Egg Broth, Chinese Chicken Salad, Korean Ogo Kim Chee, Chinese Style Tofu, Spanish Rice

As these names suggest, these recipes indicate a food culture representative of the diverse ethnic groups who came to Hawaii as immigrants. In the course of progressing from Book 1 to Book 6, the numbers of recipes gradually increased from some 300 to 400 and more, with no major changes to the previous content. The contents of the recipes themselves saw no major changes over this time, though the use of Roman characters for Japanese dish names increased so that the recipe books could be read in other countries.

Notwithstanding the above, Book 5 has a characteristic that is not seen in other five books. That is, for each recipe, it tells where it has come from. As stated in the foreword "this book introduces mother's favorite dishes, which have long been passed down from mothers to daughters." These recipes are seen as not being reprints from other publications but original recipes of people who each have roots in various prefectures in Japan. Of the 391 recipes whose origins have been identified, 226 recipes (58%) originated in Hawaii, followed by 128 recipes (33%) with Japanese prefectures in the names (such as Hiroshima or Okayama), and then by 37 recipes (9%) that are described as Mother's Favorites.

Forty-three prefectures are mentioned as the place of origin for these recipes, and are listed here in descending order:

Hiroshima	10 recipes
Osaka, Okinawa and Kagoshima	8 recipes
Nagasaki	7 recipes
Hokkaido and Yamagata	6 recipes
Hyogo	5 recipes
Tokyo, Niigata, Fukuoka, Miyazaki, Yamaguchi, Yamanashi and others	4 recipes

Of all 47 prefectures in Japan, only four prefectures (Ishikawa, Iwate, Kanagawa and Miyagi) are not cited. Although the above order of prefectures does not perfectly agree with the order of prefectural origin of Japanese immigrants in Hawaii, it is generally in line with it. Many immigrants to Hawaii are known to have come from Hiroshima, Yamaguchi, Okinawa, Fukuoka and Niigata prefectures.

In addition, Book 5 indicates an intention to convey the regional characteristics of recipes. In the category of ozoni covering four pages, the regional differences in the broth, mochi and other ingredients in Japan are explained. It describes, for example, whether the broth is clear or miso-based, whether the mochi is round or cut in blocks, and so on.

For recipes by prefecture, the book introduces typical local dishes of individual prefectures, such as *kaki no miso nabe* (miso-flavored oyster hot pot) of Hiroshima Prefecture, *karashi renkon* (mustard-filled lotus root) of Kumamoto Prefecture, *katsuo no kakuni* (simmered skipjack tuna) of Kochi Prefecture and *noppei* (soy sauce-based soup with fried tofu, taro, shiitake mushrooms, carrots, lotus root and salmon roe) of Niigata Prefecture. This suggests that the ingredients for these dishes were also available in Hawaii.

Looking for recipes that originated in Hawaii, there are recipes that evoke associations with Hawaii such as saimin salad and plantation baked beans, though only a few. Instead, foods brought in by immigrants predominate. For instance, beef with *miso ae* (beef dressed with miso), sashimi, salmon *miso yaki* (miso-marinated and grilled salmon), fried *udon* (stir-fried udon noodles), and microwave *yomogi mochi* (mugwort mochi made using a microwave), as well as Korean noodle salad (kook soo) and Chinese style roast turkey, are recipes directly linked to immigrant culture. There are many recipes that we who live in Japan would be very familiar with. Perhaps especially because Nikkei people made up roughly 40 percent of the population of Hawaii before WWII, it can be said that the recipe books reflect their influence.

What about recipes described as "Mother's Favorites"? The following are a few:

Spicy Eggplant (*Nasu Itame-Ni*) [stir-fried and simmered eggplant]
Lotus Root *Kinpira* (*Hasu No Kinpira*) [sautéed and simmered lotus root]
Hijiki
Beef with Irish Potatoes (*Niku Jaga*) [meat and potato stew]
Mackerel Cooked with Miso (*Saba No Miso Ni*)
Scrambled Tofu (*Iri Dofu*)
Stir-Fry *Konnyaku* (*konnyaku No Kinpira*) [sautéed and simmered konjac]

Varieties of mochi products sold in supermarkets in Hawaii

As would be obvious to everyone in Japan, the above are everyday dishes, and the cooking method described is rarely different from that in Japan. Japan's food culture seems to have been carried on in these recipes without change in Hawaii. Nikkei people call these foods "*okazu*," referring to the main and side dishes that accompany a staple diet.
When visiting Nikkei supermarkets in Hawaii, the following Roman letters on product packages attracted my attention. Although they are not recipes, the labeling and their transformation is very interesting in terms of the tradition of food.

> *Mochi, Manju*, *Mochi* ball, *Mochi* Crunch, *Choco Mochi*, *Chi Chi Mochi* [milk-based soft rice cake], *Ko-Ko* [pickled vegetables], *Takuwan*, *Fukujinzuke* [finely chopped vegetables pickled in a *shoyu*-based sauce]

First, the term "mochi." Along with manju, mochi is a familiar term and food among Nikkei people. All 6 volumes of this recipe book have categories for mochi and manju where varieties of both are introduced, such as *yomogi mochi, habutae mochi* (soft and sweet mochi), *an mochi* (mochi with sweet bean paste filling), *fukashi manju* (steamed bun), *tsubushi manju* and *yaki manju* (steamed bun dressed with miso-based sauce and roasted). This shows that there are people in Hawaii who make these Japanese sweets on their own. Mochi, of course, means rice cake. What about mochi ball, mochi crunch and choco mochi? They are not exactly mochi but what we in Japan call "*arare*." *Arare* is the abbreviation for *arare mochi* (tiny rice crackers). Did "mochi" win by decision over "arare" or was there another reason? Whatever the reason, mochi is certainly a widely known Japanese food. And it should be a familiar food, as the custom of mochi-pounding on the New Year has been maintained. Chi chi mochi (or *chi chi dango*) is well known in Hawaii. It seems that the chi chi dango that originated in Hiroshima Prefecture has been passed on in Hawaii. This should not be surprising as the largest group of Japanese immigrants to Hawaii hail from Hiroshima Prefecture.
Ko-ko, takuwan and fukujinzuke have been widely consumed and also imported from Japan by Nikkei people since before WWII. Most Nisei know them well. Here what is noteworthy is ko-ko. It of course refers to pickled vegetables in general (refer to Food Culture No. 22). However, this term is rarely heard in Japan today. When I asked this of college students, none of them knew what ko-ko was. When basic meals on immigrant ships consisted of rice, miso soup and pickled vegetables, ko-ko would have been a food that everybody knew and which was eaten every day. That is why, I assume, the term "Takuwan trade" was born. It is noteworthy that this term has been lost in Japan but is retained in Hawaii, where the immigrants settled. Traditional culture steadfastly hangs on all the more when nestled in a different culture.

Ko-ko and fukujinzuke sold in a supermarket in Hawaii

Another interesting phenomenon is the integration of immigrant cultures. I found an interesting design on a shopping bag sold in a supermarket in Hawaii. It is emblazoned with "Mo' Bettah Together" in large letters at the center, with the following food names and illustrations around them:

> Kim Chee & Saimin, Mango and Shoyu, Shave Ice and Mochi balls, Eggs and Portuguese sausage, Mochi Crunch & Popcorn

They indeed represent a blend of food cultures brought in by various immigrants, with the message of "More better together." The design brilliantly expresses a culture of integration and co-existence unique to Hawaii.

