BREAD AND WASHOKU:

UNVEILING JAPANESE IDENTITY THROUGH THE NECESSITY OF BREAD BAKING

Arisa Shibagaki Peters

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Doctoral Committee

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Pravina Shukla, PhD

_____
Gregory Schrempp, PhD

_____
John McDowell, PhD

_____
Michael Foster, PhD

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To my son,
Ren Eric Peters
who wasn't able to survive,
but gave me the joy of being a mother,
and the strength to live.

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The purpose of my research is to understand the meaning behind Japanese bread among Japanese people. Although bread is not something native to Japan, the Japanese have for over five hundred years made improvements to bread so it would become palatable to themselves. In the end Japanese people succeeded in creating bread specific to Japan—"Japanese bread." However, because Japanese bread has been generated specifically for the Japanese, it is not something common in rest of the world. This fact makes it difficult for the Japanese living abroad to obtain Japanese bread amid increasing globalization.

Material collected between February and September 2015 during fieldwork conducted among Japanese people in San Diego, CA, for this study, reveals that most people have begun baking Japanese bread on their own as a result of seeking the bread that can satisfy their appetites. Even though everyone has different motives and goals for bread baking, Japanese women specifically share common features in their baking. Japanese bread baking is not simply for indulging their appetite for Japanese bread but for fulfilling a role as Japanese women. Viewed from the understanding of the traditional notion of "good wives, wise mothers" representing self-sacrifice and devotion to family, Japanese wives and mothers make an effort to learn and bake bread to feed the best food to their families.

A larger aim of this research is to contribute to the field of folklore, especially the study of material culture. The study of foodways and other genres of material culture share the

directions and theories of folklore scholarship. Different from other genres of material culture showing the individuals' identity through subcultural objects, scholars in food studies tend to address staple foods as a source of symbolism in a given culture and the emergence of a cultural identity or a group's identity through such food. To expand this tradition, I have shown the intimate connection between the Japanese and bread as non-staple food of the Japanese in the individual level by interpreting individuals' raw voices gathered during fieldwork.

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Pravina Shukla, PhD

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Gregory Schrempp, PhD

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John McDowell, PhD

_____
Michael Foster, PhD

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NOTE ON JAPANESE NAMES AND TERMS

In this dissertation, I followed the traditional Japanese custom to cite the names of the individuals and Japanese terms. The individuals who have a Japanese family name and given name are noted in the Japanese order: family name first, given name second. The individuals who are Japanese but married to American citizens and changed their family names are written in the Western order, with given name first. Japanese terms that allow long vowels are written with macrons; however, the well-known place names and frequently used terms such as Tokyo and pan are presented without diacritics.

INTRODUCTION

This is an ethnographic study of a small group of Japanese people, mostly married women who have moved to San Diego, California. These women bake Japanese bread, which was inspired by the bread introduced by foreign countries but has been modified to suit Japanese tastes. I attempted to seek the meaning of Japanese bread among these people to understand how the transcultural movement of food is connected to individual identity. By using the approach of my discipline of folklore, I observed the processes of bread baking among them to acquire knowledge of the tastes and techniques of Japanese bread. I also listened intently to their voices to know their preferences, motivations, and desires to make and continue to eat Japanese bread in the United States.

Japan is an island nation consisting of four big islands and more than six thousand small islands. The land is long from north to south, and while 75 percent of the land is mountains, it is surrounded by the sea. Japan's unique environment provides different food materials depending on the location and the season. Japanese people have developed their food practice using all the natural and seasonal food materials available both from the mountains and the sea in accordance with their belief of Shintoism, the worship of a multitude of gods in nature. Japanese food tradition, developed under this essential spirit of a "respect for nature," is called *washoku*, whose menus are usually constructed in the "one soup and three dishes" style (*ichijū sansai*) accompanying cooked rice, pickles, and several side dishes.

Washoku, however, is not the only food that is part of the Japanese traditional foodways,[1] which also features foods heavily influenced by Chinese, Korean, Italian, French, and a variety of cuisines from around the world. *Yōshoku*—which literally means "foreign" food or, in a narrow sense, "Western" food—are the dishes which have been developed in Japan and made palatable to the Japanese taste since the Meiji period (1868-1912). Significant *yōshoku* dishes such as *tonkatsu*, *hamburg*, and *omuretsu* are recreations of the original dishes; *cotelette* is French cuisine, tartar steak is German cuisine, and the French omelet with Japanese rice is a fusion dish. Ramen noodles are extremely popular in Japan but originated in China. Similarly, *yakiniku*, literally "grilled meat," is Korean-style BBQ. Even *sukiyaki*, a beef and vegetable stew that is often thought of as a one of the quintessential traditional Japanese meals, was first developed to encourage beef consumption after beef was introduced to Japan by Europeans in the mid-nineteenth century. More recently, fast foods such as McDonald's were imported and modified to meet Japanese people's tastes (Ohnuki-Tierney 1997). *Teriyaki* burger, which is made with soy sauce, is the best known hybrid fast-food menu invented in Japan. Japanese people have positively accepted and "domesticated" (Tobin 1995, 13) foreign cuisines, and in the end, Japanese cuisine has become quite diversified.

Amid this diversification of Japanese cuisine, a fear of disappearance of the Japanese traditional foodways developed among the populace. In fact, the numerous variations of Japanese cuisine created more food choices for the Japanese, and Japanese mothers who were born after the 1960s are eager to minimize the time to cook meals centered on *ichijū sansai* at home; at the same time, they are willing to purchase ready-made food, according to the reports

[1] The food traditions or customs of a group of people. The folkloristic study of foods.

created by Iwamura, the modern family researcher (Iwamura 2009). This simplification of homemade meals also reduces the time to enjoy meals together with a family at home, which, foodways in addition to *washoku* as *ichijū sansai*, is an essential element of Japanese traditional. The Japanese government then submitted a nomination document entitled "*Washoku*: Traditional Dietary Cultures of the Japanese" in 2012 to reconsider Japanese foodways, and *washoku* was officially registered by UNESCO as a traditional food practice on December 4, 2013. Many concerns arose considering the preservation of the traditional Japanese diet. One of the main concerns for Japan was Westernization of the Japanese diet, primarily, the decrease in rice consumption. As anthropologist Ohnuki-Tierney observed, "The influx of foreign foods has further reduced the amount of rice consumed by the Japanese" (1993, 41). In data prepared by the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, the consumption of rice declined nearly by half from a peak of 315 grams in 1960 to 163 grams in 2010 (Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries 2013, 32). Not only had consumption declined but also the consciousness for rice has also changed. The ratio of those who responded in polling that they could not go a day without eating cooked rice at least once decreased from 71.4 percent to 56.4 percent in 2012 (Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries 2013, 32). Adding to this fact, the Japanese government indicates that the expenditure on rice for each household has been largely replaced by bread.[2]

Among everyday meals, as Ohnuki-Tierney examined, "The first Japanese meal to be 'invaded' by foreign foods was breakfast, with bread replacing rice" (Watson 1997, 168). Ohnuki-Tierney continued by quoting Ronald Dore that "this takeover began in 1951, when

[2] The data was prepared for the Annual Report on the Survey of Household Economy by the Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication).

housewives welcomed the idea of having bread for breakfast, which freed them from the necessity of rising early to cook morning rice" (Watson 1997, 168). As far as I can remember, in my house, the usual breakfast began with bread. My mother simply liked the lightness of bread since rice was a bit heavy for her in the morning. Ever since I was little, I have preferred to eat bread for breakfast because of my mother, but my experience with bread is more than just a habit—it remains vivid in my memory. I can never forget the happiness and excitement I felt at the tiny bakery where some mornings my mother took my little brother and me after she drove my father to his work. The bakery was always filled with the fragrant smell of fresh bread coming from the oven. There were so many choices of pastries and loaves neatly displayed. I liked to look around the bakery and check out all the new items, but I usually picked up my favorite—*an-pan.*[3]

In fact, the inspiration for this research comes from my own experience as a Japanese citizen moving to the United States. All of a sudden, one day after I started my graduate studies in Bowling Green, Ohio, I craved *an-pan*. Even though Bowling Green is a small town, I could find sushi easily at local supermarkets, but *an-pan* was not available. I went to Panera, which is one of the biggest bakery chain restaurants in the United States, but I couldn't find any sweet rolls like *an-pan*. I just missed my favorite, and any other unique taste and a variety of Japanese bread as well. I longed for the pleasure and satisfaction that, since my childhood, has come with eating Japanese bread. I might have been homesick missing and hoping to assuage that feeling through food, but at the same time, I started to question myself—why it had to be bread and not rice?

[3] *An-pan* is a sweet roll with *anko*, or a red bean paste filling.

It was just the beginning. Sushi had just become popular in the suburb areas of Ohio around that time (2005), so I doubted whether I could find any Japanese bakeries nearby. I started to look for Japanese bakeries in the United States on the Internet hoping to find one. After a while, I found one in the nearby city of Columbus, Ohio. The bakery offered delivery service all around the United States, and I soon decided to order some bread as a trial. I still remember the exciting moment when I actually could choose my favorite and familiar breads from a variety of breads even though only pictures of them were available online; I can also recall the moment of happiness I felt when I actually to a bite of *an-pan* as soon as it was delivered. I was absolutely satisfied, but I then realized that I was not the only Japanese missing Japanese bread. Many people desire Japanese bread in the United States. At this moment, I convinced myself that there must be something meaningful about the bread and that it needed to be investigated, but I wanted to discover the meaning of Japanese bread to the Japanese beyond my personal experience.

For this study of Japanese bread, I chose to do fieldwork in San Diego County, California, for both personal and intellectual reasons. My husband moved to San Diego to search for a job while I was still engaged in coursework toward my candidacy for the Doctorate degree at Indiana University in Bloomington, Indiana. I visited there a couple of times before I actually moved there with him. During these visits, I came across a bakery owned by a Japanese baker in the city of Carlsbad in San Diego County. The bakery, Sun Flour Bagel, mainly serves bagels but adds Japanese bread to their regular menu three times a week, on Wednesday, Saturday, and Sunday. I was interested in this bakery because of its unique system and thought it would be a good place for me to begin to satisfy my curiosity about Japanese bread. I did not have much

time to talk to the owner, Numata Hiro, during my short visits with my husband, but once I settled down in San Diego, I again visited the bakery as a customer. After a couple of visits as a customer, one day I had a chance to talk to the lady at the counter, and I told her that I would be interested in having a talk with the owner. She was actually Hiro's daughter, and she gave me her father's contact information. After a few days, I called him, and had a chat with the owner.

Hiro is a passionate baker trying to offer the best bread he can bake. During our conversation, he talked about the reason why he became a baker in the United States, what made him passionate about baking, his general opinion about bread, and so on. What he said piqued my curiosity. I was allowed to observe the bakery since then, and visited there a few times for observation after the initial talk with Hiro. My aim for this observation was to get to know the pattern of the bakery as well as to search for potential Japanese interviewees for my bread project. During my observation, however, I did not see as many Japanese customers as I had expected. I saw some Asians but not "Japanese." I could tell that they were not Japanese because they spoke to the owner in English. Only a few Japanese customers visited the shop, and they were more likely regulars who had reserved their bread in advance. Whenever the regulars came to pick up their bread, the owner had it ready for them. The regulars were ready to pay as well, and as soon as they paid for the bread, they would leave the shop in a hurry. I did not want to disturb customers in such a hurry, so I did not have chance to talk to the regulars. At this point, I thought I my research was stuck. Since the initial idea of this study comes from my journey moving to the United States as a Japanese citizen, I was interested in

discovering the meaning of Japanese bread among Japanese citizens moving to the United States. I then started to wonder where “other” Japanese people go to get their bread.

It actually didn’t take long for me to find a clue. Since I did not know anybody in the San Diego area except for my husband’s American relatives, I had a hard time searching for friends for myself as a student who did not go to school in the area. While I was surfing the web at home, I happened to find a website called San Diego Town.com. It is an informational site in the Japanese language basically providing information all about San Diego, including the best sightseeing spots, restaurants, weather, classifieds, and so on. This website offers a looking-for-friends page for people in the San Diego area. I immediately made an account and started to search for potential friends by looking through self-introductions. After reading through some, I found a person who describes herself as the mother of a year-and-a-half-old son and who also holds bread baking lessons at home. I decided to contact her because she might know people who like Japanese bread. Ayumi responded to me quickly (she mentioned her name at the end of the email of the first response, and I assumed that is her actual name), and a couple of weeks later, I took the first lesson, on dinner rolls, to get to know her.

On November 25, 2014, I went up to her apartment for the first lesson. When I got to the parking lot of the apartment complex, I called her on the phone, and she and her son welcomed me there. We quickly introduced ourselves in the parking lot while walking toward her apartment. At the entrance, we removed our shoes, and she provided me slippers, a Japanese tradition that she had continued in San Diego. She then guided me into the dining room. I was the only student on that day so the lesson began right after I washed my hands and put on my apron. While learning how to make bread, I politely asked her simple questions such

as her age, birthplace, the reason why she came to San Diego, and how she learned to bake bread. The purpose of this very first visit was to get to know Ayumi, so I did not ask her many questions. Ayumi also questioned me, and I introduced myself as a housewife as well as a student working on my dissertation, researching on Japanese bread. Right after explaining my research during the lesson, Ayumi became interested in my bread project and she told me that she was willing to help me. After this first lesson, I took a couple of lessons from Ayumi in order to get to know her better and hope to meet some students. Luckily, a couple of students who took lessons with me became interested in my research, and I exchanged contact information with them and made a promise to meet them soon to have a talk. Ayumi has also helped me find potential interviewees by telling her students about me whenever she had lessons. After a couple of months, Ayumi also gave me some opportunities to observe her lessons and consultations with her students and to conduct personal interviews with herself as well as with her students.

While taking lessons from Ayumi, I also reached out to another Japanese woman who holds bread baking lessons at her house in San Diego. I also found her while surfing the Internet. She has been writing about her San Diego life with bread baking in a blog titled *San Diego Bread Baking Club*. In her biography, she reveals that she has a diploma in Bakery from Le Cordon Bleu and that she worked as a baker at a bakery selling natural yeast bread in Japan. She has been holding bread baking lessons since she moved to San Diego in November 2012. Her blog was active, but most of the contents were available only to members of her blog, who are supposed to be students of her lessons, and I was not able to see it. I then emailed her to let her know that I was interested in bread baking and becoming a member of the club. I soon received an

email from Tomoko (she mentioned her name in the first email) and decided to take my first lesson from her on December 17, 2014.

Tomoko's lesson started at 9:30 a.m., which is early compared to Ayumi's 10:00 a.m. lesson. I arrived a little early on that day, but she welcomed me nicely. I removed my shoes at the entrance, and she lent me slippers like Ayumi had. Tomoko told me that I was the only student for that day. As soon as I was ready, the lesson was started. The first lesson was butter rolls, a type that, as Tomoko told me, provides the basic technique of bread baking. My first impression of her lesson was that it was difficult. The basic flow of the bread baking was the same as Ayumi had taught, but Tomoko's recipe required a more advanced technique. I was the only student on that day so I was comfortable asking her questions while I was learning. She asked me questions about myself, and I introduced myself as a student researching Japanese bread. She seemed interested, but it was still the middle of the lesson, and we decided to talk more afterward. It took at least three hours to be done with baking, but while baking bread in the oven, I tasted her butter rolls and wreath-shaped chocolate twisted bread, which Tomoko had already baked for me. While eating, we restarted our conversation about bread. She was also willing to support my research, so I have continued to take baking lessons from her, to get to know her and her teaching style, and to search for potential interviewees as well. A couple of months later, I obtained a permission to observe her lessons and talk to her students. I met students who were willing to talk to me about bread, and I started to interview them outside of the lessons.

In the first lesson I observed at Tomoko's, I met one of the students who is truly enthusiastic about Japanese bread. We had talked about bread during the lesson, but we

decided to have more time together outside of the lesson, which became an official interview. When we had a conversation, Sachiko mentioned her first baking lessons, taught by another Japanese woman, Ōhashi Masako, in the city of Carlsbad. I became interested in her lessons, too, and so Sachiko emailed Masako to put her in contact with me. I received an email from Sachiko that Masako could be a potential interviewee, but she wanted to know the details about my research. After receiving this email, I called her on the phone, and after a couple of weeks, Masako suggested I should attend a lesson as a student. Masako schedules her baking lessons differently than Ayumi's and Tomoko. Since Masako's baking lessons are known only by word of mouth, people cannot attend her lessons without an invitation from current students. Masako also holds lessons only for groups of five to six students. Students either gather a group of five to six students or attend the lesson whenever there is an empty spot in a group. Masako chose a group for me that had an empty spot, and I started learned from her on March 3, 2015. Most of the members of the group are in their fifties and had been in the United States for more than ten years. They welcomed me nicely, almost like their daughter. It took a couple of lessons to get to know them, but during my third lesson I could had the opportunity to have a nice lunchtime conversation about bread with them.