Shopping bag in Hawaii

NIHON SHOKU Our Family's Favorite

Placer Buddhist Women's Association, 1986

This book was produced by the Placer Buddhist Women's Association in California, with a first edition of 501 copies published in February 1986, followed by a 2nd edition of 501 copies in June and a 3rd edition of 1001 copies in November of the same year. The dedication in the beginning states, "This cookbook is dedicated to the first, second, third and future generations." The cookbook committee consisted of 7 members, including the chairperson. Although it cannot be confirmed, as all the names of individuals involved are given in Roman letters, the names suggest that most of them were likely to have been Issei. The names of 38 Buddhist Women's Association members who contributed recipes are also given. Judging from their first names, around 10 of the 38 may be Nisei or later generations.
Prior to the main text, a glossary of the ingredients used in Japanese cuisine is provided. The glossary contains roughly 120 terms that help readers to understand the main text and recipes. The main text consists of 17 categories, as shown below:

Shogatsu Ryori—New Year Dishes	12 recipes
Otsumami—Hors D'oeuvre	10 recipes
Suimono—Soup	19 recipes
Sunomono—Salad	46 recipes
Gohanmono—Rice Dishes	17 recipes
Nabemono—One-Pot Dish	15 recipes
Tori—Chicken	17 recipes
Sakana Kai—Fish and Clams	31 recipes
Niku—Meat	19 recipes
Agemono—Deep-Fried Fish	27 recipes
Tofu	14 recipes
Yasai—Vegetable	33 recipes
Sauces and Vinegar Dressings	14 recipes
Menrui—Noodles	14 recipes
Tsukemono—Pickles	24 recipes
Arekore—Miscellaneous	17 recipes
Okashi—Desserts	27 recipes

The Japanese language is used only in these titles, with the rest of the book written in English. However, many of the recipe names are transliterations of Japanese names. Some have an English translation after the transliteration, such as the following:

Kakitama-Jiru – Scrambled Egg Soup
Takenoko Gohan – Bamboo Rice
Satoimo no Miso Shiru [miso soup with taro]
Shiitake Shira Ae [shiitake mushroom dressed with tofu, sesame and miso]
Kyuri Miso Zuke [cucumber pickled in miso]

For the category of *Sunomono*—Salad, although the Japanese title is sunomono (vinegared dish), and some recipes are exactly that, the other recipes are of salads in general. For *Yasai*—Vegetable, the recipes include everyday side dishes, such as *nasu no miso dengaku* (fried eggplant topped with sweet miso sauce), kimpira gobo, and *daikon no yawaraka-ni* (daikon radish simmered in seasoned dashi broth). For *Okashi*—Dessert, Japanese sweets such as yokan, mochi, *dango* (sweet rice dumpling) and manju are given. As seen above, some Japanese titles do not sound quite right by the standards of the present. However, they may have been within the acceptable range at that time.

Categories with more recipes include Sunomono—Salad with 46 recipes, Yasai—Vegetable with 33, and Sakana Kai—Fish and Clams with 31 recipes, which indicates that recipes approximating the diet of the Japanese were adopted.

Ajinomoto is used in various recipes, and such phrases as "dash of Ajinomoto" and "1 tsp. Ajinomoto" frequently appear in the recipes, indicating that Ajinomoto was widely available and used at the time. In the 1980s, Ajinomoto was widely available in Brazil as well, and most Chinese restaurants would often use it. I often heard at that time that tastes varied little between Chinese restaurants.

For *Shogatsu Ryori*—New Year Dishes, which appears first among the 17 categories, an explanation is given of New Year's Day customs in Japan and the meaning of individual New Year's dishes prior to introducing the actual recipes. We can see that remaining conscious of the special significance New Year's Day was important for these Japanese, and the committee members were eager to convey it here.

The recipe contents tell us that both the ingredients and cooking procedures were little different from those in Japan. This shows that the ingredients used in Japanese cuisine were mostly available and the book was intended to convey Japanese foods in Japan as they are. This cookbook is considered to reflect contemporary 1986, the year of its publication, and the situation of Japanese foods in the US at the time.

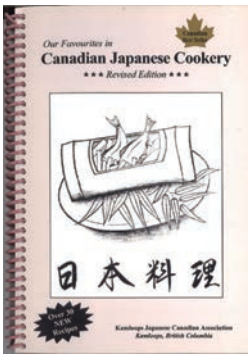
Judging from the characteristics above, Issei women played a central role in this cookbook, aimed at teaching the recipes to Nisei and the Nisei wrote explanations for the recipes in English. Cookbooks of this type have been published by Buddhist women's associations in various parts of North America, and the number of such books would be countless. In other words, the role played by Buddhist women's associations is highly significant in terms of handing down the tradition of foods, as well as other practices.

2 Recipe Books Published by Nikkei Associations (Excluding Religious Associations)

Our Favourites in Canadian Japanese Cookery

Kamloops Japanese Canadian Association, 2000

The first edition of this book was published in 1983, and I was unable to obtain a copy. It is stated in the preface of my edition that the 5,000 copies of the first edition sold out, and led to the publication of the



revised edition. The book introduces a total of 194 recipes, including 30 recipes added for the revised edition. The authors state their wish to maintain Japanese cuisine as an essential part of Japanese culture for future generations. However, this book contains both Japanese recipes and what could be called Japanese Canadian recipes, referred to as traditional "*Nihon Ryori* (Japanese Dishes)" and "Canadian *Nihon-Shoku* (Canadian Japanese Dishes)." The book's title, Canadian Japanese Cookery seems to have been named after the Canadian Nihon-Shoku.
Though which of the 194 recipes are Canadian Nihon-Shoku is never specified, we can draw some conclusions from the recipe names as in the following:

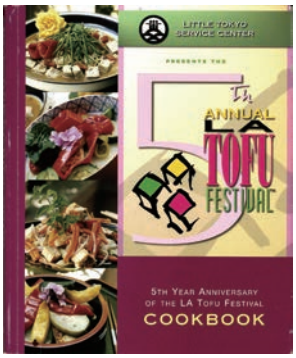
Cumberland Chow Mein (p.67), Hamburger *Manju* (p.74), Beer *Zuke* (p. 86), Denba *Zuke* (p.90)

Of the above names, Cumberland and Denba (Denver) are names of places. Denba *zuke* is a kind of pickled dish well-known among Japanese Canadians, as it used to be made by Japanese internees in the New Denver Internment Camp during WWII.
It is a kind of pickled daikon radish, and is widely consumed among Nikkei people even today. It uses a lot of sugar, and is much sweeter than pickles in Japan. Ajinomoto also often appears to be used.
Within the recipes for Japanese dishes, few Canadian influences or elements can be clearly found. If anything, it would be the generous amount of sugar, which is common to Canada and the US. At the end of the book, a tofu recipe is also introduced. This would indicate that even today there are people who want to make tofu at home.