All my meetings with Japanese women happened almost by coincidence, but the fieldwork for my research was finally set with their support. Conducted between February and September 2015, my visits for baking lessons were spent mainly chatting with students and instructors—all Japanese women—during lessons and lunchtime. I also observed the lessons to understand when, where, what, why, and how students learn and instructors teach Japanese bread baking in the United States. I conducted personal interviews with each instructor after

lessons or on a day they did not offer lessons, and with students who were willing to talk about their baking experiences and thoughts about bread outside of the baking lessons. The vast majority of these women are married with children. Furthermore, although backgrounds and socioeconomic status varied, all of the women were able to take time during weekdays to attend the lessons and could afford the fee for multiple sessions per month. The lessons in general cost in the range of $25-55 per session.

As a folklorist, I have attempted to understand the meaning behind Japanese bread on the individual level, not in a group of Japanese. It not only satisfies my initial goal of understanding Japanese citizens who, like myself, miss their home country and attempt to assuage that feeling through the baking and eating of bread, but it also contributes to the field of folklore, particularly the study of material culture. Historically, many American folklorists have focused on the "format" of written texts based on oral performances, such as narratives, songs, and proverbs; on the other hand, in contemporary time, some folklorists have claimed that the texts are the expressions in a given culture, and scholars need to investigate not the "format" but "how" these expressions have been created in the culture. Folklorists have shifted their study from folklore as "product" to folklore as "process" or "a living phenomenon" that has existed within all ordinary people's lives (Abrahams 1988, 71). Adding to this shift, both Jeff Titon and Henry Glassie argue that texts can be objects or artifacts. Titon states that "A text is any humanly constructed object. It need not be words: it may be an artifact such as a painting or a building or a pot, or it may be an action or event such as a ritual, or it may even be a person or a group of people" (Feintuch et al. 2003, 76).

Glassie explains objects as texts as follows: “Like a story, an artifact is a text, a display of form and a vehicle for meaning. Both stories and artifacts arise out of concentration, both are created in time and shaped to cultural pattern, but they differ in apprehension… At last, the artifact has its own meaning, and learning it we begin to hear the voices in things, the screams of the stone gods prisoned behind glass in the museum” (1999, 46).

Following these scholars, objects or artifacts—tangible cultural properties— have been examined in order to study “how” individuals have created “meanings” through objects in the study of material culture. Glassie claims that “the study of material culture uses objects to approach human thought and action” (Glassie 1999, 41), and he suggests observing the whole processes of the objects, specifically how, why, when, and where they were created, in order to grasp the “meanings” behind the objects. Daniel Wojcik, in *Punk and Neo-Tribal Body Art* (1995), uses Perry Farrell as an example of the individual who tries to present his personality and identity through his specific fashion style of clothing, tattoos, and body scarifications—in his case, punk fashion. The punk symbols are usually related to deviance and death, and Farrell feels comfortable with it because he experienced an isolated childhood. Moreover, Farrell believes that he can reveal himself through this punk style. This study shows that objects can be the tool used to reveal the individuals’ historical experiences and feelings. In *The Holiday Yards of Florencio Morales* (1994), author Amy Kitchener discusses both the variety of artifacts created by Morales and the effect they have on his neighborhood. Morales emigrated from Mexico to the United States. He started decorating his yard due to nostalgia for his family and home in Mexico. His decorations reveal Florencio’s memory of the past. His decorations also show his personality since he incorporated his versions of images on American culture.

Florencio communicated with his neighbors by showing himself through his creativity; however, unexpectedly, this decorated yard became popular and many observers from various places came to see his yard. They reported feeling some energy and/or comfort from his creation. Kitchener's book is a good example of studying personality, experience, and history of individuals through the creativity displayed in their objects as well as the possibility of affecting others' actions and feelings through this creativity. Thorough investigation into individuals helps to understand different perspectives on the objects, which scholars try to do in the study of material culture.

Similarly, folklorists have studied food as "artistic expression" (Long 1999). Following the same trend shift to study folklore as "process," scholars have studied food by using this concept of "foodways," which, as folklorist Don Yoder advocates, should include not only *what* people eat, but when, where, why, how, and with whom (Long 1999). But, in contrast to the other genres of material culture, the study of foodways has not fully developed in terms of theory and methodology. Many scholars in food studies have been interested in food as a source of symbolism in a given culture, and they study the relationship between common food and cultural identity, unlike scholars interested in an individual's creativity in other genres of material culture. In a book called *Rice as Self*, Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney studies rice as the expression of being Japanese since rice has been embedded in Japanese culture regardless of its nature as an import (Ohnuki-Tierney 1993). C. Paige Gutierrez analyzes crawfish dishes as the representation of "Cajun-ness" because Cajuns have relied on crawfish throughout their history (Gutierrez 1992). George Lewis investigates the social tensions between Maine insiders and tourists in making lobster as the symbol of Maine (Tuleja ed. 1997), and Mario Montaño

explores Mexicans' struggle for the recreation of their traditional food by referencing popular Mexican food in the U.S. (Tuleja ed. 1997).

The study of foodways and other genres of material culture share the directions and theories of folklore scholarship in the shift from a focus on the product itself to the process in order to understand items as representations of individuals. However, many scholars in food studies tend to discuss food as the representation of a group of people within a given culture and as different from other genres of material culture studying the individuals' identity through subcultural objects like punk clothing and yard decorations.

Keller Brown and Kay Mussell argue that "because foodways serve as such powerful metaphors of group identity, the problem of studying continuity and change are multi-faceted and require researchers to engage in Clifford Geertz's 'thick description'" (Brown and Mussell et al. 1984, 8). Referring to Gilbert Ryle's "thick description," Geertz theorized this method of understanding culture as the assemblage of the interpretation of what meanings humans give to their behavior. Geertz explains it by differentiating between winks, twitches, parodied winks, and rehearsed winks; scholars need to understand the meanings behind all the actions because what meaning individuals give to each behavior differs from one person to another within a given cultural code. As a folklorist interested in exploring food as a representation of individual identity, I observed the performances of Japanese women with attention not only to the effect of historical fact but also to the effect on individuals and "how" individuals interpret food differently by questioning "how" this historical fact affected individuals' eating behaviors and "how" their meanings given to bread have been recreated.

To expand research in food studies, I also recorded as much contexts as possible, patiently and deeply attending to Geertz's "thick description." I tried to understand how individuals who have different backgrounds interpret food differently. Bread is not something commonly thought of as Japanese by outsiders, but in my study, I examined bread and its baking process as the representation of individuals and tried to find a connection between bread and female Japanese citizens living in the United States. The personal interviews of these Japanese women made it possible for me to understand different perspectives on bread.

Lastly, the ultimate goal of this research is to explore how foreign food is adopted into another culture, and how this transcultural movement of food relates to culture, and moreover, individual identity. People all over the world have influenced one another, and many countries have adopted not only food but also languages, fashion, entertainment, and other things to an extent greater than a casual observer might think. Adoption a foreign good or tradition transforms its appearance and/or meanings into something different from that traditionally existed in its native country. Japan is no exception. In old days, Japanese people adopted kanji from China and created their own language. Japanese fashion has been highly influenced by foreign countries, especially Western countries, by seeking the methods of *nihonjin-banare* (de-Japanization) to become like Westerners (Richie 2003). Daily bathing has also been considered an expression of Japanese traditional culture; however, the adoption of Westernization, modernization, and globalization have changed the Japanese bathing styles and the meaning of bathing, and currently bathing is considered "something to do with feeling Japanese" (Clark 1994). Similarly, many foreign foods have been adopted by Japanese food culture, as I mentioned before. *Yōshoku* are the most representative Japanized forms of European dishes.

Japanese-style ramen was created by adopting Chinese cuisine. More recently, fast foods restaurants such as McDonald's were imported and modified to meet Japanese people's tastes. Therefore, Japanese bread is considered as a Western food modified in order to be palatable to the Japanese.

Considering Japanese bread as one of the modified items incorporated into Japanese culture, studying Japanese bread in order to seek the Japanese identity within, is not unique because I am able to apply methods and ideas from previous studies of Japanese fashion, bathing, and fast food. In my study, however, I will examine the meaning of Japanese bread not only in its modified form in Japan but also in the United States; that is, I will try to research Japanese bread as a transcultural food in order to understand its ethnic identity, and I believe this makes my research original.

Organization of the Text

In the Introduction, I have given an overview of my dissertation. I explained the trigger and the process to begin this study of Japanese bread relates to Japanese identity. I then noted the methodology and theories that I will apply in my dissertation. I also mentioned how this study can contribute to the field of folklore. Finally, I will mention what I am going to observe and analyze in my study.

In Chapter 1, I will explain what Japanese bread is with attention to its history and features. Since bread was first introduced by the Portuguese in 1543, Japanese people have recreated bread in order to match the tastes of the Japanese as it has changed with the times.

As a result, bread has become deeply embedded into Japanese culture and has gained the status of a national food.

Bread has become a very common food in Japan; however, in San Diego, California, where I did my fieldwork, there is only a limited selection of Japanese bread available for the Japanese. In Chapter 2, based on my observation of a bakery and bakery sections at local Japanese supermarkets and an interview with the owner of the only Japanese bakery in San Diego, I will first show the struggles of Japanese bakeries in San Diego and reasons for them. I will then describe the function of the Japanese bakeries in San Diego, which leads Japanese people, especially women, to bake Japanese bread on their own.

In Chapter 3, 4, and 5, I will unravel the purpose of the baking lessons offered by three Japanese women in San Diego and clarify the reasons why Japanese women bake Japanese bread in San Diego. The thorough observation of the lessons illustrates the role of the lessons for Japanese women who engage in bread baking. The interviews with three female Japanese instructors and eight individual students, along with a group discussion held by five Japanese women during one of the lessons, reveal the insightful thoughts of each woman into Japanese bread and baking. The combination of folkloristic observation and interviews highlights the "meanings" behind Japanese bread. With the usage of folkloristic methodology, all the records in those three chapters are written based on my fieldwork notes and taped recordings I made during the lessons and the interviews.

Through Chapters 3 to 5, I have described the thoughts, feelings, and actions of Japanese women as they relates to Japanese bread and its baking process. In Chapter 6, I will explain the reasons why "women" engage in bread baking by exposing the gender roles in a

Japanese society. I will also describe how the role of Japanese married women relates to bread baking.

In the Conclusion, I will review the previous chapters and describe how Japanese bread and its baking represent the value of Japanese traditional foodways as well as the Japanese identity. Because of its value, I will lastly confirm that Japanese bread and baking agrees with the concept of *washoku* as the Japanese traditional food practice, which the Japanese registered with UNESCO as intangible cultural heritage.

CHAPTER 1: JAPANESE BREAD

Before discussing what Japanese bread means to Japanese people, I should explain what Japanese bread is. The history of Japanese bread is, in fact, longer than the history of the United States. The history of bread in Japan goes back to the mid-1500s. Bread was an unknown food among the Japanese until their first encounter with the Europeans in the mid-1500s, and after five hundred years, as you will read later, Japan is now considered one of the best in the world at producing quality bread. During this process, Japanese people have accepted many foreign breads and baking techniques, but at the same time they have also created their own bread to be more palatable to themselves. As a result, the texture of Japanese bread has become unique and its variety has become almost countless with the daily innovations. Here in Chapter 1, I will illustrate what has made bread "Japanese" by seeking bread products themselves and their history in Japan.

The History of Bread in Japan

The history of bread in Japan begins with a wrecked Portuguese ship, which drifted to Tanegashima Island in 1543. These Portuguese were warmly welcomed by Japanese people on this island, and so the Portuguese gave their cultural products to the Japanese, who helped them as an expression of gratitude. This encounter started trade between Japan and Portugal. Two missionaries, Francis Xavier, S.J. in 1549 and Luis Frois in 1569, obtained permission from a powerful samurai warlord of Japan, Oda Nobunaga to enhance the propagation of Christianity. With Christianity, bread culture became widespread among the public in Japan mainly because

the missionaries kept their own food tradition of a bread-centered diet in addition to using sacred bread and wine for communion. In order to bake fresh bread daily, the Portuguese bakers hired Japanese people as servants, and the baking techniques were handed down to the Japanese accordingly (Adachi 1969, 73-74).

In 1609, Japanese people started to have trade relations with Holland; in the following year they began conducting commerce with Spain, and with England in 1613. Many foreign items were imported into Japan. Imported guns and bullets began to be used in Japanese battles. Other than these weapons, food products such as bread, *castilla* sponge cake, *bolo* cookies, *kompeito* candies, and tempura, which have been modified from the original to be palatable to the Japanese and are popular in contemporary Japan, all came from Portugal. Furthermore, the Portuguese term for bread, *pão*, became Japanized and started to be called *pan* among Japanese people around this time.

Although the Japanese had good trade relations with European countries, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, by this time a shogun of Japan, had determined that Christianity was a threat to Japan. Ultimately Christianity was forbidden by Toyotomi, and the consumption of bread almost disappeared among the public along with the retention of Christianity. In 1636, the Tokugawa shogunate closed the country to foreigners (this practice is called *sakoku*, which literally means the “closed country”), and relations with foreign countries except Holland were prohibited. The Dutch then became the only Europeans allowed to trade with the Japanese, but only at the port in Dejima, Nagasaki. Because bread was used for dinner parties with the Dutch or used as souvenirs for Dutch scholars, bread culture was continued in obscurity in Nagasaki.

With England winning the First Opium War with China, Japan began to worry at this time that England might invade. Egawa Taro Saemon, a Dutch scholar and who was later known as the founder of bread, urged the Japanese to rely more on bread than rice with the threat of English invasion looming. Egawa convinced the Japanese that by comparison rice spoiled more easily than bread, especially in the summer time. In 1842, Egawa built a furnace to cast weapons as well as to bake bread in the village of Nirayama on the Izu Peninsula.[4] In 1851, Nakahama Manjiro, who had lived in the U.S. for eleven years after being rescued from a wrecked ship by Americans, came to Ryukyu Kingdom (or Okinawa) and brought American bread baking methods (Shibata 1957, 61).

In 1853, with the arrival of US Commodore Matthew C. Perry and his smoke-belching "black ships" in Japan, the Tokugawa shogunate collapsed. In March 1854, a treaty between the United States of America and the Empire of Japan was signed, and the isolation policy that had lasted for two hundred years was finally ended. In the same year, Russians, who like the U.S., came to Japan to open the country to trade, suffered from a sudden earthquake. Egawa provided bread to Russians from the village of Nirayama. Due to its inconvenience, however, Russians built a furnace in the village of Todaura in the Izu Peninsula, and the Japanese and Russians started to bake bread together, which brought the Russian bread baking methods into Japan.

Afterwards, national isolation completely disintegrated after the signing of the Harris Treaty, or "The Treaty of Amity and Commerce between the United States and Japan" in 1858, and many Japanese ports gradually opened their doors to the world. The settlements in the

[4] Since bread was baked as preserved food, the bread here means hard biscuits not like dinner roll types of soft bread.

opened ports then became a window into the West for Japan and functioned as strongholds of civilization and enlightenment. With this cultural enlightenment, various Western customs came into Japan, and Japan became Westernized; however, Japan developed in its own way not simply by imitating Western culture and customs but by assimilating elements of those and fusing them with traditional Japanese culture in order to match the Japanese taste. *Yōshoku*, which I mentioned in the Introduction, are the very dishes created in this era, and of course, Japanized bread was soon invented.

Although the United States proactively opened the doors of the realm of Japan, due to the American Civil War, France and England advanced into Japan instead of the U.S. With the support of the Tokugawa shogunate, French culture was more welcomed at first, and French bread joined the mainstream (Kimura 1970, 18). By 1868, at the Yokohama port, which was the most developed port in Japan at this time, there were already four bakeries owned by European bakers. Yokohama Bakery (which later became Uchiki Bakery) provided French bread mainly to foreigners coming to Japan on warships and merchant ships (Shibata 1957, 84-85). The most marketable type of bread was dinner rolls, which, though a necessity for Europeans, were not accepted by the Japanese public, who ate rice as staple food at this time (Shibata 1957, 148).

The Tokugawa shogunate ended in 1868 with the restoration of the emperor. Under the new leadership of the Meiji regime, more cultural items from Western countries became prevalent in Japan, with bread becoming one of the most popular Western foods. A Japanese baker named Kimura Yasube opened the Bunēido bakery (later called Kimuraya) in Tokyo in order to introduce bread to more Japanese people. Kimura created the first “Japanized” bread

rolls, *an-pan* to match local taste by using a special active yeast called fermented *sakadane*[5] instead of the standard yeast used in Western countries. The *anko*, or red bean paste, used for the fillings of *an-pan* was already familiar with Japanese people since it was usually used for Japanese sweets. *An-pan* was nothing but the first fusion bread that the Japanese produced. In 1875, *an-pan* was supplied to the Meiji Emperor as a gift, which enabled Kimuraya to be the issuer of the royal warrant and also made *an-pan* popular among Japanese people. The popularity of *an-pan* prompted other Japanese bakers to develop their own bakeries.

In 1888, Uchiki Hikotarō took over a business from the previous European baker at Yokohama Bakery, and started his own bakery. Since the Meiji regime received substantial support from England, English products gradually became more popular around this time. English bread was naturally brought into Japan, and Uchiki began to bake English bread instead of following the lead of his predecessor and baking French bread (Kimura 1970, 19). In 1889, Tsutamoto Bakery was opened. This bakery trained many new bakers with a mission to spread the custom of eating bread to Japanese people, and it produced mainly *shoku-pan*, the taste of which was adjusted to the Japanese palate (Shibata 1957, 140).

Despite the increase in Japanese-owned bakeries in major cities such as Tokyo and Yokohama and modifications to make the bread more palatable to the Japanese, bread and the bread eating custom were not accepted by all Japanese people. The acceptance of bread grew over time. Since 1886 in Tokyo, students have packed bread for their lunch to school, and other schools in Yamagata prefecture and Kyoto started to provide bread as lunch to students in 1889. Not only as school lunch but also as nutritious food, bread became known all over in Japan as

[5] *Sakadane* is a kind of natural yeast made from fermented rice and molted rice.

early as 1905. In the village of Shiroyama in Tochigi prefecture, bread was offered when people were sick or when women were pregnant. In Kyoto, bread was provided to cure beriberi; in the village of Sata in Shimane prefecture, it was used as a remedy for typhoid fever. In 1897, *an-pan* finally became known nationwide and began to be given as gifts by many Japanese people. In 1905, *an-pan* became available at kiosks in train stations, which also contributed to the diffusion of bread (Kimura 1970, 54). Japanese bakers' efforts finally paid off, spreading bread throughout Japan after almost a half century.

Japan's victory against powerful countries around the world, such as the Japanese-Sino War (1894-1895) and the Japanese-Russo War (1904-1905), brought modernization to Japanese industries, which increased the production of bread. With the development of the public transportation and cars, bread was diffused quickly all over Japan. Due to a series of world economic phenomena caused by the large-scale wars, prices became unstable. The price of rice went very high, and so most Japanese people could not afford it, which became the trigger for the nationwide rice riots started in 1890. The Japanese began to eat bread as a substitute for rice due. Toasts with soy sauce, miso, soybean powder, or molasses became very popular, which popularized *shoku-pan* among the Japanese public (Kimura 1970, 157-158).

After World War I broke out in 1914, the economy was unprecedentedly prosperous due to a high demand of resources for the war. In 1918, when the war ended, the economy turned downward; at the same time, rice riots erupted throughout Japan owing to a sharp rise in price. Bread regained its status as an alternative to rice through a passionate appeal from the Japanese government, claiming that eating more bread would reduce the price of rice (Kimura 1970, 251). The end of the war also brought new bread baking methods into Japan. German

prisoners during WWI taught German baking methods to the Japanese. Then a bread baking factory was built with a German-style furnace in Nagoya prefecture by Morita Zenpei, the founder of Shikishima Pan (as is Pasco Shikishima Corporation), but the taste of German bread didn't appeal to the Japanese taste, and it didn't sell as much as Morita had expected (Shibata 1957, 270).

Although German bread didn't become popular among Japanese people, the mechanization of baking lowered the cost of bread production. New technology required improved baking techniques to produce bread on a large scale, and dry yeast was adopted. Tanabe Genpei, who studied yeasts in the United States, returned to Japan and conducted further research, which resulted in the creation of dry yeasts or "magic yeasts" to make *shoku-pan* tastier and easier. Along with the research on dry yeasts, the research on bread as an alternative to rice was advanced, and in the end, the square *shoku-pan*, which is the mainstream in contemporary Japan, became popular. In 1921, Fleischmann's yeasts started to be imported from the United States, which brought American bread baking methods to Japan (Kimura 1970, 389). Different from those that were brought by Nakahama Manjiro in 1851, the new methods involved mass-production. Tanabe's dry yeasts were very useful to bake *shoku-pan*, but didn't work well with *kashi-pan* such as *an-pan*. Fleischmann's yeasts worked well for any bread, but it was very difficult to keep bread fresh while transporting from the U.S. This limitation helped to develop the yeasts made for Japanese bread. The first domestic yeast company, Oriental Yeast Corporation, was finally established in 1929, and it started to sell domesticated yeasts to the Japanese public in 1931 (Shibata 1957, 284-335).

Also in 1931, the Manchurian Incident broke out between China and Japan, which led Japan to isolate itself from the world. After that, it hard to import wheat flour from Western countries, especially the U.S., and the food began to run short in Japan. Miscellaneous grains had to be used to make bread. Buns shaped like hot dog buns became popular instead of *shoku-pan* because it needs much more wheat flour, which a dearth of food made impossible (Shibata 1957, 467). World War II broke out in 1939, and Japan suffered serious shortages of food and supplies as a result of air raids.

After the end of the WWII in 1945, US support, under the occupation of the General Headquarters of the Allied Forces, lead Japan to become Americanized. Right after the war, Japan suffered from an unprecedented shortage of food and continuously poor crops of rice, and many people died of starvation, which had a big impact on the political situation in Japan. With food donations from the Licensed Agencies for Relief in Asia (LALA),[6] school lunches began to be offered at schools. Starting in 1949, the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) and LALA donated a large amount of milk to Japan, and in 1950, wheat flour was donated from the US Government Appropriation for Relief in Occupied Areas (GARIOA).[7] Such abundant milk and wheat flour donations enabled the Japanese to provide meals centered on bread and milk to children at schools all over Japan. The peace treaty with Japan was concluded in San Francisco in 1951, and Japan officially came back as an independent country. This was considered to be the end of the food donation from GARIOA, which would

[6] LALA was a group of thirteen private American charitable and religious organizations formed in 1946. LALA aimed at supplying necessary daily food and medical and pharmaceutical products to Asian nations, especially Japan and Korea that suffered from poverty and food shortage after WWII.

[7] GARIOA was a charitable donation expended by the U.S. to prevent the occupied territories from social unrest caused by poverty and infirmity and make governmental administration of those territories smooth after WWII.

also cause the end of school lunches because Japan totally relied on the American wheat flour to bake bread.

American farm products including wheat flour were used to feed soldiers during WWII, but after the war, the American market was overstocked. Under the Mutual Security Act, concluded in March 1954, the U.S. sent this excess to Japan.[8] Japan then received a large quantity of farm products such as barley and wheat flour. To consume the excessive amount of wheat flour received from the U.S., the Japanese Ministry of Welfare was encouraged to use flour for food for the Japanese public. The Japanese government also appealed to the need to improve the nutritional content of Japanese food traditions, and encouraged especially Japanese housewives to cook *yōshoku* at home by educating them at seminars offered in front of the food tracks called "kitchen cars," which were launched throughout Japan. The meals, which were centered on the bread and milk provided at schools, also spread the bread-centered diet, especially among children. At last, bread became the second staple food for the Japanese.

In October 1954, the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act, or Public Law 480,[9] was concluded between Japan and the U.S., and Japan accepted more farm surpluses from the American market. Rice production had increased in Japan by then, but rice consumption kept on declining because of the government's encouragement of a Westernized diet centered on bread. In 1956, the National Diet Improvement Organization—which was

[8] The Mutual Security Act is a Treaty concluded between the U.S. and liberal countries (one of them is Japan) for security assurance. It is also known as a collective term for these four treaties: Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement, Agricultural Products Purchase Agreement, Economic Measures Agreement, and Investment Guarantee Agreement.

[9] Public Law 480 is a treaty signed between the U.S. and many other nations that allows the U.S. to export surplus farm products such as wheat flour, barley, corn, and raw cotton based on the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954.

affiliated organization with the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries—received financial support from the U.S., and American bakers gave instructions taught baking techniques to Japanese bakers at seminars in Tokyo (Suzuki 2003, 71). The techniques that the Japanese bakers learned at the seminars in suburban cities spread all over Japan.

Although Americanization seemed to dominate Japanese food culture in the postwar period, Japan didn't become just a copy of the United States. To be sure, most Japanese bakers use refined flour to make white bread, having learned techniques from Americans that used refined flour. Japanese people have also accepted and even preferred the fluffy texture and sweet taste of the white bread; however, Takaki Bakery and Donq, which are now considered major baking companies in Japan, challenged the trends of the times and pursued serving "genuine" and "good quality" bread to their Japanese customers. In particular, Takaki Shunsuke, a founder of Takaki Bakery, first introduced Danish pastries to Japan in the late 1960s, hoping that the Japanese would understand two things: that, though his bread was out of the ordinary, it was definitely of "good quality," and that with good bread comes a good lifestyle. Donq, on the other hand, introduced the virtue of French bread, which hadn't been accepted by the Japanese because of its harder and drier texture compared to the fluffy and soft texture of white bread, by continuing to produce it with "genuine" baking methods from Raymond Calvel, master of French bread. The variations on bread products brought by Takaki Bakery and Donq have been increasingly accepted by the Japanese, and more and more variations are available in contemporary Japan.

Furthermore, Takaki Bakery and Donq developed self-service and in-store bakery systems, and even domestic flour for French bread, which are also prevalent throughout

contemporary Japan. Hiroshima Anderson, the bakery opened in Hiroshima by Takaki, first adopted the self-service system. Different from the conventional system in which customers ask workers to take the products for them from the show case, self-service customers themselves use tongs to take products from the shelves, place them on the trays, and bring the trays to the cashier. At first it was a completely new system for Japanese customers, but they liked it better than the old system because they could even enjoy the time choosing "the one" they like the most. This self-service system has become standard in Japan, and it is still applied at most bakeries and even some convenience stores. The in-store bakery system was, on the other hand, first applied at Donq and opened in department stores in the 1960s. Donq didn't like to sell the pre-baked bread in the department stores so instead placed the workshop inside of the bakery to produce freshly baked bread constantly for their customers. Customers have been attracted by the freshly baked bread coming out of the oven, which has led bakeries at many department stores to install the workshop inside the regular bakery in Japan. In addition to this accomplishment, Donq started a revolution in the Japanese bread baking industry by helping the Nisshin Seifun Group[10] domestically produce flour suitable for French bread. The humid, semitropical weather of Japan caused bakers to struggle when using flour imported from the U.S. to bake French bread. So in 1969, Nissin Seifun Group succeeded in producing *Lys D'or*,[11] a flour specifically made to bake genuine French bread. *Lys D'or* is now in used by bakeries all over Japan to produce good quality French bread. With Americanization, Japanese

[10] Nisshin Seifun Group is a Japanese company producing wheat flour, rye flour, and the raw materials of processed food for business use.
[11] This is French for golden lily.

people have enjoyed the texture and the taste of white bread, but the works of Takaki Bakery and Donq, in the end, have formed the basis of the current Japanese bread culture.

Japanese Bread in Contemporary Culture

In contemporary times, bread has diffused widely throughout Japanese culture. People can purchase bread anywhere—not only at bakeries but also at supermarkets, convenience stores, and even kiosks. The increase in the number of shops selling bread adds to the variety of bread products available and has raised the quality of bread, which has encouraged customers to incorporate bread into their daily meals. Many weekly and monthly magazines frequently have a special feature on bread with titles such as "How are you going to eat bread for tomorrow's breakfast?"[12] and "The bread you want to get even after a long wait,"[13] to encourage readers to have bread in their lives. Guidebooks for travelers introduce the best regional bakeries in sections titled "The best bakeries in Tokyo" and "The best bakeries in Yokohama"; these guidebooks inform readers how to get the best quality of bread wherever they are. Bread has become such a convenient food for the Japanese that they like to have it in their daily lives. Moreover, bread has become one of the foods required for "good quality of life" thanks to bakeries like Takaki Bakery and Donq. For contemporary Japanese, bread is not just something to eat but something to enjoy. The Japanese bakers have, realistically, improved

[12] This specific feature was introduced in the bi-weekly magazine *Croissant* on February 25, 2016.
[13] This specific feature was introduced in the bi-weekly magazine *Hanako* on May 26, 2016.

their skills to produce good quality bread. In the Coupe de Monde de la Boulangerie,[14] the World Cup of Baking, Japan received first prize in 2002 and 2012. Most Europeans had won in the past, but Japan became the first East Asian country to receive this honorable prize for bakers, which revealed to the world that Japan is one of the best countries at producing good bread.

While Japanese bakers have been searching for the best quality bread, in 2009, the Pancierge certificate, the certification for people who have a wide knowledge about bread, was created for the Japanese public. Pancierge is the combination of the term with *pan* and *concierge*, which literally means the people who have thorough knowledge about bread and its field. In 2017, about forty thousand people tried for the certificate, which shows the level of interest in bread among the Japanese public. Furthermore, the 2010 birth of *GOPAN*, a bread machine that allows making bread from rice instead of wheat, caught people's attention. Rice and bread are now interchangeable but with different forms. Bread has also shifted its status from something to purchase outside to something to make at home. This shift familiarized the Japanese with the making of bread so they could have more of it in their daily lives. Prompted by the increase in making bread at home, many recipe books have introduced bread baking recipes and have become popular among Japanese women, and major cooking schools as well as individuals have begun offering bread baking classes. Ayumi and Masako, whom I interviewed for my research, have taken bread baking at major cooking schools.

Last, but not least, bread's diffusion into Japanese popular culture are deepening substantially. *Yakitate!! Japan* is a manga serialized in the boy's magazine *Shogakukan's Shōnen*

[14] The Coupe de Monde de la Boulangerie is an international artisan bread baking competition held in Paris, France, every three to four years.

Sunday from 2001 to 2007, and it was adapted into an anime television series from 2004 to 2006. The story centers on Azuma Kazuma, a boy who is fascinated by the taste of bread. Azuma pursues his dream of creating a national bread called "Ja-pan," a portmanteau of Japan and bread. Compared to European bread, which has already established its originality, there is no bread like rice, which all the Japanese love, are proud of, and still recognize as a national dish. To challenge this fact, Azuma continuously strives to reach his goal in the story. Since Yamazaki Baking Corporation was the sponsor for the anime television program, some bread invented for the story was produced and sold at supermarkets and convenience stores.

Pan de Peace! is a four-panel manga serialized in the Kadokawa Corporation/Media Factory's manga magazine *Comic Cune* from 2014 to 2015. It was also aired as a short anime television series between April and June 2016. The story centers on Minami and her fellow female high school students who became friends through bread, and it mostly shows the happiness which bread brings to girls in their daily lives.

The most popular and well-known anime among Japanese people from children to adults is *Anpanman*. *Anpanman* was first a Japanese picture book series for adults written by Yanase Takashi. As his youth, Yanase experienced starvation during World War II and dreamed about eating *an-pan*, which inspired him to create *Anpanman*, a superhero whose face is made of *an-pan* and who gives a part of his face (*an-pan*) to people in need. In 1973, *Anpanman* appeared in children's picture book series, and was later adapted into an anime television series entitled *Soreike! Anpanman*. Since Japanese people have a unique appreciation for small and delicate things,[15] the charming, round face of *Anpanman* gives appears cute to children,

[15] Refer to my master's thesis "The Barbie Phenomenon In Japan."

which made *Anpanman* popular. *Anpanman*, however, do not exist only as an anime character but also as real bread rolls. Some Japanese bakeries produce *an-pan* with an *Anpanman* face in order to attract children and even adults who grew up watching *Anpanman* animation. Bread is not just food but also an entertainment in contemporary Japan.

As Ohnuki-Tierney examined the shift of Japanese rice through its history, bread has also changed its status from a totally foreign food to something familiar in a daily life. It is still uncertain that "Ja-pan" or any national bread will be established in Japan, but it surely has become embedded into Japanese culture. It is not an exaggeration to say that bread is now a national food for the Japanese.

Figure 1. Sample of *Anpanman* characters displayed at Yokohama Anpanman Children's Museum in July 2, 2015.

The Texture of Japanese Bread

The accidental encounter with the Portuguese in 1543 brought completely new products the Japanese, and one of them was bread. It was totally a strange food for the Japanese at first, and it took almost four hundred years to percolate throughout Japan as the second staple food. Starting with Portugal, Japan was easily influenced by foreign countries that also had great influence over food culture all over the world. However, Japanese people were not satisfied with simply absorbing the culture of others, but instead they chose the elements that were assumed to work for the Japanese and incorporate them into Japanese foodways. As a result, unique Japanese breads such as *an-pan* and *shoku-pan* were created by Japanese

bakers. In the twenty-first century, most Japanese people enjoy white bread, which was introduced by Americans in the mid-twentieth century; at the same time, Japanese people have persistently challenged themselves to invent new things and have evolved their own bread and bakery systems to match the current Japanese tastes.

With the current trend, the variety and the quality of bread has elevated; however, the basics of the preferred texture for the Japanese has not completely changed. Japanese people look for a particular texture found in other foods, and Japanese bakers have transformed foreign bread to be suitable to Japanese people's tastes. *Shoku-pan*, especially, was produced to replace rice in Japan, and literally, *shoku-pan* is a term coined in Japan and an abbreviation of "shushokuyō-pan," which means bread as a staple food. The recent popularity of *GOPAN* also convinced me to think of the similarities between Japanese bread and rice. To examine these similarities, I conducted a research from February to March in 2012.

For this research, I looked through the websites of twelve of Japan's large bread-baking corporations[16] and collected the descriptive terminology used for s*hoku-pan* in order to understand what kind of bread the companies try to offer to their customers, which also illustrates what kind of bread customers look for when they purchase it. At the same time, I looked through six of Japan's large electronics companies'[17] websites to see how they describe rice that can be made with their rice. Japanese people mostly make rice using these cookers, and they look for the best rice cooker to make their preferred texture of rice. Lastly, I did a statistical analysis with the descriptive terminology used for *shoku-pan* and rice in order to see

[16] The Twelve Japanese bread-baking corporations I studied are the following: Yamazaki Baking Co., Ltd; First Baking Co., Ltd; Pasco Shikishima Corporation; Fuji Baking Group; Takaki Bakery Co., Ltd; Ito-Pan Company; Kobeya Baking Co., Ltd; Kimuraya Group; Andersen Co., Ltd; Donq Co., Ltd; Johan Paris (Donq Co., Ltd); Pompadour Co., Ltd.
[17] The six Japanese electronics companies I analyzed are the following: Zojirushi Corporation; Tiger Corporation; Hitachi, Ltd; Sharp Corporation; Mitsubishi Electric Corporation; Toshiba Corporation.

the similarities and/or differences. Table 1 shows the results; and the more frequently the terms were used, the larger the numbers are.