Homemade Denva Zuke (Denver pickles)

5th Year Anniversary of the LA Tofu Festival Cookbook

Little Tokyo Service Center, 2000



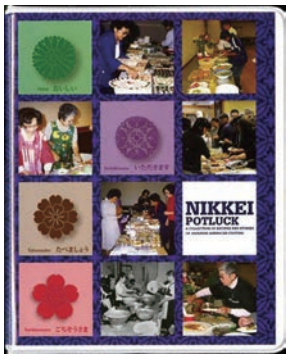
This book was published by Little Tokyo Service Center (LTSC) in 2000. Established in 1979 by a Japanese American volunteer group and others in Los Angeles, the LTSC is a non-profit community-based welfare and development organization. In addition to social welfare services, the center provides an extensive range of activities that include community management, urban development and services for immigrants. The Los Angeles Tofu Festival, which began in 1996, is one of these activities. The Tofu Festival originally started as a way to raise funds, and has been conducted as an event celebrating the penetration of highly nutritious and versatile tofu and promoting the dissemination of health, welfare and social services. The event's main sponsor is House Foods America Corporation, the largest tofu producer in the US. For the festival's 5th Anniversary, the LTSC published the LA Tofu Festival Cookbook.
This book has much of interest, despite being only 112 pages with a rather basic table of contents consisting of Introduction, Appetizers, Side Dishes, Salad, Main Dishes, Desserts, and Others. The book's introduction describes the history of tofu, and has a glossary of Japanese foods and a Q&A section to provide an easy-to-understand guide for those who are less familiar with tofu. Recipes compiled in the book were contributed by LTSC staff, volunteers and restaurant chefs in Southern California. Rather than simply introducing tofu dishes, many creative dishes made with tofu are introduced by the various contributors. There are Korean-style, Mexican-style, Italian-style and Spanish-style dishes, snacks and desserts as well as Japanese foods. The book presents an array of creative cuisine that shows what can be possible with tofu and is, so to speak, a showcase of country-specific tofu menus, with such dishes as Korean sundubu, tofu enchiladas, tofu ravioli, tofu lasagna, Spanish rice, tofu quiche, tofu cheese cake and tofu chocolate mousse.
While the book reminds us that tofu is not exclusive to Japan, the influence of the Japanese food boom is noted. This cookbook clearly presents the concept of integrated ethnic cultures and mutual cooperation

through tofu. While the chefs' recipes may be a trade secret for the restaurants, the publication may gain them new customers. This is an event in which contributors and readers help one another, and both have some merit. It serves as an extremely helpful reference as a form of exchange and collaboration through food.

On a side note, according to "The History of Tofu" in this book, tofu originated during the Later Han period (22–220 AD) in China, and it was 1183 when tofu first appeared in written records in Japan. In the US, a Chinese immigrant in San Francisco began production of tofu in 1878, and a Japanese immigrant opened a tofu shop in Sacramento in 1895.

Nikkei Potluck—A collection of recipes and stories of Japanese American culture

Japanese Cultural and Community Center of North California, 2005



This book is a pilot edition of the Nikkei Potluck cookbook project that the Japanese Cultural and Community Center of North California (JCCCNC) began in 2005 as a part of a project to commemorate the 100th Anniversary of San Francisco's Japantown. As the subtitle indicates, the book is a collection of recipes and stories related to Japanese American culture, bound with a ring binder so that supplementary pages can be added. Although the year of publication is not stated, it was on the market as of 2009. This is a very meaningful project, as it is aimed at recording the cultural legacy of Japanese Americans and passing it on to future generations by keeping a record of the memories associated with dishes and recipes.

With the acknowledgement that a large gap exists between generations with regard to food and various food-related customs and culture, the book aims to broadly convey cultural legacy through recipes. It states that, for this reason, not only the recipes themselves, but the memories, photographs, letters, poems and others factors relevant to cooking and food have been collected. A project group of 6 members produced this book with the help of 50 contributors. Valuable comments are left in the columns under the title of "My Story." While not all recipes have these comments, the following are some examples:

> It's so irresistibly mouthwatering and delicious, that you can never just have one. I remember when I was in elementary school, my mother used to always put these tasty morsels of *nori-maki* chicken into my *bento* (lunch) box along with other *okazu* and *musubi* (rice ball). (Shiso or nori-maki chicken [chicken wrapped in *shiso* or dry nori sheet], p.55)
>
> Growing up on a farm, I remember my mother always having a patch of land near the house to grow her vegetable garden. She grew tomatoes, peppers, eggplant and vegetables like *gobo* (burdock root), *yama-imo* (yam) and *daikon* (Japanese radish), which were not available in local markets. Our large family of eleven always had plenty of vegetable which were often shared with neighbors and friends. Much of it was preserved, made into *tsukudani* and *tsukemono*. As long as she was able, she made *tsukemono* and pickles and gave them away to her grownup "kids." She shared many recipes with me and one of my favorites is *fukujinzuke*. (Daikon Fukujinzuke, p.77)
>
> My mother always bought fresh tofu. I remember that the blocks of tofu would be in a large container filled with water. The store owner would take a big ladle and scoop up a block of tofu and would put it in a plastic bag. My mom would always hand me the bag and say, "Be gentle with the tofu." My husband says that there is a Japanese expression that says, "Treat people gently like tofu." (Age Tofu [deep-fried tofu], p.79)
>
> I heard a story that when the American's first came to Japan and got served *Kimpira Gobo*, they got angry because they thought it was the roots of a tree. When I was growing up on the Island of Shikoku in Japan, my mon used to make this for me This food has a high percentage of iron and is good for your health. In my family, there is a prayer that says "Pray for health; health is the basis of all." Breakfast, lunch and dinner were always eaten together as a family. (Kimpira Gobo, p.84)
>
> After returning from the internment camps, we used to say that as long as we had Papa's *umeboshi* (pickled Japanese apricot) and *tsukemono* we would never go hungry. Papa's passion for making *umeboshi* and *tsukemono* continues, and the Takeda family still loves its *ochazuke* (rice with green tea poured over it). (Dad's Umeboshi recipe, p.97)

The Romanized Japanese above are taken from the original text, which shows that Japanese terms were used as is in their conversation. They can be regarded as ingredients and food culture deeply relevant to their identity as Nikkei and their memories. This approach is very significant. We can only hope that similar efforts will be made in other countries and regions in the future so that history can be shared.

Home Away from Home, *2011*
Our Edible Roots: The Japanese Canadian Kitchen Garden, *2018*

Tonari Gumi (Japanese Community Volunteer Association)

Both of these books were published by a Vancouver-based Japanese Canadian volunteer organization called Tonari Gumi (Japanese Community Volunteers Association), established in 1974. *Home Away from Home* was originally published in 2007, and its third edition was published in 2011. *Our Edible Roots* was published in 2018 as a kind of sequel to the former book. The first thing I noticed when looking at these two books in my hands was that their design and style are very close to Japanese style, less Nikkei and more Japanese. The preface of the 3rd edition (2011) notes that this book was realized with the cooperation of various people of several generations. It is a collaborative work produced by people ranging from young volunteers in their 20s to older members aged up to 93. Included among these contributors are post-WWII immigrants called *Shin-Issei* (new Issei), and Japanese women who moved to Canada following an international marriage. The sensibilities of these postwar Japanese immigrants are reflected throughout this book. One of the reasons for this is that Tonari Gumi started with activities to support elderly Japanese Canadians, and later extended its activities to help postwar Japanese immigrants adapt to Canadian society. These activities provided opportunities for postwar immigrants to collaborate with younger third generation members. Tonari Gumi also provides services such as meal deliveries and telephone-based assistance and support, which have given further opportunities for intergenerational relationships among Japanese Canadians. This phenomenon is not so commonly seen in other countries and regions.

Tonari Gumi, photographed in 2014

The Powell Street Festival celebrated every August by Japanese Canadians is one of Vancouver's best known festivals. It is said that this festival was realized by the close cooperation of *Sansei* (third generation) and *Shin-Issei*. Here, Shin-Issei does not refer to Japanese employees of Japanese companies stationed in Canada or those related to Japanese companies, but to Japanese immigrants who moved to Canada by choice, and to Japanese who moved to Canada following an international marriage. When I saw this recipe book, I intuited that it would be a collaboration between these different generations of Japanese Canadians. The Powell Street Festival Society engages many people affiliated with Tonari Gumi.