To describe what kind of *shoku-pan* the bread-baking corporations make, they commonly used sixteen words, as showed in Table 1. The most commonly used word was *shittori*, which means "moist." *Yawarakai* or *sofuto* for "soft," *mochimochi* for "springy," and *sinpuru* for "simple" are also commonly used to describe the crumb[18] of bread. To describe crust, *sakusaku* was used more than *karritto* for crispiness, but here it is understood that Japanese customers request a crisp texture for the crust of *shoku-pan*. Different words were used to describe the texture, but *karui* or *funwari* for fluffiness seems to be the most important texture for *shoku-pan* as well.

On the other hand, *oishii* for "delicate" was the most used term for rice. *Fukkura* for "fluffy," *umami* for "tempting taste," *mochimochi* for "springy," and *shakkiri* or *shikkari* for crispness followed in frequency. Similar but less frequently used words can be found in Table 1. *Yawarakai* for "soft" and *shittori* for "moist" are the same words used to describe the texture of *shoku-pan*. Other words like *danryoku* and *paritto* are different adjectives than the ones used for *shoku-pan*, but those two words have meanings of "springy" and "crisp," which are the required texture for *shoku-pan* as well.

Many similarities between bread and rice arise here. The term *mochimochi* is used to describe both bread and rice. Although the word *shittori* is not used as much to describe rice, this word is used to describe the characteristics of Japanese bread and rice, as is apparent in Table 1. Other words such as *yawarakai* and *funwari* or *fukkura* are also used for both bread

[18] The soft part of bread.

and rice. Both bread and rice requires some crispiness, and so it is described by using the words *sakusaku* or *karritto* for bread and *shakkiri* or *shikkari* and *paritto* for rice. The aroma also needed to be described for both bread and rice, and *koubashii* for bread and *kaori* for rice are used.

As described above and can be seen in Table 1, Japanese bread and rice have many similarities in their texture. The crumb of both foods should be soft, fluffy, springy, and moist; the crust should be crispy. Both foods should also have an appetizing aroma. Japanese bread has qualities similar to rice, which represents the history of bread in Japan—eaten as an alternative form of rice and altered to be palatable to the Japanese.

Table 1. Texture Comparison between *Shoku-pan* and Rice

The descriptive terminology for *Shoku-pan*

Japanese	English	Numbers
Shittori	Moist	32
Yawarakai	Soft	20
Sofuto	Soft	17
Mochimochi	Springy	16
Sinpuru	Simple	12
Amami	Sweetness	11
Sakusaku	Crisp	10
Koubashii	Fresh baked aroma	9
Akinokonai	Can't get enough	8
Karui	Light / Fluffy	7
Kuchidokenoyoi	Meltable	6
Koku	Rich	5
Funwari	Fluffy	5
Ritchi	Rich	4
Karitto	Crisp	4
Kimenokomakai	Delicate	3

The descriptive terminology for Rice

Japanese	English	Numbers
Oishii	Tasty	57
Fukkura	Fluffy	49
*Umami**	Rich flavor	27
Mochimochi	Springy	13
Sikkari	Crisp	11
Shakkiri	Crisp	11
Yawarakai	Soft	9
Nebari	Sticky	9
Kaori	Pleasant aroma	8
Danryoku	Springy	7
Tsuya	Glossy	6
Shittori	Moist	2
Paritto	Crisp	1

**Umami* is a borrowed Japanese word in English. It means the fifth category of taste, not including sweet, salty, sour, or bitter.

The Variety of Japanese Bread

There are five to six thousand kinds of bread available in the world, and in contemporary Japan, hundreds of kinds of bread are available (Tokyo Seika Gakkō 2015, 3). As described above, in its history—starting with Portuguese bread, and extending to French, Russian, German, British, and American—all kinds of bread from around the world were introduced to the Japanese in the past. However, Japanese people have not just inherited methods of bread baking from foreign countries but adapted foreign bread to be more palatable to themselves. Most bread is made to accommodate the preferred texture of the Japanese people, but the difference of fillings, shapes, and sizes makes for a great variety of bread.

The first Japanized bread created in Japan was, as I mentioned, *an-pan*. *An-pan* is a sweet roll with *anko* filling. The founder of *an-pan* and Kimuraya Bakery, Kimura Yasube, created this bread roll by using a special active yeast called fermented *sakadane*, as I mentioned in Chapter 1, and Kimuraya Bakery still makes *an-pan* with this yeast. However, at most of the bakeries in Japan, standard yeast is used to make the bread dough for *an-pan*. There are many variations of *an-pan* as well. For its filling, coarse *anko* is mostly used, but strained *anko*, coarse white *anko*, matcha[19] *anko*, strawberry *anko*, and sesame *anko* are also used, with more variations produced daily.

Cream-pan is also a sweet roll that was produced in earlier times. In 1897, the founder of Shinjyuku Nakamuraya, Sōma Aizo, and his wife were impressed by the cream puff, and so

[19] Green tea.

they created *cream-pan*, which is a sweet roll with custard cream filling. *Cream-pan* is uniquely shaped, and its shape looks like gloves. To avoid making hollow spaces inside the roll, the dough is slightly cut, which makes the glove shape. As with *an-pan*, there are many variations for its filling. Instead of custard cream, *cream-pan* is filled with chocolate cream, whipped cream, or matcha cream. Nakamuraya's *cream-pan* is glove-shaped, but round ones are also available at other bakeries in contemporary Japan.

Korone is a sweet roll with fillings of cream like *cream-pan*, but its unique shape is made by rolling elongated dough around a corn-shaped mold. After baking, the mold is removed, and usually chocolate cream is inserted into the hollow made by the mold. This name *korone* originated from *corne* in French or *cornet* in English. Since the filling cream is not baked like *cream-pan*, it is perishable. In variations, similar types of creams for *cream-pan* are used: custard cream, whipped cream, matcha cream, and so on.

Melon-pan is another popular sweet bun in contemporary Japan. It is a rounded, sweet bun covered with sweet biscuit dough. There are some theories about the roots of *melon-pan*. Some say that *melon-pan* was influence by German sweets since they are created using a similar technique to make *melon-pan*. There's not a clear origin of the name of this bun, either, but due to its mesh design, it looks like cantaloupe or melon in Japanese, and so this bun started to be called *melon-pan*. It is sometimes called *sunrise*, especially in western Japan because it is shaped like the sun. Almond-shaped variations can also be found. In terms of flavor, bakers have produced melon-flavored buns, buns with melon-cream filling, buns covered with chocolate chip, cocoa, matcha biscuit dough, and more.

The above sweet rolls and buns—*an-pan*, *cream-pan*, *korone*, and *melon-pan*—are categorized under *kashi-pan*, which means sweet buns or maybe pastries in English. Japanese bread is not always sweet; savory buns are also available. Savory buns with cooked fillings are called *chōri-pan* or *sōzai-pan*. Strictly speaking, *chōri-pan* are buns with fillings which are cooked prior to the process of bread baking, and they are also officially categorized with numbers under The Distribution Systems Research Institute; *sōzai-pan* are buns with *sōzai* fillings, which are usually eaten as a side dish with rice. However, in general, there are no distinctive differences between *chōri-pan* and *sōzai-pan*, and Japanese people call savory buns with cooked fillings by either name. In this research, I call the savory buns *sōzai-pan* because that's what most women I interviewed called them. As with *kashi-pan*, there are numerous kinds of *sōzai-pan* produced in Japan, but I am introducing the typical *sōzai-pan*, *curry-pan* and *yakisoba-pan* here.

There are many bakeries that claim to be the first to produce *curry-pan*, but the most influential evidence is the fact that the bakery called Meikadō generated *curry-pan* in 1972; inspired by two popular *yōshoku* dishes, cutlet and curry, the buns with curry filling are covered with bread crumbs and fried like donuts. Later they became known as *curry-pan*. There are many variations for *curry-pan*, just like *kashi-pan*. The original *curry-pan* is fried, but oven-baked ones are currently popular in Japan because of awareness of healthy eating. For fillings, there is spicy Indian style curry, curry with cheese and boiled eggs, and more kinds available.

Yakisoba-pan is a bun shaped almost like hot dog bun sandwiched with sautéed *yakisoba*, fried noodles. It is said that students started to make sandwiches with buns and *yakisoba* fried noodles when they were served them for their school lunch. It is still a popular

lunch among students. Few variations are available for *yakisoba-pan*. The sauce and ingredients used for *yakisoba* fried noodles are changeable, but the shape of the buns is usually the same.

Another category of Japanese bread is *shushokuyō-pan*, or *shoku-pan*, as I described in the section of texture of Japanese bread. Since *shoku-pan* is eaten as substitute for rice, its texture must be similar to rice. The original bread of *shoku-pan* is English white bread baked in a tin mold but without a lid so that it becomes shaped like a mountain. This type of bread is called English bread in Japan, which is different from *shoku-pan*. As described the earlier section about the history of bread in Japan, the Japanese baker and the founder of Yokohama Bakery (currently Uchiki Bakery), Uchiki Hikotarō, inherited the English bread baking technique from the English baker Robert Clark in 1888. After WWII, however, with the influence of Americans, the prototype square-shaped *shoku-pan* was produced. *Shoku-pan* is a little bigger than American white bread. It is also sliced thickly because many Japanese people primarily eat *shoku-pan* as toast, not as sandwiches, which requires thin slices. These two qualifications make *shoku-pan* original to the Japanese.

In addition to these basics of Japanese bread (*kashi-pan*, *sōzai-pan*, and *shoku-pan*), as variations, there are seasonal buns and character buns with made with whatever shapes and flavors of bread people can imagine. Examples of seasonable buns are *sakura-pan*, which appears in the spring with a flavor of *sakura* or cherry blossoms; *kuri-pan*, which appears in the fall since *kuri* or chestnut is harvested at that time. In Japan, food is connected to seasonal changes. *Kaiseki*, known as a traditional Japanese multi-course dinner, is usually made with many seasonal ingredients. Most Japanese also believe seasonally popular fish to be the best

ingredient for making sushi. Thus, “seasonal” is a key concept in Japanese foods, and has been adopted into Japanese bread.

In addition to seasonal considerations, the presentation of Japanese breads is important. There are many shapes of breads; some look like anime characters and animals. As I described before, the hero of *Anpanman*, with his head made of *pan*, is popular, especially among children. Animal shapes such as turtles, dogs, and bears are also popular among children. Other buns are shaped like leaves, flowers—and more shapes than you can imagine. Traditionally, a good presentation has always been an essential part of Japanese food culture, and because of its presentation, bread has become a major food product of Japanese cuisine.

With the basics and variations of Japanese bread, new types have been invented daily and produced to be palatable to the Japanese in keeping with trends. As I mentioned above, Japanese people have always been seeking bread with qualities similar to rice, and so most breads have similar textures—soft, fluffy, springy, and moist. In the end, different fillings, sizes, and shapes create variety in Japanese bread. In particular, features representing “season” and “good presentation” make bread suited to Japanese, since they are a substantive part of Japanese food culture.

Figure 2. *Kashi-pan*: *an-pan* (upper left); *korone* (lower left); *melon-pan* (upper right); *cream-pan* (lower right).

Figure 3. *Sōzai-pan*: *curry-pan* (left) and *yakisoba-pan* (right).

Figure 4. *Shoku-pan.*

Figure 5. Seasonal and Character bread: *kabocha pumpkin-pan* (upper left); *Anpanman-pan* (lower left); *turtle-pan* with chocolate cream filling (upper right); *Doraemon-pan* (lower left).

CHAPTER 2: THE AVAILABILITY OF JAPANESE BREAD IN SAN DIEGO

As I discussed in Chapter 1, the history of bread in Japan is quite long. Its history started with the Japanese support for the wrecked Portuguese ship in 1543; as time passed, the Japanese established their own baking techniques. Bread has been a substitute for rice for a long time in Japan and is now a national food. Because of its nature, the texture of Japanese bread is distinctive because of its similar texture to rice. The crumb of Japanese bread is usually soft, moist, fluffy and springy, and the crust is crispy. Additionally, there are numerous varieties of Japanese bread. Since Japanese bread had to be improved to be accepted by most of the Japanese, variations were needed to incorporate essential parts of Japanese food culture such as “season” and “good presentation,” and many kinds have been generated every day in contemporary Japan.

However, it is very hard to find such distinctive bread in foreign countries. Essentially, Japanese bread is Portuguese in origin (or from Western bread in general), but most Japanese bread is remade for Japanese people, so unless the bakers know its technique, it is impossible to bake bread which Japanese people would like. There are many contemporary Japanese people living in foreign countries, but few Japanese bakers who bake Japanese bread are living abroad. While there is no specific data for this, it applies at least to the city of San Diego where I have conducted this research.

Compared to the largest city in California, Los Angeles, there are far fewer Japanese people living in the city of San Diego, and so it is natural that fewer bakers can be found there. This is clear even in the history of Japanese food businesses in California: according to *Minami*

Kashū Nihonjin Shichijūnenshi, there were at least seven Japanese confectioners or bakeries in Los Angeles in 1950, but no record was found of Japanese confectioners or bakeries in San Diego at this time. In 2014 when I started my research, there was only one Japanese bakery owned by a Japanese baker in San Diego. Three Japanese supermarkets, Nijiya, Mitsuwa, and Marukai, also offer Japanese bread, but most of the bread they have in stores are shipped from Japanese bakeries in Los Angeles—and some of them are shipped from Japan.

Limited selections of Japanese bread are available in San Diego, which I first assumed led Japanese people, especially Japanese women, to make bread at home. There were at least three baking lessons offered by Japanese women in 2014, but according to Sachiko Bayne, whom I interviewed for this research, "There were more lessons offered by Japanese women in the past in San Diego." In this chapter, before discussing baking lessons, I will describe how Japanese bakeries function in San Diego, and I will also clarify the reason why Japanese bread from bakeries are not enough to satisfy the appetite for Japanese bread in the U.S., which has led Japanese people to bake bread on their own.

Japanese Bakery: Sun Flour Bagel

Sun Flour Bagel is located in the city of Carlsbad in northern San Diego County. It was named by the owner's daughter. It sounds like "sun flower," but it is a bakery so she arranged the name with one of the main ingredients of the bread, "flour." As is obvious from its name, the shop sells mostly bagels, but Japanese breads are also available on Wednesdays, Saturdays, and Sundays. The Japanese baker Numata Hiro owns and runs this shop with his wife. They have two daughters, and their eldest became a baker in Japan. Their younger daughter, who

put me in contact with Hiro, rarely helps with their business because she is a flight attendant, but an Asian-American student who studies the Japanese language sometimes works at the cash register.

Hiro, in fact, became a baker after he moved to San Diego. Hiro initially came to the United States to work as a manager at a Benihana Restaurant in Miami, Florida. Hiro was a designer for Mitsubishi Electronic and the owner of a B&B in Nagano prefecture in Japan before coming to the U.S. His wife, however, always dreamed of living in the U.S., and luckily Hiro had a connection with the person who knows Benihana Restaurant, so they decided to move to the U.S. Because Hiro managed the B&B and Hiro's wife is licensed as a cook and a nutritionist in Japan, they both are gourmands, and tried out all kinds of cuisines as a hobby once they moved to Miami. After a while, Hiro relocated to a newly opened Benihana Restaurant in Carlsbad. Hiro and his wife continued their common hobby of enjoying gourmet dishes, but Hiro realized that there was not a bakery in San Diego with which he was satisfied.

Hiro's eldest daughter had liked bread baking, and she baked bread at home as a hobby when she was a teenager. While Hiro was struggling with finding a decent, he and his family enjoyed his daughter's bread. Hiro's colleagues also liked her bread, and she started to sell it. Then Hiro decided to open the bakery to satisfy his appetite as well as others' needs for good bread. Hiro's wife first went to baking school in Japan, and Hiro's daughter eventually decided to go to the same baking school in order to become a professional baker. Hiro quit his job and started to look for a place for their bakery while his wife and daughter were in school in Japan. Hiro finally found the current location, which had been a bagel shop.

Hiro started his bakery in 2005, but it took a while for him to start selling Japanese bread. Due to the difference of water and ingredients, he wasn't able to produce acceptable bread based on Japanese recipes. So while selling bagels to maintain the business, he did experimented, trying to make the best Japanese bread as he could. He finally started to sell Japanese bread six months after he opened the bakery. The shop has sold bagels for decades with different owners (Hiro is the fourth), and because of its reputation, regular customers kept coming to his shop to buy bagels, which helped Hiro financially during his experiments with Japanese bread.