The books both have a limited number of recipes, 74 in *Home Away from Home* (2011) and 40 in *Our Edible Roots* (2018). However, it is explained that they include recipes brought in by postwar Shin-Issei, recipes developed from the experiences of Japanese Canadians during WWII, and recipes that had been forgotten among the local Japanese Canadian community. The following are some of these recipes, and Japanese translations are provided only for the recipe titles:

> *Biyazuke* [vegetables pickled in beer], Crunchy Ramen Salad, Hawaiian-*zuke* [Hawaiian pickles], *Hiroshima Okonomiyaki* [thin savory Japanese pancakes with many layers of ingredients in between], Mochi cake, and Tofu *dango* [tofu dumpling]

Our Edible Roots (2018) contains detailed records of the personal histories of Japanese Canadians who have grown the vegetables and other ingredients needed for these recipes and explains how to grow the vegetables. These vegetables are familiar to all Japanese, and include cucumber, eggplant, *shishito* pepper, mizuna greens, turnips, long green onions, crown daisy and snow peas. They are ingredients that many in Japan would be growing in their home gardens. The books are intended to pass on these vegetables along with the personal history of immigrants in a new approach, as in the case of San Francisco. The photographs

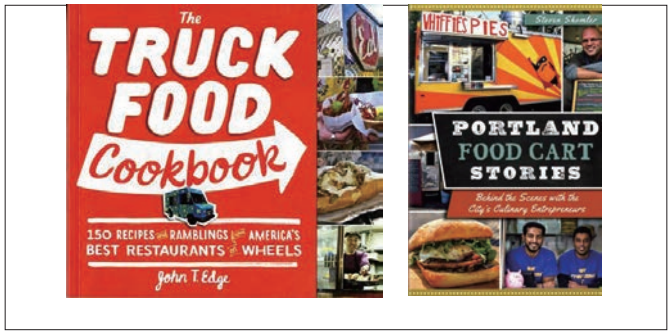
of the recipes had the feel of present-day Japanese sensibilities. As far as I know, Vancouver and San Jose in the US are where collaboration between Sansei and Shin-Issei is at its best and greatly contributing to the vitalization of the Nikkei community. In these two cities, Shin-Issei and younger Japanese generations share experiences and knowledge and collaborate with Sansei who are descendants of prewar Japanese immigrants in an ideal manner. The books superbly reflect that in the field of food.

3 Mobile Kitchen Recipe Books

This section is for recipes of food offered by mobile kitchens, food trucks, food carts or lunch wagons. Recently mobile kitchens are seen more often in Japan, though they are already very familiar to people in North America. In Portland, Oregon, certain areas are reserved for mobile kitchens and used like spaces for ordinary restaurants. Many of the recipes used in mobile kitchens are quite innovative and unique, more so than in traditional restaurants. It is worth noting that such recipes are often published. Mobile kitchen culture as lifestyle has taken hold there.

The Truck Food Cookbook *John T. Edge, 2012*

Portland Food Cart Stories: Behind the Scenes with the City's Culinary Entrepreneurs *Steven Shomler, 2014*




Food cart pod in Portland

Food cart sign

Sign for Bentoya, São Paulo

What foods do mobile kitchens offer and who makes them? A food cart area I encountered on a block near the former site of Japantown sparked the beginning of my interest in them. As I later came to learn, Portland is a mecca for mobile kitchens in the US. According to Aaron Wakamatsu, a food writer, more than 500 food carts operate in Portland, creating a melting pot of delicious dishes from around the world (pp.164–165, Shomler). According to John Edge, Portland has food cart "pods" at four locations, where they function like food courts (pp.16–17, Edge).

What first caught my attention in one of these pods was a sign reading "International Bento." Then I also came across "#1 Bento Korean BBQ" and "Noodles Bento." I was intrigued, and wondered what sort of bento they could be. I also noticed that the "bento" designation was used in many places, including supermarkets and in restaurant names. Does Japanese food have any influence on these bento?

When we hear the word bento, it tends to evoke an image of Japan's bento. However, the influence of Japanese food is not seen in most of the bento here. Bento in these cases simply refers to take-out. Bento is defined as a "takeout or home-packed meal for one" (p.161, Shomler). Or it can simply mean fast food, as on the signs of bento shops in São Paulo.

As expected, the contents of bento subtly differ from bento in Japan, depending on the place.

I wondered why this term bento came to be adopted. Moreover, as described in other sections of this report,


From left, California Roll Bento in Vancouver, Okami Bento Box in Seattle, Medium Bento 3 Choice in Honolulu, and Leiko Bento in São Paulo

certain Japanese vocabulary for food is often used. There must be some reason or influence behind this phenomenon. I simply assumed that Japanese-style bento, sold as "bento" in Nikkei supermarkets, caused the spread of the meal in a box concept.
When I searched the recipes and index of meals offered by these mobile kitchens using Japanese terms as keywords, the following words were retrieved:

Adzuki, *Bento*, Curry rice, *Furikake*, *Karaage*, Miso soup, *Musubi*, *Nori*, *Onigiri*, Sushi rice, Teriyaki

Adzuki beans are used as an ingredient for veggie burgers, and are characterized as a health food. Curry rice (curry and rice), karaage (marinated and deep-fried meat or fish), and onigiri (rice balls) are popular foods in Japan, as well, and furikake (seasoning sprinkled on rice) and nori (dried seaweed sheets) are also often eaten in Japan. Musubi refers to Spam musubi in Hawaii (a rice ball topped with spam and wrapped with nori). However, these dishes are not necessarily the same as those in Japan. For instance, the curry rice is served as a curry-and-rice omelet (p.76, Edge), furikake is sprinkled on rice for spam musubi, and miso soup has zucchini as one of its ingredients (p.115, Edge). For the filling in onigiri, tuna mixed with mayonnaise is apparently popular among non-Japanese customers.
The menu of the popular food cart called Bento Box offers chicken using the house teriyaki sauce. The owners are a couple from California, not of Japanese descent. The original teriyaki sauce they have developed over the years has made their food quite popular. (pp.159–163, Shomler)
Another feature noted from the index is the appearance of diverse ethnic and regional names. They include Belgium, China, Cuba, Ethiopia, Jamaica, Japan, Korea, Mexico, Switzerland, Taiwan, Thailand, as well as South Asia and Hawaii. In this way, food carts in

Japadog stand and menu

the US reflect the cuisines of the diverse ethnic groups living there and provide a melting pot of delicious dishes from around the world. Individual dishes are accepted in styles that have departed from the culture of the mother countries, and then little by little been transformed.
In Vancouver, Canada, there is a chain of very popular hotdog stands called Japadog. I came across them several times during my research in Vancouver, and have actually bought their hotdog. According to Japadog's webpage, they began with "an ambitious Japanese couple with limited funds moving from Japan to Canada with a dream of creating a world famous food stand." They opened their first hotdog stand on a street in Vancouver in 2005. Overcoming several challenges, Japadog opened a store in 2010, and a trailer-style stand in 2011, to have a total of 5 locations.
"Japa" in Japadog would refer to Japan, and its menu is an array of Japanese vocabulary.

Terimayo, *Oroshi*, *Okonomi*, *Negimiso*, *Ume*, Yakisoba, *Ebi* Tempura, *Yakiniku* Rice, *Tonkatsu*, Kobe beef, *Kurogoma Kimuchi*, *Kurobuta Terimayo*

As with many food cart menus, this hotdog menu clearly indicates which dishes or tastes among the Japanese foods are most popular.

4 Recipe Books Published by Public Markets and Others

Farmers market in Seattle. Inside the entrance, there are five murals.

Many Japanese farmers were involved in farmers markets or other public markets where they sold their produce directly to customers before WWII. At the entrance of the farmers market known as Pike Place Market, in Seattle, Washington, five murals are on display with the comments reading:

In 1941 approximately two-thirds
of the farmers' stalls in the Pike Place Market
were occupied by Japanese Americans.
Today none.

This refers to the internment of Japanese Americans during WWII. They were deprived of their livelihoods and did not return to their stalls after the war. The five

murals depict the experience of Japanese Americans. Outside Seattle as well, almost 80% of the Japanese Americans living on the west coast before WWII were engaged in farming and making significant contributions. There were Japanese Americans with nicknames such as the Potato King (Kinji Ushijima), Rice King (Seito Saibara) and Lettuce King (Yaemon Minami). Naturally, farmers markets would have had deep relationships with the Nikkei people. I searched for any trace of Nikkei people left in farmers markets, and checked the markets' cookbooks. I found the following three cookbooks from San Francisco, Los Angeles and Portland:

The San Francisco Ferry Plaza Farmers' Market Cookbook

Christopher Hirsheimer, Peggy Knickerbocker, 2006

L.A.'s Original Farmers Market Cookbook

JoAnn Cianciulli, 2009

Portland Farmers Market Cookbook

Ellen Jackson, 2016

Unfortunately, none of these three cookbooks had detailed descriptions of Nikkei people in the chapters covering the individual market's history. Presumably, their rather recent publication may be part of the reason, as these books are based on interviews with people who are currently working in the markets. There would be few among them who would know of prewar history firsthand, and that history may have been eliminated with the internment. The following, though, are recipes from Nikkei contributors.

San Francisco's Cook Book

The history of the farmer's market is described by the director and followed by recipes written by food writers. The latter include an introduction to Larry Miyamura, a Nikkei fisherman, with the following recipes:

Salmon with Aunt Mae's Miso Sauce (pp.143–145)
Shogun Salmon Cakes with Corn and Tomato Salsa (p.148)

Los Angeles' Cook Book

The farmers market's history and individual stalls are described by a food writer. The market includes two stalls operated by Japanese chef-owners, with the following menus:

Stall 434 Sushi a go go (pp.94–99)
Salmon tempura Salad with Kiyoko's Dressing
Miso Soup
Stall P20 & O20 Kado (pp.140–145)
Diver Scallops with Blackberry Puree and Shiitake Risotto
Japanese Rib Eye with Baby Bok Choy and Oyster Mushrooms

These stalls seem to have been opened during or after 2000 by Japanese chefs who were postwar immigrants. The above are the individual chefs' original recipes, unique and elaborate.

Portland's Cook Book

The book contains an introductory message by the director and recipes written by a food writer. Recipes sourced from Nikkei or Japanese people are not found, but the following two are related to the Japanese language:

Miso-Lemon deviled eggs (pp.18–19)
Kabocha squash drop biscuits (p.198)

This Portland book is the only among the three that has a description of the history of the Nikkei people. It describes the Kiyokawa family, who operate orchards, and introduces Riichi Kiyokawa, the grandfather of the current owner Randy Kiyokawa, Sansei (third generation). As was common with many early immigrants, Riichi worked in railroad construction. Thereafter, he started apple and other orchards at Dee in the Hood River Valley. Currently the orchards are managed by his grandson Randy.

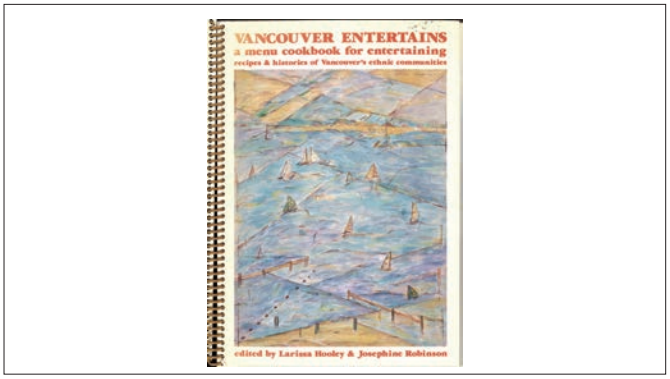
Unfortunately, information that helps us to trace Nikkei dietary history was not found in the recipe books of these farmers markets. There still might be past records or other farmers market recipe books, and I will just have to continue looking for them.

5 Books of Japanese Recipes as Ethnic Cuisine

The target countries and regions for this study survey, namely Brazil, the US, Canada and Hawaii, are all multicultural societies with diverse populations of immigrants. In view of this, the themes of published recipe books often include multicultural symbiosis and changes in different cultures.

Vancouver Entertains: A Menu Cookbook for Entertaining – Recipes & Histories of Vancouver's Ethnic Communities –

Larissa Hooley and Josephine Robinson (Eds), 1986



This book was published in 1986 by a women's club at the University of British Columbia in commemoration of Vancouver's centennial year, and to pay respect to the diverse ethnic groups living in the city. The club collected recipes from dinner parties held at the university over the previous 20 years. Of the 150 menus and 1500 recipes they surveyed, 20 menus and 190 recipes were selected. The book starts out with an overview of the ethnic groups in Vancouver, introducing ethnic groups from 16 countries and regions along with their respective menus and recipes. The countries and regions are Britain, Scandinavia, the Netherlands, Germany, France, Spain and Portugal, Italy, Greece, Hungary, Ukraine, Russia, East India, China, Japan, Pacific Islands, and the US.

The dishes presented in the book date from the mid-1960s. They were likely not considered to be domestic cuisine, but cuisine often consumed by the respective ethnic groups. The items introduced as Japanese dinner dishes are as shown below.

Kirin beer, smoked cuttlefish, snacks to accompany alcohol, Suntory whisky, sushi rolls, sashimi, chawan-mushi, chicken teriyaki, boiled and seasoned spinach, vinegared fish and vegetables, rice, awayuki kanten, and green tea.

It would be reasonable to see these as typical Japanese meal dishes. No particular differences are observed in the cooking methods from those in Japan, nor are there characteristics peculiar to Canada. The English word for *shoyu* is Japanese soy sauce, and soy sauce is also used for Chinese cuisine. A distinction is made between Japanese and Chinese soy sauce, but the word "shoyu" cannot be seen. At that time, shoyu was not as common as it is today. For alcohol, particular brand names are chosen, meaning they were imported and most likely readily available.

As to the populations of the 16 ethnic groups, the Nikkei group ranks 11th, with 5300 living in the city of Vancouver and 11,800 in the Greater Vancouver Regional District (Metro Vancouver) as of 1981. In 1901, 97% of the roughly 5000 Japanese living in Canada resided in the province of British Columbia, and by 1911 more than 2000 Japanese lived in Vancouver. By 1941, prior to the start of the Pacific War, roughly 8500 Japanese lived in Vancouver.

Japanese neighborhoods are referred to by different names depending on the city in North America, such as Japantown, Nihon-machi, Nihonjin-machi, Nihonjin-gai and Little Tokyo. The one in Vancouver, however, is unique in several aspects. Commonality is found in that it has a long history of Japanese immigration, and that there were residential districts where the Japanese immigrants lived. However, the impact from the internment during the war and the postwar ban on returning impacted the Japanese in Vancouver much more severely than in the US. As a result, Vancouver's Japantown virtually disappeared. Yet, as mentioned earlier, it is characteristic of Vancouver that there is significant cooperation between the third generation and the new immigrants. As there are many young people on working holiday programs as well as the usual tourists, exchanges of people and commodities with Japan have been advancing in an observable way. For example, it is impossible to walk about in downtown Vancouver without passing by students from Japan. I have only been familiar with Vancouver since the 1990s, but there are no other places where such diverse Nikkei (prewar immigrants and their descendants, and postwar immigrants), Japanese students and tourists coexist in the same space. This reality is reflected in the cuisine of all these groups as well.

Another characteristic of Vancouver reflected in the book is that the diverse immigrant or ethnic groups coexist in a limited area of the city, which is actively supported by the federal government of Canada. Thus, citizen groups frequently hold multicultural events where ethnic cuisines are offered.