In 2014, when I started visiting him first as a customer and later as a folklorist, Hiro had been in business for nine years. His eldest daughter got married and left the business to go back to Japan, but Hiro continues to bake bagels and Japanese bread proudly with his wife. However, Hiro has also been conflicted for a long time, having to choose between his pride and business; as Hiro said, "It has to be sold well, but I don't want to lose my pride for money." This will become clear below.

Hiro gets up at 3:00 a.m. to make bagels every day. He makes bagels by himself, not even with his wife. He doesn't use an air conditioner, even on very hot days, because it dries up the bagel dough. Hiro even explained how well he takes care of his bagels compared to other franchise American bagel shops:

> There is a famous bagel shop called Einstein Bros Bagels in the neighboring town, but our customers come from there. Can you see the big caldron over there? To make bagels chewy, you need to boil the dough, but at Einstein Bros Bagels they don't boil the

> dough. They just shape the dough and bake them. They are making bread but not bagels. I do boil the dough to make bagels chewy, but it is very hard to keep the best temperature of the water for boiling. Customers always tell me my bagels are good just like NY bagels. I think it's because I do spend a lot of time to make such good bagels.

Because of his passion, Hiro sacrifices his time to make the best bagels he can. Hiro also mentioned the display of his bagels and claimed how much his love for bagels is represented on the display at the counter. Hiro makes bagels with his love and effort, so he treats them very well. He doesn't just stack the bagels randomly; instead he lines them up nicely so customers can see bagels clearly through the glass.

Hiro makes bagels with a passion, but he takes more pride in making Japanese bread. He believes in the Japanese business concept of the multiplier effect: that the shops educate customers, and customers educate the shops. Following this theory, he tries to offer the best to his customers so they will learn and also so he will be able to learn what is good for both of them. If Hiro receives many requests for Japanese bread on the previous days when he sold it, he gets up at 1:00 a.m. or even earlier to make Japanese bread in addition to bagels. Hiro has to work all night to offer Japanese bread to his customers, but he sells bread for a fair price because he knows it expresses gratitude to his customers for coming all the way to his bakery to purchase his bread.

Hiro also tries to provide "genuine" Japanese bread and services to his customers. There are many Japanese widows and older people living in neighboring towns. They particularly like to have *an-pan*, which has been one of the popular Japanese breads. There is a Japanese

factory that makes red bean paste in Costa Mesa, California, and Hiro requests the factory to make the paste to match his bread dough. Hiro orders the special red bean paste for his *an-pan*. He has a strong preference for high quality ingredients to provide the best Japanese bread.

The service Hiro attempts to provide at his bakery also represents his Japanese pride. Hiro has been hiring only Japanese employees as cashiers or his assistant. He currently has a non-Japanese cashier, but he speaks enough Japanese to be able to communicate with Hiro, his wife, and Japanese customers. The most important requirement for employees is their ability to greeting customers appropriately, which custom that expresses respect, gratitude, or apologies. The proper etiquette can be shown in Japanese greetings, so the employees never speak to their customers casually like “Bye, Guys,” or “Here we go,” even for local customers. Hiro also requires his employees to pass receipts to the customers with both hands to show their respect; because Hiro’s bakery is a true Japanese bakery, as its owner claims.

However, Hiro cannot provide a perfectly Japanese atmosphere at his bakery. Hiro sells baked chocolate rolls because he cannot sell *korone*. *Korone* is perishable, so it has to be kept in the refrigerator, but Hiro’s bakery doesn’t have a proper place to keep such perishable rolls. Hiro has also been struggling with offering varieties of Japanese bread. Many customers are originally from Okinawa, but many other customers come from other areas in Japan. It is very difficult to answer the needs for all the customers. Just like people in the northern and southern U.S., Japanese people’s preferences on food differ from north to south. The selections of Japanese bread at Hiro’s bakery are limited to the bread most Japanese people know and recognize.

In addition, Hiro doesn't want to sell imitations of Japanese bread. He tries to follow Japanese recipes, but he has to adjust their taste for non-Japanese customers as well. The shapes, varieties, and texture of Hiro's bread are "Japanese," but the taste is a little rich. Hiro especially makes the stuffing for rolls with a rich taste so Americans will like it. According to Hiro, Anglo-Saxon people have thirty percent less sense of taste, and so he needs to adjust the taste for non-Japanese people to sell. Hiro doesn't want to provide "fake" Japanese bread to make money, but it is a business after all, so Hiro needs to do it to keep his bakery business pleasing to a variety of customers. Ayumi, who is an instructor of Japanese baking lessons and an interviewee for my research, noticed the richness of the stuffing of one of Hiro's rolls when Ayumi and I had a lunch party with her students. She said, "It's a bit on the salty side."

The other struggle was the difficulty in making his shop look and feel like a bakery found in Japan. Not only is space limited, it is against the law to leave the bread out and not behind a case, as it would be in Japan. As I explained in Chapter 1, customers in Japan choose their bread from an opened shelf where all the breads are displayed, and they can walk around the bakery as they browse, but at Hiro's, it is impossible to reproduce such an open display. At Hiro's, whenever the bread lines up on the shelf or in the glass case, customers also line up and ask for what they want, usually to Hiro or Hiro's wife, who pick up the bread for their customers. This is not the Japanese style at the bakeries in Japan.

Another struggle is aroma. Hiro starts baking at three o'clock in the morning, though sometimes he starts at one. Since his bakery is a family business and Hiro bakes most of the bread by himself, he needs to begin earlier to have everything ready when it's time to open. Hiro bakes bread every morning so it is fresh, but it is difficult for customers to smell the freshly

baked aroma of the bread at his bakery. Hiro begins selling bagels at six in the morning. Bagels take little time to make so Hiro still bakes bagels during open hours. However, he doesn't start selling Japanese bread until eleven o'clock. Because it takes longer to prepare including packaging, Japanese breads are already made and packaged by the time he starts selling at eleven. The aroma coming from the bread is a necessity at the bakeries in Japan to attract people, so without its aroma it is hard to create a Japanese atmosphere.

The last struggle is time or hours. Hiro's bakery opens 365 days a year—from 6:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. on weekdays and from 7:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. on weekends. Many bakeries in Japan open at 6:00 a.m. and close usually at 5:00 or 6:00 p.m. Since breads are available not only at bakeries but also at convenience stores, which are open twenty-four hours, the hours at Hiro's bakery are not as convenient as in Japan. Furthermore, Japanese breads are only available on Wednesdays, Saturdays, and Sundays, so if people have plans to purchase bread, especially on weekdays, they are not able to do so since the availability is limited.

Hiro bakes Japanese bread with his Japanese pride and tries very hard to offer a Japanese experience at his bakery, but, as described above, it is very difficult to do that because of the limitations. However, Hiro believes that, even with these limitations, Sun Flour Bakery still functions as means to express the Japanese spirit through bread, especially to non-Japanese customers. Hiro also learns how to survive as a Japanese businessman in the U.S. from his customers.

Figure 6. Display at Sun Flour Bagel: Bagels on left side of the showcase and Japanese bread on the right side of the showcase in December 24, 2014.

Figure 7. Japanese bread displayed on the counter at Sun Flour Bagel: Seasonal and new items are displayed on the top, traditional items such as *an-pan* and *melon-pan* are inside the showcase.

Figure 8. Japanese bread displayed on the shelf at Sun Flour Bagel: This shelf is placed at the end of the shop. Mostly *Shoku-pan* and butter rolls are displayed.

Bakery Sections at Japanese Supermarkets

There are three large Japanese markets in San Diego: Nijiya Market, Mitsuwa Marketplace, and Marukai Japanese Supermarket. All three are located in the same area of Kearney Mesa in San Diego County, where many Asian restaurants and shops are situated, so it is very convenient for Japanese people to do their grocery shopping in there. Interestingly, there are no Japanese bakeries there; instead, Japanese markets carry some Japanese bread and baked goods. Each market provides almost the same brand of factory-made bread shipped from Japan, but they also offer bread shipped from different local bakeries in the Los Angeles area.

Nijiya Market offers a large variety of Japanese food products as well as their private brand of products. Nijiya's private brand of products (such as soy sauce, flour, and dried food) are made with organic vegetables grown in their own farm, and, of course, many of the organic vegetables in the store are grown on their own farm as well. Nijiya tries to provide health-conscious foods to their customers.

As for bread, Nijiya also carries a private brand, Cherry Blossom, and offers mainly *shoku-pan* at the San Diego store. According to Sachiko, who is one of the interviewees for this research, the Japanese bakery called Cherry Blossom used to be in the city of Escondido, San Diego, but Nijiya purchased the bakery, and it now is affiliated with Nijiya. Their bread is sold as Nijiya private brand bread, Cherry Blossom. There are some kinds of Cherry Blossom *shoku-pan*, and most of the bread has “natural” in its name, which seems to be health-oriented just like the other available products at the store. They also have tofu and sesame *shoku-pan*, which seems to be healthy.

Nijiya sells not only Cherry Blossom brand bread but also bread shipped by the Japanese bakery called Cream Pan in Tustin, Orange County, California. Cream Pan's *shoku-pan*, butter rolls, some sweet rolls such as *an-pan* and *melon-pan*, and other kinds of loaves are available at Nijiya. Cream Pan's bread is lined up next to Cherry Blossom bread on the shelf. Some perishable sweet rolls and pastries are also available in the refrigerated section, lined up with cakes. There are fewer varieties than are available at the original bakery in Tustin, but customers can get fresh bread baked at the local retail shop without going all the way to Tustin, which takes at least an hour from San Diego.

Since only *shoku-pan* and other kinds of loaves are made as Cherry Blossom bread, Nijiya adds to its variety by providing sweet rolls imported from Japan. Ikeda Pan sweet rolls, D-Plus Natural yeast sweet rolls, and Daiich Pan sweet rolls are available. All rolls are factory-made and last a long time. Compared with Cherry Blossom and Cream Pan breads, which last only a couple of days, D-Plus Natural yeast sweet rolls last 60 days when sealed. Sweet rolls are generally made with *anko*, chocolate, and custard cream, but those are not perishable since the stuffing is baked with bread; however, no *sōzai-pan* are available because they are perishable and hard to import from Japan. To resolve this issue, Nijiya makes *curry-pan*, *pirozhkis,*[20] and *an-donuts*[21] at the kitchen inside the store and serves them warm by keeping them in the steamer.

Other than freshly made *curry-pan*, *pirozhkis*, and *an-donuts*, all the breads at Nijiya are packaged and labeled with packing and expiration dates. Depending on the date and time when

[20] *Pirozhkis* are the baked or fried buns with a variety of fillings originally in eastern European countries such as Russia and Ukraine. Japanese *pirozhkis* are usually deep-fried and have boiled eggs, sautéed onions, and bean thread noodles.

[21] *An-donuts* are similar to *an-pan*, with red bean paste is as its filling; however, buns are deep-fried like donuts, and sugar is generally sprinkled on the outside of the buns.

you get the bread off the shelves, some might be half-frozen since all the breads are shipped in a refrigerated container from Orange County or Japan, which means the bread needs to be frozen so it will not go bad. Including healthy Japanese bread, Japanese bread from the local Japanese bakery, Japanese sweet rolls from Japan, and freshly made Japanese rolls, many kinds of Japanese bread are available at Nijiya, but because of a lack of freshness and variety, they seem not to satisfy Japanese customers.

Mitsuwa Marketplace largely sells Japanese food products, but it also carries daily necessities such as cosmetics, pots and pans, and electronics. In front of the store, there is a food court where customers can enjoy a variety of Japanese food. In the San Diego store, there is a ramen shop and *washoku* restaurant, but in Torrance and a couple of other stores, there is a bakery called Hamada-ya. In the San Diego Mitsuwa branch, customers can find Hamada-ya bread in the baked goods section.

Hamada-ya's main bakery is in Tokyo. There are a few branches in Tokyo and now in the U.S. In Torrance and other stores that have kitchens, they make bread inside the store, but the bread customers can get in San Diego is shipped from Torrance. Since there's only one section available for Hamada-ya bread, there are fewer kinds of bread in San Diego. There is no refrigerator for bread, so there are no perishable bread or rolls available. The popular rolls such as *an-pan*, *cream-pan*, *and melon-pan* can be found, but most of the breads are *shoku-pan*, loaves, and breads that don't contain perishable ingredients.

In the other section of baked goods in the San Diego Mitsuwa, D-Plus Natural yeast sweet rolls, Kobo sweet rolls, Daiichi sweet rolls, and King's Hawaiian sweet rolls and bread, which are factory-made, are available. The varieties are similar to Nijiya, and there are only

sweet rolls with sweet fillings such as *anko*, chocolate, and cream. Different from Nijiya, Hawaiian sweet rolls are available in Mitsuwa. Hawaiian sweet rolls and bread are soft and moist, which the Japanese prefer, so they seem to be sold at the Japanese markets.

Like at Nijiya, both Hamada-ya and factory-made bread and rolls are pre-packaged and labeled with expiration dates. Similar to Cream Pan breads at Nijiya, Hamada-ya breads are shipped from the city of Torrance; bread at the store is sometimes cold because it was in the refrigerator to keep it fresh. Unfortunately, customers cannot feel the "freshness" from the cold bread even though Hamada-ya bread is made locally. It is the same for pre-packaged Japanese bread, and it lacks "freshness" as bread, which should have good aroma and warmth. As with the Japanese breads at Nijiya, a lack of freshness and variety, especially for *sōzai-pan*, means Mitsuwa cannot satisfy the Japanese customers who crave true Japanese bread.

Lastly, Marukai Japanese Supermarket in San Diego is separated into three buildings. In the main building, similar to Nijiya and Mitsuwa, Marukai sells a variety of Japanese food products. In the second building can be found Japanese daily necessities such as cosmetics, electronics, and stationary. In the third building, more Japanese daily necessities are available along with many Hawaiian food products. In the main building that sells food, customers can purchase some products at a lower price if they have a yearly membership.

Like the other markets, Marukai doesn't sell fresh bread. Inside the main building there is a bakery section next to the cashier, and in the back is a refrigerator with some bread available. In the front bakery section, D-Plus Natural yeast sweet rolls can be found along with bread from Yamazaki bakery in Little Tokyo, Los Angeles. The variety of bread from Yamazaki bakery is similar to that of Cream Pan and Hamada-ya bakery: popular rolls such as *an-pan*,

cream-pan, *melon-pan;* and loaves of *shoku-pan* are available. In the back refrigerator, perishable rolls, sweets such as puddings, and (different from other bakeries) some *sōzai-pan* such as *yakisoba-pan* are available. Those rolls are from MamMoth bakery in Torrance, Orange County.

Even though Marukai carries *sōzai-pan*, which other markets don't have, their breads are in a similar condition to the ones at the other markets. All the breads come either from Japan or from the Los Angeles area, and all are pre-packaged and labeled with expiration dates. The "freshness" of bread is hard to find in this condition. Marukai orders bread from two different local bakeries, but the varieties are still limited because of their nature as bakery-made bread. There are fewer preservatives used for bakery-made bread, so it doesn't last long. Since the refrigerator for bread is small at Marukai, they cannot provide a variety of perishable bread. As with Nijiya and Mitsuwa, Marukai has some difficulties offering "fresh" bread in multiple varieties.

Since Japanese markets in San Diego have to import bread from Japan and obtain bread from bakeries in the Los Angeles area, bread cannot be as "fresh" as the kind customers can get at Hamada-ya, Cream Pan, and MamMoth main bakeries. In terms of the variety, it is less than the main bakeries because the space for bakery sections in Japanese markets is limited and it is hard to provide many kinds of bread. As for perishable rolls, there isn't enough space for bread in any of the stores' refrigerators. It takes time for shipping, so it is difficult to keep perishable rolls fresh as well. The bakery sections at Japanese markets are the closest places where Japanese customers can find some Japanese bread in San Diego whenever they really miss bread and want to eat it, but is the lack of freshness and variety makes it hard to satisfy their

appetite entirely, which is why the bakery sections don't work as a substitute for regular bakeries, and Japanese people need to make it on their own if they want to have truly Japanese bread.

Figures 9-12. Bakery sections at Japanese supermarkets: Bread from Cream Pan Bakery at Nijiya (upper left); Bread imported from Japan at Nijiya (lower left); Bread from Hamada-ya Bakery at Mitsuwa (upper right); Bread imported from Japan at Mitsuwa (lower right). **Photos by Sachiko Bayne.**

CHAPTER 3: KAWANO BREAD BAKING CLASS

Even though Japanese bread is available at some stores in San Diego, it doesn't seem to be enough to satisfy their desire for Japanese bread, owing to its lack of freshness and variety. I then discovered there are at least three Japanese bread baking lessons taught by Japanese women in San Diego. The first baking class I visited is the Kawano Bread Baking Class. As I described in the Introduction, while searching for Japanese friends on the Japanese website "San Diego Town.com," I found Ayumi Kawano, who owns Kawano Bread Baking Class. To become acquainted with her, I took classes with Ayumi starting in late November 2014. After explaining my project during the first class, Ayumi kindly told me that she would like to support my research. I still did not know much about home baking at this time, so I decided to take a couple of more lessons from her both to learn the baking processes and to get to know her better. In class I met some students who also studied baking with Ayumi. When I started talking about my research, most of them were eager to help me as well. Based on the support of Ayumi and her four students—Naomi Chuang, Chiaki Lewis, Yamada Shūko, and Junko Graham— this chapter shows how the baking lessons work to fulfill their appetite for Japanese bread and their lives in the United States.