Hawaiian's Melting Pot Cookbook Book 3

Hawaiian Airline Flight Attendants, 1988

This book was authored by Hawaiian Airline flight attendants in 1988. As indicated in the title, the fusion of a diversity of races and foods is well represented. The recipe titles can be categorized into the following three types:

1) Recipes with names of individual persons
2) Recipes with names of an ethnicity or region
3) Recipes with names of Japanese ingredients or dishes

Let's take a look at the contents.

1) Recipes with names of individual persons

Shiraishi's Pupu Chicken / Gail's Portuguese Bean Soup / Liana's Chicken Soup / Cindy's Sukiyaki / Cynthia's Korean Style BBQ Beef / Mrs. Fujioka's Cornflake Cookies / Sandy's Stuffed Tofu / Mario's Carrot Bread

These are probably recipes each person created, or those particular to a household. Many recipes which have been passed down within a family are included. Some recipes may have been given to friends. Likewise, although individual names are not given, recipes that may have been created by parents or grandparents are included, as given below. We can see the ingenuity of each individual household.

Dad's Chicken Paria [sic] / Grandma's Escalloped Potatoes / Grandma's Puto / My Son's Favorite / Mom's Seafood Casserole

2) Recipes with names of an ethnicity or region

Armenian Sushi / Chinese Roast Chicken / Filipino Steamed Cake / Italian Beef / Japanese Beef and Potatoes / Korean Khai Bi / Local Raw Fish, Tahitian Style / Nutty Polynesian Chicken / Portuguese Soup

The countries and regions that appear here reflect where the immigrants came from: Armenia, China, the Philippines, Italy, Japan, South Korea, Tahiti, Polynesia and Portugal. The recipes generally represent the food culture of each country. However, as seen from the example of Armenian sushi, there are also recipes that represent a fusion of two disparate cultures. This recipe doesn't use rice, let alone fish. Turkey breast, lettuce and onion are wrapped with a cheese tortilla, like a sushi roll, and then sliced. The name sushi likely came from the dish's convenience and appearance rather than its ingredients. With today's sushi boom, we are not surprised by such concoctions as fruit sushi or chocolate sushi, but calling a tortilla sushi is something new. If we look at it from different perspective, though, it can be seen as an extension of the sushi boom. On a side note, Japanese Beef and Potatoes are seasoned with soy sauce and sugar.

3) Recipes with names of Japanese ingredients or dishes

Armenian Sushi / Basic Teriyaki Sauce / Chi Chi Dango / Chocolate Mochi / Coconut Mochi / Cindy's Sukiyaki / Furikake Rice Chex (Mock Arare) / Kamaboko / Potato Salad / Layered Manju / Mochi Chicken / Tofu Loaf / Baked Shoyu Chicken / Oyako Donburi

From these recipes, we can see sushi, teriyaki, chi chi dango, mochi, sukiyaki, furikake, kamaboko (steamed fish cake), manju, tofu, shoyu and oyako donburi have been passed down in Hawaii. The contents of the recipes, however, tell us that, with the advancement of localization, arrangements different from those in Japan have been created. For instance, chocolate mochi baked with cacao and coconut milk and coconut mochi with sesame seeds and coconut milk are similar to chocolate mousse. Layered manju is a sandwich of sweet bean paste. Tofu loaf is a kind of meatloaf, but with tofu and canned salmon used in place of ground beef. Mochi is not used for mochi chicken. It is a chicken leg cooked with long green onion, sesame seeds, starch and flour, and it is anybody's guess why it was named mochi. It may be because people understood mochi in a different way from its original meaning. Unfortunately, there is no photo of it.

Considering these recipes are from 1988, before the advent of the world's *washoku* (Japanese food) boom, it is clear that Japanese food culture took root and became localized in Hawaii, and its vocabulary has been passed down.

Nikkei Cuisine: Japanese Food the South American Way, 2015
Cocina Nikkei: Comida japonesa al estilo de America del Sur, 2016
Nikkei Ryori –Washoku no Atarashii Style–, 2017

Luiz Hara

The author, Luiz Hara, is a Japanese Brazilian Yonsei (fourth generation). He calls himself Sansei, as his grandmother was an immigrant born in Fukuoka. Yet, as his grandfather was an American born in Hawaii, he could also be Yonsei. He was born in São Paulo, Brazil, and went on to study at the University of London in the UK. He later became interested in food, pursued culinary training, and opened a supper club to launch his career. He authored this book from his own experience as a Nikkei, and from exchanges with top Nikkei chefs in Brazil and Peru. He explains Nikkei cuisine as shown below (the book's title of Nikkei Cuisine is written in Chinese characters, but Nikkei in the text is written in katakana):

> Although these were all fully trained professional chefs working in Japan, on arrival in South America they also discovered that importing many ingredients from Japan was difficult, if not impossible in some cases, and so once again adaptation to local ingredients was required. Nikkei cooking then went from the domestic setting to the restaurant, this time cooked by professional chefs. (p.14)

The following introduction is given on the inside of the front cover.

> Taste the flavours of Japan, with a South American twist, wherever you are in the world. Whether you want to plate up sublime sushi, turn your hand to Nikkei ceviches or serve up a more rustic home-style hotpot, choose from over 100 Nikkei recipes, including 10 contributed recipes from top Nikkei chefs around the world.

All recipes in this book were created by the top chefs or by Hara himself, with some recipes bearing the names of famous chefs. Other recipes include Nikkei-Style Sea Bream-Mixed Rice with yuzu citrus and jalapeno dressing, Nikkei-Style Beef Sukiyaki for which black beer is used, Nikkei Fish & Chips served with fried cassava, which is popular in South America, and Nikkei-Style Brazilian Churrasco grilled with mixture of soy sauce, lime, garlic and olive oil. These recipes are completely different from the home cooking of Nikkei women in ordinary households. Hara, however, proposes that this cuisine can be reproduced at home. Here, the wisdom is based on the culinary experience of Japanese chefs or Nikkei people. As they say,

> To create Nikkei dishes, it is important to understand both Japanese and South American food cultures; simply mixing soy sauce and miso into a Latin dish and calling it Nikkei is a violation… Without this understanding, fusion becomes confusion…Japanese food cannot be entirely recreated outside of Japan, and some adaptation is always necessary. (p.15)

This suggestion reflects exactly what I have always felt. I felt discomfort when Nikkei women were puzzling over how they could make Japanese food just like people in Japan. The basic concept should be how they can use local ingredients or sometimes those not found in Japan to make their own dishes. As they say, "So many countries, so many customs." Japanese cuisine in other countries can never be the same as that in Japan. On the contrary, it can be a kind of Japanese cuisine that cannot be found in Japan. This book was published in the order of an English version, Spanish version, and Japanese version. The covers of the books are tailored for each version to suit the readers of those languages.

6 Recipe Books as Handbooks for Living in Different Cultures

Naturally, foods and eating habits are different in a society with a different culture, as typically experienced by immigrants as permanent residents. What if you are only staying for a temporary visit? What sorts of measures and efforts are taken during a less permanent stay? As an aside, I would like to introduce the following two records. One is the record of a young Japanese man who went to the US as a student over 100 years ago. The other is the record of the food customs that wives of US soldiers in the Allied Occupation forces adopted in Japan.