As a folklorist who is interested in exploring performance as "a living phenomenon" (Abrahams 1988, 71), I observed some lessons to understand the pattern of the baking lessons. Since I myself took a few lessons from Ayumi, I am able to write the pattern from my own experience; however, as a participant, there is a danger of being "subjective" instead of "objective." To avoid subjectivity, I attended some lessons not as a student but as an observer.

The description of the baking lessons is based on the notes I took as an onlooker from February to March 2015.

I also conducted an official interview with Ayumi in order to understand what made her offer Japanese baking lessons in San Diego. I then interviewed the four students mentioned above to find their motivation to learn bread baking. Listening intently to the informants and writing their voices by incorporating direct quotations for each person—that is, writing straightforward as an informational report—supports the nature of folkloristic ethnographies. I incorporated as many direct quotations as possible in this and the following two chapters to express the real voices of these informants. I conducted the interviews in Japanese, but I translated their voices into English with a tone as close to their own as I could.

Baking Lessons in Kawano Bread Baking Class

Kawano Ayumi started teaching Japanese bread baking at her apartment in October 2014, a few months after she moved to San Diego. Ayumi limits her students to women or couples because she feels it is safer that way. Since she doesn't speak English fluently, she also limits the students to Japanese people, but she tries to offer lessons to English speakers as well if they are with other Japanese people who speak English well so they can translate. I have met a few students since I started observing the Kawano Bread Baking Class, and, practically speaking, the most of the students are either pregnant or have small children. Ayumi usually offers lessons on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. Those days are the days Ayumi does not take her little son, Leo, out to library for story time. Since the days opened for lessons are during the week, students are usually limited to housewives. In addition, Ayumi's posts on the

San Diego Town.com website indicate that she has a little son, which seems to attract Japanese women who are not only interested in baking but also are looking for playdates or friends for their children.

Every lesson starts at 10:00 a.m. and ends around noon, so the lesson itself takes only two hours. Ayumi offers lessons mostly in the morning because Leo takes his nap in the afternoon, but Ayumi offers lessons in the afternoon from 1:00 p.m. to 3:00 p.m. if students not able to attend in the morning. However, Ayumi tries to teach lessons that fit her schedule, or, to be exact, Leo's schedule. Students usually come to Ayumi's apartment a little before ten. Ayumi welcomes them with Leo at the entrance of the apartment, and students change their shoes to the slippers Ayumi offers. Some students come to Ayumi's lessons with their children so, after changing shoes, Ayumi and the students try to make all the children play together. Since Ayumi lives in a two-bedroom apartment, which does not hold many people, she limits the students usually two to three adults per lesson. However, there are no limits in terms of children, so students come to Ayumi's even with babies. During lessons, babies or children sometimes cry, but since Ayumi herself is a mother, she can take care of them while students are working on bread making. If babies cry for milk, students can give milk to their babies even during lessons. Ayumi's lesson is stress free, especially for mothers with small children.

After placing their bags on the floor and letting children play with Leo, students take out their aprons from their bags and put them on. Then they go to the kitchen to wash their hands. On the dining table, the baking materials with Ayumi's handwritten recipe are already set. The "ABC Cooking Studio" logo is on both the pastry board and the dough scrapers. All the ingredients for bread are already measured by Ayumi. There are two bowl sets: (A) has bread

flour, yeast, and sugar; (B) contains the same amount of bread flour as (A) and has salt. The first stage is to pour pre-warmed water into an (A) bowl and mix with a wooden spatula. When the air bubbles appear, students pour the mixture from the (B) bowl into the (A) bowl and mix it a few times to make a dough. After roughly making dough in the (A) bowl, students place the dough on the pastry board. This process is obvious from the recipe on the table, but Ayumi usually explains everything orally, and students act following her direction. Ayumi explains all the processes to the students later by using the recipe to avoid wasting time. Time is very important in making bread because of the nature of yeast. If bread rises too much due to the action of the yeast, the bread would taste too sour and be ruined.

The next stage is kneading. She teaches two types of hand-kneading: V-shape kneading and pounding. V-shape kneading is the technique to knead bread dough into a V-shape; different from beating, it is a soft way to knead bread. Ayumi tells the students to start kneading the dough using V-shape kneading, and then change to beating when the dough is still sticky. After they are finished kneading the dough, Ayumi teaches the students how to tell when the dough is ready to proceed to the stage of first rising. According to Ayumi, when you can see your fingers through the stretched dough, it is ready to let the dough sit for the first rising.

When the dough is ready for the first rising, Ayumi tells the students to put the dough in the empty (A) bowl. Ayumi wraps the bowl with saran wrap and sets up the timer for 25 minutes. Ayumi usually sets the bowls in the pre-heated oven to make the dough rise quickly, or, if the temperature inside or on the balcony is warm enough, she places the bowls wherever she thinks it is warm enough to make the dough rise in 25 minutes or so. While waiting for the

dough to be ready for the next step, Ayumi explains all the steps orally to the students, but this time they look at the recipe together. When the students are newcomers, it takes a longer time to explain all the processes so time passes quickly for the next step; however, it does not take that much time to explain to the students who have come before because most of the processes for the bread she teaches follow similar steps, and students are able to understand quickly. Even when it takes time for new comers to hear detailed explanations, there is always time for a small talk. Students introduce themselves during this waiting time, and sometimes children come to them for something, so this is also a time for students to take care of their children. When the timer rings, Ayumi brings the bowl back to the students, and she tells them to put a small amount of bread flour on the tip of their index fingers and make a hole in the center of the dough. This process is called “finger test,” which allows you to determine if the dough is ready for the next step of releasing some air from the dough by pushing a couple of times with your fist.

Ayumi tells the students to divide the dough with a plastic scraper a certain number of times, which depends on what students are making. They roll each chunk of dough into round balls. To divide the dough, Ayumi tells the students to cut it at a rough estimate to make each ball around the same amount, and then to place the dough balls on the baking pan. Ayumi has already placed the silicone baking mat on the baking pan. After placing the dough balls on the baking pan, Ayumi covers the pan with a wet cloth and lets the dough sit for five minutes; this process is called bench time.

The next process is shaping. First Ayumi demonstrates, using one of the students’ dough, how to release air from the dough roll it into a ball again, and place the balls back on the baking

pan. Students then follow Ayumi's direction and finish this process on their own. Once all the dough balls are back to the baking pan, Ayumi covers the pan again with a wet cloth and lets it sit for 20-25 minutes, which is the process of second rising. Ayumi checks the dough balls to see if they are twice the size as the dough was right before rising. Students don't have to determine if the dough is ready. Even though Ayumi shows the dough to the students, she is in charge of checking the dough. Students are basically done with bread making at this point so they start talking each other and taking care of their children.

When Ayumi thinks the dough is ready, she places it in the oven. The oven is always pre-heated by Ayumi, usually before the second rising. Everybody waits for the bread to be ready, which is usually about 10 minutes or so, but this also depends on the kinds of bread students have made. Everybody seems to be very excited during this waiting time, and once they start smelling the aroma of bread from the oven, they become even more excited. It's the crowning moment of their labors. Ayumi periodically checks the oven to make sure the bread is not burnt. When the time is up, Ayumi takes the bread from the oven. Students sometimes clap their hands with excitement, and say "Looks yummy! Can't wait to taste it."

As the bread comes out of the oven, Ayumi places it on the baking rack to cool. At this time, students usually take pictures to record today's accomplishment. Even though students are excited to taste the fresh bread, Ayumi usually offers different types of bread to the students for tasting. Ayumi takes some frozen bread, which pre-baked by her, from the freezer, warms it up in the microwave, and serves it to the students and their children. According to Ayumi, this way students could develop an interest in taking another lesson by tasting different types of bread instead of tasting their achievement of the day. In addition, it is hard to taste the

bread just out of the oven because it is too hot. Ayumi also prepares tea or water infused with berries or other fruits so students can enjoy the tasting time as a light lunch.

Tasting time is usually around noon, so students are very hungry by the time the bread comes out of the oven so students appreciate whatever the bread Ayumi offers for them. Most of the time, a couple of students take the lessons and so the tasting time is not only time to eat, it is also time to chat. Students talk to each other even during lessons, but this tasting time seems to be the most enjoyable time for students not only to enjoy eating but to get to know new people and to exchange information about things such as daycare, schools, and Japanese language education. Ayumi gives students an opportunity to become friends with each other during lunch time, which also allows her to build a personal relationship with students.

When the bread cools down, the lunch time is usually over. It is at around 1:00 p.m. or so. It doesn't go after 1:00 p.m. or so because Leo becomes tired. Ayumi gives students sealable bags for bread. They then pay for the lesson, which is normally twenty-five dollars, after which they change their shoes again at the entrance, leave the apartment, and the lesson finally ends.

Although it varies depending on the kinds of bread being made and the processes used, each lesson usually takes two hours. Ayumi explained this two-hour timeframe as follows: "It's because I want students to make bread at home. I want to make them familiar with bread baking so I try to minimize the time to two hours." Ayumi basically follows the recipe from ABC Cooking Studio, where she got certified officially so she can teach under its name. ABC Cooking schools are usually located in large shopping malls all over Japan and are popular especially among young women who want to prepare for future marriage and life as housewives. The two-hour lesson strategy is also what Ayumi had learned at ABC Cooking Studio based on their

recipe. Ayumi teaches students how to make bread by hand using what she had learned at the ABC Cooking Studio. Even though Ayumi heavily relies on the Studio's recipe and techniques, she makes a hand-written recipe (complete with illustration) for her lessons, which makes her baking class original.

Ayumi also changes ingredients from the original recipe because ingredients she can get in the U.S. are different from the ones in Japan. When I asked Ayumi if she brought her ingredients from Japan, she said,

> I do buy ingredients here in San Diego. I try to use the ingredients I can get easily at the local supermarkets because students have to prepare the same ones as my lessons, and I don't think it's a good idea to use ingredients that are hard to get. I use the ingredients which everybody can get easily…

By claiming how easily students can get ingredients for baking, Ayumi encourages students to bake at home with the easy-to-follow recipe. This way students also feel that baking is more accessible. However, no matter how simple bread baking is, Ayumi's baking class is held in such a homey atmosphere at a small apartment where students, especially mothers, can feel safe and comfortable even with small children. Ayumi's class seems to be a starting point for students to be able to share their "expectant mother" experience with others as well. Bread baking seems to be somewhat additional for students, but such a casual mood allows students to learn the simplicity of bread baking, which is the experience Ayumi wants create for her students.

Figure 13. Students (Naomi [left] and Chiaki) placing the dough on the baking sheet on February 6, 2015.

Figure 14. Kawano Ayumi, the instructor (right) showing Junko how to place cookie dough onto bread dough to make *melon-pan* on March 6, 2015.

Interviews with the Instructor and the Students

Kawano Ayumi, Instructor

On February 6, 2015, I was allowed not only to observe the lesson but also to interview Ayumi. She is busy as a mother and as a baking instructor, but Ayumi arranged this day for me because the students on the day were the baby sitters for Ayumi's son, Leo, and she thought we could have a decent talk with no interruption.

We started to have a formal conversation a little after lunch. I observed the lessons for her students and baby sitters, Naomi and Chiaki, in the morning, and we all had lunch together after their lessons. Ayumi made wonderful lunch with some salad and *mochi*[22] made of daikon radish for us. It was just like "Jyoshi-kai," which means a girls- or women-only party, and we all enjoyed talking during lunch. After this enjoyable lunchtime, I intended to have an interview with Ayumi. Ayumi and I kept sitting next to each other on the same chairs we had occupied during lunch time to maintain the relaxed atmosphere of lunch so Ayumi wouldn't be nervous. In the background, a video tape of *Thomas the Train* was on for Leo to watch with his baby sitters, which also seemed to help her to feel less nervous.

Bread Preferences

In this casual atmosphere, I started the tape recorder. I began with questions about lessons and then moved to her preferences on Japanese bread. I first asked Ayumi to describe

[22] Rice cakes.

how she started bread baking and providing baking lessons in San Diego. Ayumi is a native of Tokyo, so she talked to me with no regional accent but with standard Japanese. She spoke casually as she said, “The reason why I started to teach baking is… when I first came to San Diego, I realized how much I missed Japanese bread so I baked bread for myself. One day I bought some bread for the potluck party with *mama tomo*,[23] and they all liked my bread. They then asked me to teach them how to make bread, which was the start.”

Ayumi is certified by ABC Cooking Studio. She started by taking the basic bread course at ABC Cooking Studio in Tokyo and eventually finished the advanced course. After passing the exam, Ayumi finally obtained certification from the school. Ayumi had a job as an international promoter at a design company, so even though she was certified, she did not teach any lessons except for her friends. In Japan, Baking bread was just a hobby for Ayumi.

I asked Ayumi what kinds of bread she has been teaching and if there are some differences in terms of students’ preferences between Japan and the U.S. Ayumi first said, “To be honest, interestingly, hard bread using rye was popular among my friends in Japan.” She then continued:

> Fluffy, silky, and springy bread are popular among students here. I personally preferred hard bread in Japan, but it is difficult to get fluffy bread here in the U.S. so I guess that is why students want to make such kinds of fluffy bread.

[23] In Japan, mothers have two categories of friends: their personal friends and so-called *mama tomo*, which literally means mothers’ friends. *Mama tomo* are the ones who are usually made only for the purpose of making playdates for their children, not as personal friendship.

Ayumi characterized the popular bread for her lessons: "Soft and fluffy bread such as *an-pan*, *melon-pan*, *cream-pan*, and *choko-korone*[24] are the most popular ones." Ayumi did not bake such so-called Japanese bread when she was in Japan because those are all available at the store anywhere. Ayumi then started talking about how she adjusted the lessons based on students' requests:

> For the first lesson, I recommend for every student to take the dinner rolls lesson to understand the basic technique of bread baking so they'll see that they can make bread even with a few ingredients, and then… At first, in fact, I thought it might be good to offer lessons in order… like the an-pan lesson to learn how to wrap, and this lesson to learn how to make that shape… But, students didn't think that way. Instead of studying baking seriously, many students just simply wanted to eat an-pan, cream-pan, or melon-pan. Then I thought I shouldn't force them to learn like I did at school, but based on their desires.

According to Ayumi, The students who come to her baking lessons are starving for Japanese bread. Japanese bread seems to be one of the necessities for those people. Ayumi then recalled when she came to San Diego a year ago and described how her preferences for bread changed since she left Japan:

> In Japan, I never thought it would be interesting to bake Japanese bread. You can get good melon-pan anywhere, even at convenience stores, because it takes time to bake

[24] As I explained in Chapter 1, *korone* are buns like cream horn. *Choko-korone* are buns filled with chocolate cream.

> Japanese bread. I have learned how to bake Japanese bread at school, but most of the time I baked baguette or white bread.

Ayumi continued to speak, remembering the past:

> Oh, I didn't bake cream-pan either… But, I really missed an-pan when I came to the U.S. Wanna eat an-pan, wanna eat an-pan…I kept craving it, but I couldn't go to Japanese markets because I cannot drive, and it's far. I cannot get red bean paste at local supermarkets nearby, so I bought a can of black beans, made bean paste, and baked an-pan. It's pretty good! I really liked an-pan in Japan. I basically prefer hard bread, but I crave fluffy bread here. Japanese bread is really fluffy and moist. It doesn't mean I don't like American bread, but Japanese bread is "Japanese food." Something special.

Ayumi's preference for bread has changed since she moved to the U.S. Once she realized that the typical Japanese breads—fluffy and moist breads—are not available where she lives, she started to crave them just like her students. Since Ayumi doesn't have access to Japanese supermarkets for *anko* and other ingredients for bread or even *an-pan*, her craving for this specific bread, *an-pan*, led her to make her version of *an-pan* with a black bean paste fillings. Her creation of *an-pan* is slightly different from the ones she knows, but as a substitute for the original, she seemed to be satisfied. However, this explains that Japanese bread is so special to Ayumi that she cannot do without it. Even as Ayumi declared, Japanese bread as Japanese food is something special for her, and it is one food product she can make to feel

connected to her native country. Japanese bread is not just something to eat but something that reminds her of Japan.

Motherhood and the Necessity of Home Baking

During our interview, Naomi and Chiaki were watching Leo by playing with some toys. Leo seemed to be happy most of the time, but he came to us whenever he remembered his mother. Holding Leo, Ayumi started to mention how his preferences for bread reflect her baking as well as bread purchasing:

> I have baked many kinds of bread to feed my son, but he seems to like to have fluffy bread… so I guess I like to bake fluffy bread [here in the US]. As I told you, I like to eat such bread here because only hard bread is available at the store… But, when I don't bake bread at home, I try to pay extra attention to the ingredients of the bread [before purchasing]. I can't help but check if there's something weird in the bread or what is used to make the bread. I really like the bread made from simple ingredients.

As a mother, Ayumi tries to offer the safest ingredients to her son as much as she can. Her baking reveals a passion for Japanese motherhood. I will explain this point about motherhood more in Chapter 6, but basically, in Japan, when women get married, it is natural to become housewives to support their husbands and protect their families. Housewives are in charge of everything about the home, housework, and especially child rearing and education.