Eigo Hitori Annai: Seiyo Ryori-ho (English Japanese Dialogue and English-Cookery)

Chiyoichi Sujishi, 1901

Property of
Haruo Erikawa

Published in 1901, this book was an English language reference for self-study to be used by overseas travelers. A young Japanese man who traveled alone to the US as a student wrote it upon returning to Japan. The author, Chiyoichi Sujishi, was born in 1876 in then Taiji-mura, Wakayama Prefecture, and went to California at the age of 16, where he spent the next 9 years. As the title of English Japanese Dialogue and English-Cookery suggests, the book is not only an English conversation textbook but a practical guidebook. In the introduction, he writes "I have been in the US for as long as nine years. During these years, I have been engaged in domestic labor or farming work. At first, I couldn't communicate in English and the difficulties I faced were so unbearable that I even shed tears." He emphasized the importance of studying English and included daily Western cooking for the sake of convenience. The Western cooking has katakana printed over it that reads "*mainichi-no cook no shikata*" (daily cooking method), and cooking information takes up 68 of the book's 201 pages, roughly one-third of the entire book. I don't know whether it was intentional, but the Taisho 5 (1916) edition uses a larger and bolder font for the latter half of the title "English-Cookery." This may reflect the lifestyle of *Shosei*, a single man who was a live-in domestic worker as well as a student, but it certainly suggests that the ability to cook Western dishes was a requirement for him. The book introduces over 130 recipes, mainly of typical American home cooking. Considering the dietary and cultural differences between the US and Japan at that time especially, he must have faced a substantial hurdle in mastering Western cooking. The author's extraordinary commitment is apparent.

The recipes introduced include quite detailed domestic cooking, ranging from main dishes including meats, seafoods and eggs, salads, sauces and desserts, as well as breakfast and breadmaking. As seen below, consideration is given to the English vocabulary.

> Place meat on the roasting pan with fat on and under the meat, and heat in the oven for 20 minutes. Then, add one cup of hot water and steam it for half an hour in the oven. (pp. 134–135)
> Scrambled eggs: Mix eggs with milk, butter, salt and pepper, and scramble in a frypan. Try to avoid overcooking. (pp. 150–151)

In the book, there is no mention of soy sauce or miso, let alone Japanese cuisine. This is not surprising, as the author had been a live-in worker in an American household, and he wrote the book in order to help others adjust to an unfamiliar society. Thirty-some years earlier, in 1860, samurai in *Man'en gannen kenbei shisetsu* (the first year of the Man'en era mission to America), and Japanese immigrants to Hawaii in the first year of the Meiji period (1868) struggled to live without soy sauce. Compared to those people, the author's efforts and courageousness are truly impressive. Aside from the meals he served to the American family, I am very curious to know if there are records on how he handled his own meals. That would be content for a future issue.

The American Way of Housekeeping

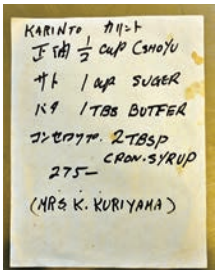
Far Eastern Literary Agency & Publishing House, 1949

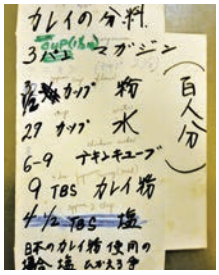
This book was first published in December 1948 by the Far Eastern Literary Agency & Publishing House in Tokyo, and its second and third revisions were published in March and July 1949. Although the title is "The American Way of Housekeeping," the inside cover says "Of the Women of the Occupation, by the Women of the Occupation, for the Women of the Occupation." The acknowledgement says that editing work was done by the American Women's Guild, cavalry officers' wives, the Christian Women's Association, GHQ officer's wives, and Navy officer's wives. The book was seemingly meant for Americans living in Japan. Yet, the foreword says, "It is hoped that the use of THE AMERICAN WAY OF HOUSEKEEPING will create understanding and mutual good will between persons of different backgrounds in Japan." The book has English and Japanese printed on opposing pages, from which

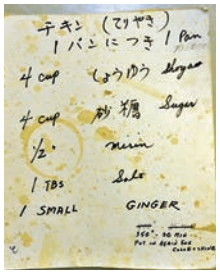
it can be assumed that the target audience includes Japanese in addition to women of the Occupation.
Of the eight chapters, two chapters are entitled "Service" and "Cookery and Recipes," and contain many recipes. The targeted readers were mainly women of the Occupation, and most of the recipes are for Western dishes. However, there are two points worth noting. One is that Japanese Cuisine is among 18 sections, and the other is that some recipes sound unfamiliar. All recipes are provided with names of women of the Occupation, all of whom were American.
The Japanese cuisine section has only the three recipes of chawan-mushi, sukiyaki and tempura. They were most likely the favored Japanese dishes for foreigners in those days. In fact the comments mention "Sukiyaki is a favorite Japanese supper very popular with Americans." One thing we notice is that the recipe uses spinach, which is not a common ingredient today. In addition, they use inconsistent English terms for shoyu, calling it at times soy sauce, shoyu sauce and showa sauce (soy). Considering the era, soy sauce would have been a general term, but this may be a phenomenon particular to the Occupation. Among the recipes, soy sauce is used only for these three Japanese dishes. Soy sauce probably was an unfamiliar seasoning to foreigners at the time.
The unfamiliar recipes mentioned above are "Fujiyama," "Occupation ketchup," and "Rice a la Hirano." Fujiyama is a dessert in which a muffin is topped with chocolate pudding and is sprinkled with coconut. As the instructions say, "…top with a red cherry (fire of the volcano)." Looking like an active Mt. Fuji, this was given the name Fujiyama. The comment "My children love this idea" may tell us that Mt. Fuji was already quite popular among foreigners. Occupation ketchup seems to be a tomato-based sauce that was poured over seafood or meat, although we cannot see what occupation stands for from the comments. The only explanation I can think of is that the name came from the canned tomato soup (tomato puree) found in rations for the Occupation. For Hirano-style rice (Rice a la Hirano), there is no explaining what Hirano-style is. It seems to be a Spanish-style rice cooked with onions, carrots and celery.
The people associated with the Allied Occupation forces were believed to have had a privileged culinary life during the period shortly after WWII compared to ordinary Japanese people. Yet, a glimpse of exchanges between the US and Japan that would lead to war brides can be found here. There are many things left unanswered, but the book is interesting in that they used what they could obtain, and for the clever names in the menu.

7 Hand-Written Recipe Books

It is now common for varieties of recipes to be compiled, printed in a book and widely shared among the public. In the past, however, there were times when recipes were individually passed down from mothers to daughters or friends, orally or in notes. I assumed that traces of these would still be found somewhere among the Nikkei people. My assumption was right. The recipe notes written by women's societies of Buddhist associations were preserved and also collected as museum collections. Some recipe notes may still be awaiting discovery, unnoticed in somebody's home.
Some recipes are plainly written, with ingredients listed as bullet points, and others were written on card-type notes for which detailed procedures were given. The former includes *karinto* (deep fried sweet snack), *karei* (curry), chicken (teriyaki), *mushi-manju* (steamed buns) and *Mikasa* (sweet bean paste sandwiched between two small pancakes), and are used by the women's society at the Steveston Buddhist Temple in Canada. These may have been written down and passed on to share recipes among many members of the group when preparing large amounts of food for bazaars or other such events. As some recipe notes were written in Roman letters or given English translations in pencil, they have been passed down to different generations. As seen from the note reading "for 100 servings," the women's group offers meals to a great many people at various events. The group's task is collaborative work, and so all participating members share information. These notes



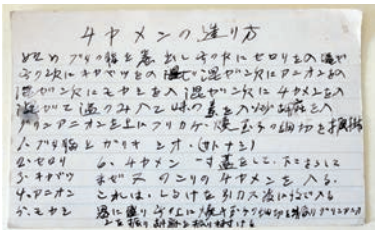


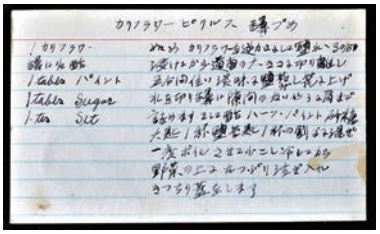


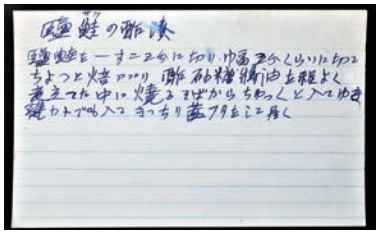
play an important role.
The ingredients and menus should have been correctly written down, but they were noted as they were heard. These are traces of evidence that show the recipe notes were passed down between generations. The fact that menus and sweets have been inherited as basic items to date is notable.

The recipe cards shown below are kept as reference materials at the Nikkei National Museum & Cultural Centre in Vancouver.

'Chamen' means chow mein, and is a food often talked about as a dining-out memory for North American Nikkei, as mentioned earlier. Many Nisei say that they ate chow mein (Chinese subgum stir-fried noodles) on their family outings as children. These notes show that they also made it at home. In addition, there are recipe cards titled "Pickled and Bottled Cauliflower," "Vinegared Salted Salmon," "How to Brew Soy Sauce" and "How to Make Natto," which suggests these were prepared among the Nikkei or still being made today.





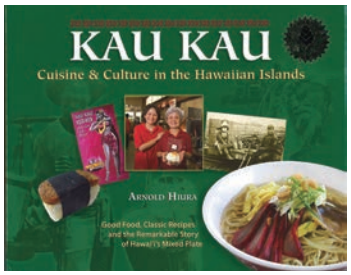


Summary

Lastly, I would like to summarize this article by taking an example from the book authored by Mr. Arnold Hiura. I believe that his book gives us a clue as to why the greatest number of recipe books could be collected in Hawaii.

KAU KAU - Cuisine & Culture in the Hawaiian Islands

Arnold Hiura, 2009



Kau kau is an English-based pidgin word that means food or eating behavior in Hawaii. The author Arnold Hiura was born and raised on a sugar plantation on Hawaii Island. He was the former editor of the Hawaii Herald and is President and Executive Director of the Hawaii Japanese Center in Hilo. He literally grew up with kau kau, and has uncovered the diverse history of food culture in Hawaii through his real-life experience and local networks. Kau kau is a word that covers all lunch foods made with native cuisine brought by the immigrant workers at the sugar and pineapple plantations in Hawaii. The lunch break is called kau kau time.
While explaining the history of immigrants from various countries and regions (figure in the parenthesis denotes the year of arrival in Hawaii), Hiura introduces their food culture and recipes. Chinese (1852), Japanese (1868), Portuguese (1878), Puerto Ricans (1900), Okinawans (1900), Koreans (1903), and Filipinos (1906).
He also lists 100 Hawaiian foods in the book, which almost all local residents know under the title, *The Kau Kau 100: An Ethnic Potluck Primer* (pp. 34–35). The list includes 32 Japanese foods and one from Okinawa, making Japanese the most predominant of the ethnic cuisines.

> *Andagi* [deep-fried sweet buns], Arare, Azuki, Furikake, *Ika* [squid], Kamaboko, *Kombu* [kelp], Manju, Miso, Musubi, Namasu, Nishime, *Nori*, Ogo, Okazu, *Ramen*, Sashimi, *Senbei* [rice crackers], Shoyu, *Soba* [buckwheat noodles], Somen, *Tako* [octopus], *Takuan*, Tempura, Teriyaki, Tofu, *Tonkatsu* [pork cutlet], Udon, *Ume, Unagi, Warabi* [bracken], *Wasabi* [Japanese horseradish], Yakitori

These represent a sort of review of what was mentioned earlier in this article. That is, it is a list of food culture items brought to Hawaii by Japanese immigrants that became established locally. Most of the items have been passed down by the Nikkei

at other destination countries as well. Hiura further indicates the following significant points.

Imports and Local Production were Both Possible in Hawaii

"Japanese in Hawai'i were able to import many of their favorite Japanese foods, and they had a large enough population to produce their own goods in Hawai'i,…" (p.44). The group comprising Japanese immigrants was larger than any other ethnic group (Nikkei comprised roughly 40% of Hawaii's total population before WWII). The strong demand for Japanese foods made it economically viable to directly import these foods from Japan. The foods were also locally produced and sold. This suggestion was right to the point. It was probably only in Hawaii that the Nikkei could both obtain imported Japanese products and produce foods locally.

Diversity Characterized by a Mixed Plate

Typical mixed plate

Hawaii has a popular dish called a mixed plate. It is a lunch plate on which the contents of bento brought by immigrant workers from several countries at sugar plantations are served on one plate. It is a classic multicultural and symbiotic dish.

> If you ask anyone who's been away for a while or someone who has moved from Hawai'i what he or she missed the most, they're likely to say it's the variety of food we have here rather than any specific food item. (p. 92)

The diversity is a heritage created by immigrant workers of various ethnicities, and reflects the history of Hawaii, which has shared and accepted foods from diverse cultures.
Furthermore, beyond Hawaii, the author's thought-provoking remarks concern all countries that are destinations of immigrants.

Acclimation through Locally-Available Foods

"When they arrived in Hawai'i, each ethnic group had to adapt its favorite native foods to what was available in the islands. Few, if any, ethnic recipes could be replicated exactly as they existed in the old country" (p.93). This environment, however, offered them the chance to demonstrate ingenuity, with new challenges and pioneering ideas that might never occur to anyone in Japan. Topographically similar to Japan, Hawaii is mountainous and surrounded by the sea, and is blessed with foods from both the sea and mountains. This surely helped accelerate the acceptance of Japanese food culture.

Changes that Encouraged Dissemination

"What flourished were those ethnic foods that held the broadest appeal to the greatest number of people. In some dishes, traditional seasonings or ingredients were adjusted, becoming milder, sweeter, saltier or hotter, to appeal to the prevailing tastes" (p.96). This is what we, who usually reside in Japan, often experience when we go overseas. Hawaiian or North American teriyaki is much sweeter, and an extraordinary amount of wasabi is used for sushi and sashimi in North America. The reality is that adaptation to the tastes of the majority is inevitable.

Regional Characteristics of the Country Remain

"Our impression of Chinese, Japanese or Filipino food, in other words, is colored by many geographic and cultural factors and may not necessarily be representative of a universal 'national' cuisine" (pp. 92–93). A good example is Hiroshima's famous chi chi dango. This still remains, as many Japanese from Hiroshima prefecture live in Hawaii. In my opinion, these glocal phenomena and efforts will increase in importance.

What I remember most after finishing the recipe book survey was the importance of keeping records. The records of each individual's memories at home and activities of the group can be passed on to subsequent generations as an important history. I would like to share with as many people as possible that family histories of food, as seen with the activities in San Francisco and Vancouver, are deeply connected to the Nikkei identity. Lastly, let me introduce the comment of a Hawaiian Gosei (fifth generation) I recently came across.

> A person's identity is formed by not nationality but by his/her experiences. Beyond those, things inherited from their ancestors contribute to the structure. We should pass them down to our descendants as well. I am a Nikkei Gosei. I am proud of the title and would never give it away to anyone.

Because of this testimony and the background that the phrase "*Okage sama de* (I am what I am because of you.)" is cherished in Hawaii, I have learned much during my visit.

A great many people helped me conduct this survey. I must truly say "Okage sama de." I cannot list all the names of the many people I am forever grateful to, but the following three people deserve special mention. I could never have completed this article without their cooperation.
Cyrus Tamashiro (Honolulu), Pam Yoshida (San Jose), Takako Suga (Steveston)