Once a child is born, Japanese women are expected to become not only good wives but also good mothers, according to the nationally respected concept of “good wife and wise mother.” Japanese mothers are then naturally required to give priority to their children. Such Japanese motherhood has been ingrained in Ayumi’s heart, and so she has tried to do her best for her family in order to fulfill her role as a Japanese wife and mother. Because it is very important for her to be a good Japanese mother, she hopes for her students to consider Japanese motherhood through her lessons:

> I really want students to enjoy baking at first, but I also want them to learn the importance of food practice… like trying not to eat processed foods and making food by your own hands at home. As you know, dinner rolls are made with very simple ingredients… so I want them to know how simple the ingredients are that bread is made out of in my lessons. You can find similar dinner rolls at the store, but when you look at the label, you can find a long list of ingredients… it means, the bread is made by all kinds of whatever, and contains many things.

Through her baking lessons, as an extension of housework, Ayumi believes that students are able to satisfy their roles as married Japanese women in order to protect their families from the unhealthy food. This is the reason why Ayumi appeals to the students' of the necessity of home baking as a mother. This appeal also makes Ayumi work hard on writing and illustrating recipes by hand. As Ayumi explains:

> I can write recipes only by letters, but if you try to bake bread at home reading such recipes, you may have difficulty. I really want the students to bake bread at home. It takes time to write recipes including illustrations, but I like to write this way, especially paying attention to the process in which students may make mistakes.

Her recipes are detailed and easy to follow even for beginners. Ayumi spends so much time writing recipes because she thinks it wants to help her students to easily bake at home for their families. Her love as a Japanese mother can be seen through her recipes. She spends time to make recipes before writing as well. She usually tries to bake bread at least a couple of times or more. This also helps her students bake bread without difficulties for their loved ones. Ayumi attempts to represent the importance to be a “Japanese” mother from various angles.

Considering her daily schedule, it is obvious that she works hard on her baking lessons in order to fulfill the role of mother and instructor. The preparation for a baking lesson starts from the previous night. After her son goes to bed at around nine or ten o'clock, Ayumi starts to measure flour, water, yeast, and all the ingredients needed for baking. She gets up at around 7:00 a.m., cleans the dining table, and places all the baking sets on the table to get ready for the lessons. After the lesson is over, she cleans the table and dishes and goes to the park with her son. Leo takes a nap around three, which is when Ayumi practices baking as well as prepares dinner. They eat dinner at six o'clock or so, after which she takes a shower (at seven or eight) and sends Leo to bed.

Ayumi is busy as a mother, obviously, but as she said, "(Baking) is a part of my life… it's not something special." Smiling, she continued, "I feel really happy when my students ask me questions after baking at home." Baking for her family helps fill Ayumi's life with happiness. Additionally, as someone who teaches baking to many mothers, Ayumi believes that students notice what is important in being a "Japanese" mother—feeding the family the best food as she can. Homemade bread is one of the best foods because it is made by a mother with love and effort.

Making Connections

Ayumi finds happiness through baking for her son and offering lessons for her students because baking and Japanese motherhood are intertwined; students should be pleased with what Ayumi does for them as well. However, the Kawano Bread Baking Class is not just a place to learn baking and feeling joy through it but also a place to build personal connections. When I asked Ayumi what makes her feel good about baking lessons, she said,

> I have made a lot of acquaintances or friends through lessons. I also feel so delighted when I see students become friends with one another. For myself, I couldn't make any friends in the first three months when I moved here. I cannot drive… so even if I received messages through San Diego Town.com to become friends, I couldn't go see them. I was so depressed back then, but I realized that they could come to my place. When I started baking lessons, many people came

to my place. I really think my place or baking lessons has become a center for Japanese women to make connections, which makes me happy. I hope this continues.

Ayumi is satisfied with what she started for herself but also with helping students to be a part of Japanese community. Ayumi started teaching baking due to her *mama tomo*, and now Ayumi has many of them through her lessons; students also find personal connections with other students in class by baking, eating, and chatting together.

Ayumi also mentioned that it has become easy for her to find friends for her son because many of her students have small children, too. Her babysitters, Naomi and Chiaki, were pregnant, and both of them expected to have girls soon. They think that their girls would be playdates for Leo. I believe that they will become so, especially after seeing how Leo played with Naomi and Chiaki when my interview with Ayumi finished. The Kawano Bread Baking Class is a setting where children can make friends as well.

Figure 15. Kawano Ayumi, Instructor at Kawano Bread Baking Class.

Naomi Chuang and Chiaki Lewis

On the day I interviewed Ayumi, I had a chance to talk to her students and baby sitters, Naomi and Chiaki, while we were having lunch together. They were both pregnant, married to American citizens, and planned to live in San Diego for life. They saw the advertisement at San Diego Town.com mentioning that students can take free bread making lessons if they work as a babysitter for Ayumi's son. Since Naomi and Chiaki are both soon-to-be-mothers, they became interested in coming to Ayumi's lessons primarily for babysitting but also for bread baking as an additional pastime.

While enjoying the lunch Ayumi offered us, Naomi and Chiaki introduced themselves to me. Naomi and I had taken a prior lesson together with Ayumi, so we knew each other, but it was the first time I met Chiaki. Since I had had a casual conversation with both of them before lunch, while they were learning bread baking from Ayumi, Naomi and Chiaki started to talk about themselves very outspokenly and casually.

Naomi first came to the United States as part of a study abroad program. Her husband had been relocated to San Diego for his work, and they were married in 2016. Chiaki, who is originally from Yokohama, also came to the U.S. for study abroad. Chiaki has been in San Diego for four years, including her schooldays. Naomi and Chiaki are still fairly new to San Diego. Ayumi is also new to San Diego, and since thee of them are in the same generation, they seem to be good friends already. Since I had interviewed Naomi and Chiaki while having lunch, Ayumi was also listening to us and Ayumi sometimes joined our conversation.

Preference and Peculiarity of Japanese Bread

To begin our conversation, I asked Naomi and Chiaki their preference in bread and then moved to questions about bread baking.

Naomi: Soft and fluffy bread.

Chiaki: Me, too. I also like bread that has crunchy crust such as the dinner rolls we baked for the first lesson. The crust should be crunchy, but the crumb should be soft and fluffy.

Naomi: Yes, but I see a lot of Americans don't eat crust.

Chiaki: I know. They don't eat the crust of the pizza.

Naomi: I really like the crust. I like the smell of the crust, and I also like the chewiness of the crust.

Naomi and Chiaki seem to prefer bread that has "soft and fluffy" crumb, which many of Ayumi's students hope to be taught to bake. There are no exceptions, but they also like the crunchiness of the crust. However, in Chapter 1, when I was discussing the peculiar texture of Japanese bread, "crunchiness" is one of the top preferred textures of the bread for the Japanese. Naomi and Chiaki seem to like the kind of bread preferred by most Japanese people.

Naomi and Chiaki then continued their conversation by discussing the reasons for their preference. Ayumi joined their conversation:

Chiaki: I still buy bread at Costco. My husband takes sandwiches made with the Costco loaves containing all kinds of grains to work for lunch.

Naomi: Are those the ones you can also get at a regular supermarket? Before purchasing a bread machine, I used to buy such kinds of loaves, but I didn't think it was tasty. I feel there's something peculiar in Japanese bread.

Chiaki: It's springy.

Naomi: It is…. It's also thick, and again, bread crust of Japanese bread is very tasty. I really miss the crust. The crust of American bread is not chewy like Japanese bread. The crumb of the bread is too dry. The bread I bake with a bread machine is better, but I still think it's different from the ones I can get in Japan… Don't you think the texture the Japanese look for is different from the one the foreigners look for?

Ayumi: I agree.

Naomi: For example, foreigners don't like sticky rice, but Japanese people love sticky rice. Japanese people also love *mochi*, but foreigners don't.

Ayumi: I heard from my friend that her American husband ate *mocha*, screaming, "I'm dying, I'm dying."

Naomi: I have no idea why it's so different…

Chiaki: I guess we have a very peculiar food tradition. Ramen noodles originally came from China, but we have incorporated it into our food and changed it in our own way.

Ayumi: I think it's because Japan is an island country. Just like Japanese cell phones… it's called "Galápagosization,"[25] and we Japanese people have developed things in a unique way. Our food tradition is similar to this phenomenon. When I was in Japan, bread was foreign food, but once I started living outside of Japan, it became Japanese food to me. Japanese bread is one of the Japanese foods…

Naomi, Chiaki, and Ayumi mentioned the distinctive and similar texture—"stickiness"—of both Japanese rice and Japanese bread during their conversation. As I described in Chapter 1,

[25] Galápagosization, or Galápagos Syndrome, is a term of Japanese origin, which refers to an isolated development branch of a globally available product.

it is true that Japanese bread and rive have a similar texture because Japanese bread was a substitution for rice, and the Japanese needed to make bread like rice in the past. Naomi, Chiaki, and Ayumi confirm the idea from Chapter 1 that Japanese people, including themselves, prefer springy and chewy bread to American bread, which is crumbling. Naomi and Chiaki chose the bread similar to the texture of rice without noticing.

Chiaki and Ayumi also perceived the adaptation of foreign foods to be related to the peculiarity of Japanese bread. Ayumi thinks that bread itself is something foreign, but once it was made for the Japanese, it became "Japanese." Their conversation about Japanese bread was very impressive, and they seemed to figure out the reasons why they look for Japanese bread abroad by themselves. American bread is not "Japanese" enough due to its different texture. Japanese bread is made for the Japanese, and because Naomi, Chiaki, and Ayumi are Japanese who grew up with bread of its peculiar texture (i.e., a springy, chewy, and crunchy crust), it is natural that they cannot accept the different types of bread easily.

After listening to their understanding of Japanese bread for the Japanese, I asked Naomi and Chiaki what Japanese bread means to them. Naomi and Chiaki answered like this:

> Naomi: I wasn't aware of it before coming to the U.S. because Japanese bread was available anywhere in Japan. I now have a feeling of appreciation for it, and I'm also proud of it. Bread is one of the foods the Japanese should be proud of.

> Chiaki: I used to consider bread only as breakfast or lunch. I now think Japanese bread is a tasty meal. It's hard to explain, but my mom likes bread so Japanese

bread was always available at home. Conversely, I don't have to have (American) bread here…

Naomi is proud of the peculiarity of Japanese bread, and it is something she thinks feels natural and close to her. Chiaki see it the same as Naomi. Chiaki doesn't feel close to American bread, so she doesn't have to have it regularly. Japanese bread is something that helps Naomi and Chiaki recall "Japan," its history and tradition.

The Ultimate Goal of Bread Baking

After learning what Naomi and Chiaki think of Japanese bread, I finally asked them about baking. Naomi and Chiaki's initial reason for coming to Ayumi's lessons was babysitting, but since they have started learning to bake, I wondered if they noticed something interesting about baking Japanese bread by themselves:

Chiaki: I really enjoy baking. I have never baked before so I'm just so impressed with the fact that I can bake bread by myself. In terms of coming to Ayumi's lessons, I like chatting as well.

Naomi: [Bread baking is] the thing I have started since I came to the U.S.

Chiaki: Me too. The bread we bake at Ayumi's doesn't contain any preservatives… I will have a baby girl soon, so I want to be careful with it.

Naomi: I agree. It is safe.

Chiaki: My husband has never had Japanese bread before. He always says, "I've never had such good bread before." He lived in Japan when he was a child due to his dad's work at the Navy, but they lived in the military base so he had never tasted it before I started baking for him.

Naomi: I like baking bread not only for myself but for my family. I still don't think American bread is tasty, so I myself want to eat [Japanese bread] but I also want to introduce it to my husband.

Once Naomi and Chiaki started bread baking by themselves, they did so not only for themselves but also for their families. Naomi and Chiaki feel safe making bread on their own and giving it to their families as wives and expectant mothers, which matches the hopes Ayumi described when I interviewed her: she hopes them will understand the safety of baking on your own in order to protect a family and satisfy the role of a Japanese wife and mother. Additionally, Naomi and Chiaki use Japanese bread to introduce their American husbands to their native country of Japan. As Naomi said, Japanese bread is something she is proud of, and Naomi and Chiaki try to teach Japanese food culture now to their American husbands through bread by

baking it at home. Naomi and Chiaki may continue baking Japanese bread at home soon for their daughters as well, which will help them to pass on Japanese foodways to their daughters. This way they will be able to meet the requirements or expectations as Japanese wives and mothers to educate children.

Figure 16. Students and the Instructor: Naomi Chuang (left); Kawano Ayumi, Instructor (middle); Chiaki Lewis (right)

Yamada Shūko

Shūko grew up in Tokyo and moved to San Jose when she was eighteen because of her father's work. After finishing college in Davis, California, Shūko moved around the States. She has lived in Indiana, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Arizona, and finally came to San Diego. She has lived in the States for more than twenty years. Unlike the other students I have interviewed, Shūko found the advertisement for Ayumi's baking class through *Mixi*, which is one of the biggest free online social networking services in Japan. Shūko has been baking bread with a bread machine, but she could only bake loaves. This limitation was fine with her for a while, but when she lived in Arizona she encountered *cream-pan* baked by a friend. This inspired her to bake more than loaves.

I met Shūko when I observed one of Ayumi's lessons in February, 2015. We had an opportunity to have a short talk with her. Shūko was busy on the day of the lesson, but she told me that she was willing to talk about her bread life with me later, and we finally met again in March at a small café. As a mother of a small son, she was busy on that day as well. As soon as Shūko came into the café, I started my tape recorder, and I began asking about her opinions on Japanese bread.

Japanese Bread, Nostalgia, and Relaxation

I first asked Shūko general questions about her hometown and the reason she was in the United States before asking about bread because I didn't have much time to get to know her in Ayumi's class. I then started to ask her general questions about bread, such as if she

purchases bread at the store and, if so, what kinds of bread she likes to buy. Shūko spoke very frankly:

> I have just recently purchased *shoku-pan* at Nijiya. The Cherry blossom brand *shoku-pan* and mocha bread. I have also bought *shoku-pan* and sweet rolls at 85 °C, but it was very sweet! It was all right, but so sweet that I didn't want to eat sweet rolls after a while… I like taro bread so I bought taro bread and chocolate rolls, but, again, they were too sweet. That's why I like to have Japanese sweet rolls, but it's hard to get them here.

The Cherry blossom brand bread is original to Nijiya, as discussed in Chapter 1. The 85 °C Bakery Café is Taiwanese and relatively new to San Diego. As an East Asian bakery, 85 °C serves a certain variety of fluffy and soft bread that many Japanese like. Even though the breads Shūko purchased were the ones made with her favorite ingredients, she wasn't satisfied with them because they were too sweet. Shūko didn't tell me much about the taste of the Cherry blossom bread, but she doesn't seem to be satisfied with it, either, because she concluded her speech with how hard it is to get "Japanese" sweet rolls. As I described in Chapter 1, it is hard to find variety Nijiya, so I assumed that Shūko went to 85 °C to look for something different. She realized that Japanese sweet rolls shouldn't be too "sweet," and what sweetness it has should be subtle; however, it was still not clear to me what makes bread Japanese in Shūko's opinion besides its subtle sweetness. According to Ayumi, some of her students started craving Japanese bread when they realize that they cannot find any near them. I then asked Shūko

when she feels like having Japanese bread to see if time is important. She told me the following:

> When I get hungry, I look for a place to eat for lunch. When I look around outside, I can see Panda Express, Rubio's, and Subway… but I wish there's a place to get *curry-pan*. So, I wish 85 °C would sell *yakisoba-pan*. I expected that they would have one when I first went there, but I was sad when I found that they don't have one. All the rolls they sell are too sweet. They had tuna bread, which was ok, but I wish they would sell bread or rolls, which can substitute as meals. When I am busy in the morning, I wish I could buy rolls, which can be meals.

It seems that Taiwanese bakery sells "sweet" rolls, but what Shūko is looking for is *sōzai-pan*, which can be a meal itself. Additionally, she seems to look for variety in the bakery. She likes sweet rolls, but at the same time she is a fan of *sōzai-pan*. Shūko then confirmed her previous comments when I asked her what she likes about Japanese bread compared to American bread: "I really like the fluffiness of Japanese bread. I also like the varieties. The sweet rolls I can think of here in the States are croissants and muffins." Shūko then explained her preference on Japanese bread:

> Danishes and quiches are also available in the States, but I like potato rolls, which you can get only in Japan. When I was a teenager, my school offered

> bread from the bakery chain Hokuo.[26] Not every morning, but when I didn't bring my lunch to school, I liked to buy three or four rolls at the bakery with the 1000 yen my mom gave me. I guess it was twice a week, but I really enjoy choosing the rolls I liked to eat by myself. I also remember that the rolls I purchased on the way home… I would say it was one of the good memories of my youth, and enjoyment of my youth. I really liked the rolls of Hokuo bakery… it was really fluffy.

Just like Ayumi and other students, Shūko likes the fluffiness and variety of Japanese bread. They remind her of Japan. Shūko also told me stories of her youth related to bread. She does have good memories of bread in Japan, which may make it a nostalgic act for her to eat it, and so she longs for Japanese bread even though she has lived in the United States for a long time. Shūko then explained her feelings when she eats Japanese bread:

> I think it's a part of relaxation. I like to enjoy bread rolls with tea. I guess it's an enjoyment. One thing I always do in Japan is visit all kinds of bakeries. I'm really happy to go to Japanese bakeries. I like the moment that I can choose the ones I like from all kinds of various breads. I also like the politeness of the Japanese. At the cashier, they politely wrap up the rolls for me.

[26] There are at least forty Hokuo bakery shops operating in the Tokyo area.

Japanese bread is something that makes her feel comfortable, in addition to reminding her of Japan through its texture and variety. Further, not only the bread itself but also the service at the bakery feels "Japanese." The bread Shūko can get in the United States doesn't have enough of the "Japanese" quality she looks for in bread, which prompted her to make her own bread in order to feel satisfied.

Shūko starts to crave Japanese bread when she cannot find them close by—the convenience is important. Although she likes to eat Japanese bread, if it is not available near her, she makes sandwiches for lunch. She usually makes sandwiches with ham, tomatoes, cucumbers, and lettuce; however, the Vietnamese sandwiches are other options for her since her husband is Vietnamese. She likes to eat sandwiches with sardines and tomatoes, or sometimes with shrimp pastes, which are little stinky so she doesn't feel that Americans like them much.

Bread Baking, Enjoyment, and Hobby

After asking about her opinion about Japanese bread, I questioned Shūko about baking. I first asked her what kind of bread machine she uses and what kinds of bread she bakes. She replied, "Panasonic. When I was baking *shoku-pan*, I baked it at least twice a week." Shūko then added her baking methods and ingredients for her bread:

> I changed the ingredients sometimes. I made milk bread…what else…? Once I made with walnuts and raspberries, but it was kind of loud while the machine is

> mixing the dough with nuts. I then heard that the lacquer easily comes off if mixing with nuts so I stopped using nuts. Instead I now use raisins and made butter raisins bread.

Shūko uses a Japanese brand of bread machine. It is natural for her to get a Japanese one because she wants a Japanese bread with a fluffy texture. She didn't tell me if the bread she bakes is Japanese enough for her, but at least she seems to try to bake the kind of bread she would like with the machine. I then asked her the reason she got the machine and how long she has been using it.

> I think I've been using it for 6 months. A lot of my Japanese friends had bread machines, and they brought all sorts of rolls for playdates meetings, and I wanted it. That was when we were living in Arizona. I guess there was a place that you could get Japanese bread, but it was thirty or forty minutes away from the place we lived, so I decided to bake it myself.

As she told me before, "convenience" is key for Shūko. Japanese bread is something she should be able to get immediately when she wants it. Ayumi's apartment is not far away from where Shūko lives, so I wondered if the convenience was related to Shūko's choice to come to Ayumi's lessons. She said,

> I wanted to make sweet rolls. I'm not good with my hands, though. I was really impressed by the rolls my friends brought for playdates … The shape… *cream-pan*, sweet potato rolls… she decorated with sweet potatoes on the top of the rolls. I didn't think I could do it. It was art. Again, I didn't think I can do it, but I thought it might be ok if the taste is good.

Shūko had been baking loaves with a machine, but she wanted to make more than loaves. As she stated before, the reason Shūko likes Japanese bread is its texture and the variety. She is now looking for variety in the homemade bread. She had been to Ayumi's lessons twice when I met her, so Shūko had not learned much yet. When I asked her what she has learned so far from Ayumi, Shūko answered with a smile: "Probably kneading process? V-shape kneading and finger test? I also realized how easy bread baking is… it takes only two hours. I thought bread baking is hard before, but now I know how easy it is… so I'd like to make it at home when I finish house-moving." During the interview with Ayumi, she mentioned that she wants her students to know how easy home baking is, which Shūko seems definitely to learn from Ayumi. Shūko's desire for home baking was to bake Japanese bread easily and conveniently, and Ayumi's lessons definitely meet that goal. I finally asked Shūko what bread baking is for her since coming to Ayumi's lessons. She responded,

> I want to bake bread for enjoyment. I want to bake for relaxation. There's no spare time for myself because I have a child. I don't know how to make time for

myself though… but maybe I can make bread with my son. We can knead the dough together… that's my hope.

Shūko's whole idea for Japanese bread is fun. She likes to shop for her favorite bread in Japan, and here in the United States. Japanese bread is something she finds fun to eat and now after taking lessons bake too. She wishes to bake bread with her son in the future because baking Japanese bread is something she enjoys and probably it is something she wants to hand down to her son as Japanese like Naomi and Chiaki. Even though Shūko didn't specifically talk about her role as a Japanese mother, she noticed that Japanese bread is something that reminds her of Japan and being Japanese. By enjoying baking with her son, Shūko is attempting to express that unique attitude of being Japanese to her son as a Japanese mother, which she can see in the baking process and the bread itself.

Figure 17. Yamada Shūko

Junko Graham

Junko, a native of Tokyo, came to San Diego due to the relocation of her husband's job. Her husband had been serving in the Navy so she had already moved between Japan and the U.S. many times. Her first experience living in the United States was in North Carolina, where she started craving Japanese bread. Junko moved to Okinawa after North Carolina, then she moved back, to Alabama. Junko finally moved to San Diego in 2014.

Junko found out about Ayumi's lessons through the advertisement on San Diego Town.com just like Naomi and Chiaki. Junko wanted to learn lessons from Ayumi not only because of her curiosity about bread baking; she also wanted to support Ayumi's child rearing with her experience as a mother. Junko's children are already teenagers, so Junko has spare time for herself. She knows that there's only a little time for mothers who have small children, so she came to Ayumi's to help her with child care. In addition, she wishes to learn a hand kneading technique because she has been baking at home only with the use of a bread machine. Junko has been interested in all handmade baking since she failed making bread on her own.

I met Junko early in March 2015 at one of Ayumi's baking lessons. Ayumi had already told her about me and my research on Japanese bread, so the conversation with her was very smooth even though we were meeting each other for the first time. On the day I met her, Junko was taking a baking lesson. Since Junko was the only student in the lesson, she, Ayumi, and I spent the morning talking. It was Junko's second lesson, so she was following Ayumi's advice carefully. Following our introductions, I started my tape recorder and began asking Junko about baking experiences in her life.

Necessity, Local Procurement and Ingenuity

Our conversation started right after Junko got to work kneading the bread dough. She didn't seem to have any hesitation talking about herself. While she was working hard kneading dough by hand, I first asked Junko how she started baking in North Carolina, where she first lived in the U.S. I was sitting on a chair in front of her during her lesson, and Junko stood most of the time while she worked.

Junko told me, "I actually started baking with hand kneading. There was no decent bakery serving the bread I liked in North Carolina, at least when I was living there, so I started baking bread, but I failed."

Ayumi agreed with Junko and said, "I totally understand. It's hard. I was the same as you before learning to bake at school." Ayumi is now an instructor, but both of them had the shared experience of bread baking failure. I then asked Junko how she found her first bread recipe, and she said:

> I looked up the recipe in the book. Following the recipe, I placed the dough in a warm place outside for rising, and I also used wet towels on the dough to prevent it from getting dry, but I failed. Since then I have wanted for so long to make bread by hand. I wanted to make bread for my children. I like cooking and making anything… so I bought a bread machine at some point and made dough in the machine. With the dough I made in the machine, I made *curry-pan*, *an-pan*, and all the other rolls.

Junko re-emphasized the bread she made in the past and expanded by saying, “I made an-pan, curry-pan, rolls with corn, rolls with corn and mayonnaise, and deep-fried bread…and pizza type of rolls.”

Junko’s first failure of handmade bread baking brought her to Ayumi’s lessons, but she had already baked varieties of Japanese bread on her own with a bread machine. I was curious if Junko baked bread at home daily in North Carolina, and she said:

> Yeah, I guess. I honestly started craving Japanese bread in North Carolina, and I began bread baking in Okinawa in earnest. I started making a lot even though I was living in Japan. Baking is just so fun. I can use my favorite ingredients or fillings so I baked a lot even in Japan.

As Junko said before, she likes baking, so it looks like baking is not a necessity but an enjoyment, although it was a necessity for her when she lived in North Carolina. Craving was just a trigger for Junko to start baking. Junko began baking a lot in Okinawa, so I asked her if she still continued baking after moving to Alabama from Okinawa. Junko said,

> I couldn’t find any Japanese bread there, either. You know, if you are living abroad and craving for the food you can only get in your native country, you have to make it by yourself. It’s a must if you are living abroad. You become accustomed to it.

Junko had trouble finding Japanese bread in Alabama, but this time she knew what to do—bake bread on her own. She didn't know much about bread baking, but to be able to satisfy her appetite, she made an effort and has continued. I could see her strong will compensating for the loss of her favorite bread, not just asking for the moon.

Junko also the effort she put into bread baking when I asked her what kinds of bread she has been baking at home. Ayumi also joined our conversation again, remembering her past baking *an-pan*.

Junko: I used to make *an-pan* a lot.

Ayumi: How did you get *anko*?

Junko: I made it myself.

Ayumi: Were you able to get *anko*?

Junko: *Azuki* beans[27]… people might be able to get it in San Diego. You may be able to get even the paste around here, but I used to get the red beans… kidney beans… I soaked the beans for a day, and cooked the soaked beans for hours to make bean paste.

[27] Red beans are called *azuki* beans in Japanese, and they are used for making *anko*.

When I had a previously interviewed Ayumi, she also talked about craving *an-pan* and had to make it from scratch just like Junko. It seems that is the way when people cannot get the thing for which they are looking. They have to manage to make it by themselves to satisfy their appetite. Junko then shared with me her ingenious contrivance in bread baking to simplify and make varieties.

Junko: I bought molds for *korone*, but it takes time and effort to make it. I actually inserted banana cream into *korone*, which was my favorite.

Ayumi: Sounds yummy.

Junko: I made cream with instant products such as puddings you can get at the store. It takes time and effort to make *korone*, but I really wanted to eat it. This is an example, but I baked other breads because I craved them.

In Japan, *korone*'s regular flavors are chocolate or custard cream (see Chapter 1), but Junko seems to like thinking things out and generating her favorite cream with a use of local products. This elaboration is connected to the way Junko thinks of the fate of people who live in foreign countries. When I finally asked Junko what she learned from bread baking, she stated strongly:

> I gained knowledge in bread baking, but the most important thing is that I can actually make bread on my own if I need to. As I said before, it is what you really learn when you live in a foreign country. It's very convenient in San Diego because you can actually find Japanese markets, but there were no Japanese markets and even no Japanese people where I used to live, so I had to bake on my own and so I actually started baking bread. It was a necessity. I needed to bake because I craved it.

Junko has been felt the necessity of Japanese bread wherever she is. She also believes that craving or necessity generates creativity. As Junko says, in a foreign country, you cannot easily get the things with which you are familiar. You can have a substitute instead of craving for a particular thing, but she started to make her original substitute to fulfill her appetite. In the process, she created her version of *korone* with banana cream using local products. Strictly speaking, it might not be a "traditional" Japanese bread, but her banana cream *korone* is a hybrid of Junko's creativity and tradition.

Junko's craving for Japanese bread is, as Junko previously mentioned, also her children's craving for Japanese culture. When I asked what bread baking is for her, she said:

> Bread baking is… for myself? I would say for my family… it's a necessity. I have been lazy lately, but I want to bake for my children whenever they need it. Japanese bread here is not food you can go and get easily whenever you want it.

My children love to eat the bread I bake. They really enjoy it. I don't think I would bake it if my children didn't eat it. It's worth it to bake.

Junko's craving for Japanese bread was not only for herself but also for her children. As a mother, Junko does need Japanese bread to feed and please her children. I then wondered what she thinks of her American husband's reaction to her baking. Junko said, "I mainly bake for my children… but my husband likes the bread I bake, too. Whenever he finds the rolls with his favorite ingredients, he tries it, and he says, 'Delicious!'" It looks like Junko likes her husband's feedback for her bread, but she places more importance on her children's reactions.

Junko shared with me details about her children's lives as half-Japanese and half-American. As she says, her children basically grew up in the U.S., so they can barely speak Japanese; the words they can say are very simple words like "*oka-san* (mother), *arigato* (thank you), and *oishii* (delicious)," though they love Junko's version of Japanese bread. By listening to Junko's statement of her children's reactions to her bread, I assured myself that the Japanese bread Junko bakes seems to be one of her children's favorite Japanese foods. Junko then explained the reason why she thinks her children like Japanese bread: "It's not something you can get in the United States. It's also yummy." Junko's children don't understand much of the Japanese language, but they learn the taste of the Japanese from their mother. Japanese bread has been a necessity for Junko to fulfill her appetite and is sometimes a pastime, an activity in which she can enjoy her creativity; however, at the same time, as a Japanese mother, she tries to inform her children of their origin by offering Japanese bread to them.

Peculiarity of Japanese Bread and Nostalgia

From the previous conversation, I have learned that Junko uses Japanese bread to express the uniqueness of being Japanese to her children. I wanted to understand specifically what part of Japanese bread Junko thinks is "Japanese," so I asked her what quality she is looking for in Japanese bread. Junko replied, "Depends on the bread I bake. If it is sweet rolls, I would say fluffiness and softness." Just like other students, Junko thinks Japanese bread is peculiar due to its fluffiness and softness. She continued:

> You have to eat the bread and fillings separately (in case of American bread). You can eat sweet rolls with just a bite. It is so convenient for children, and I also think Japanese sweet rolls have so many varieties. I can put whatever I like in or on the rolls. Meatballs, etc.…? I really like the fact that I can put anything in or on the rolls which makes more varieties. That's the good part of Japanese sweet rolls.

Junko mentioned convenience as a quality of Japanese bread, adding it to the peculiar texture mentioned by other students. People can eat bread and its fillings at the same time as sandwiches, but, different from sandwiches, you don't have to make it right before eating. Most Japanese rolls are already baked with fillings so people can easily eat them. Junko then added more about the peculiarity of Japanese bread when I asked her if she had a favorite bakery in Japan: "Bakery? I thought the bread at the Jusco supermarket was good, but I really

liked the bread from Coco, the local convenience store in Okinawa. The bread was always freshly baked at the store." She continued to talk about her preference for Japanese bread:

> Depends on the time, you cannot get the [freshly baked] bread because the store hasn't baked the bread yet. But anyway, the freshly baked bread is the best! Japanese curry might be the best after two days, but the bread should be freshly baked. The freshly baked bread smells so good. I really feel happy.

Just like other students' excitement about the aroma of the bread coming from the oven during the lessons at Ayumi's, Junko likes the smell of freshly baked bread. The fragrance of bread stimulates the appetite, and, moreover, Japanese people traditionally like to eat fresh food because of their diet of eating raw fish. Freshness is very important for the Japanese, and they seem to expect it in bread as well. "Freshly baked" also seems to be a key ingredient for Japanese bread.

Lastly, Junko and Ayumi started to talk about the delicacy of Japanese bread in their conversation after I asked what else they like about Japanese bread.

> Junko: Again, varieties. I really like Japanese sweet rolls. I like their fluffiness and softness, which American bread doesn't have. What else… I guess I like the idea. I always wonder if Americans don't make it.

Ayumi: It takes time and effort. My cousin owns a cake shop in Japan. She mainly sells cakes made with vegetables. She said she got an offer from Americans to open a store in the U.S., but when she came here for scouting, she seemed to be very disappointed. As she says, everything was careless… She couldn't find any Americans who have techniques to make delicate cakes…

Junko: I always think it's the character of the Japanese. Japanese people are good at making anything delicate.

There are a multitude of shapes of breads in Japan, as I explained in Chapter 1. Some look like anime characters; other breads are shaped like leaves, flowers, and more shapes than you can imagine. Traditionally, a good presentation has always been an essential part of Japanese food culture, and, because of its presentation, bread has become a major food product of Japanese cuisine. The combination of all the peculiarities of Japanese bread—the fluffiness and softness, freshness, and delicate presentation—represents the preference of the Japanese, so it is hard for the Japanese people to accept the difference—not being as observant of the details in foreign countries. However, at the same time, the peculiarity of Japanese bread became clear when Junko was talking about the things missing in American bread. At least for Junko, Japanese bread should be made and baked carefully to protect its good presentation while keeping its fluffiness, softness, and freshness. Variety also makes bread Japanese.

After understanding Junko's preference in Japanese bread, I finally asked her what Japanese bread is to her. She quickly replied: "It reminds me of my hometown." Junko cooks

Japanese food at home, as she says, "I do make both *washoku* and *yōshoku*… curry for example. My family can eat sushi so I make sushi as well. You know, March third is Girl's festival in Japan, so I made *bara-zushi*."[28] However, Japanese bread is, just like other Japanese foods, something she wants naturally as one of Japanese foods, and now something she can make on her own. As she proudly said:

> I feel like I want it [Japanese bread] naturally. Just like you want soda when you are thirsty. I do have moments when I crave for Japanese bread excessively… I sometimes have a momentary craving for the sweet rolls with whip cream fillings, but I can make it now by myself.

Japanese bread has some significant peculiarities for the Japanese that American bread doesn't contain. Due to its difference, Japanese people have to look for bread when they live abroad, but it comes naturally because they grew up with Japanese bread. However, when people cannot find something they used to have, they feel nostalgia for it. Junko was one of them, but she has accomplished her task to fulfill her appetite by starting to bake on her own. It might have been only for herself at first, but it is now for her family, especially for her children, which passes the traditional taste of the Japanese on to the next generation. As a Japanese mother, Junko successfully attempts to reach out to her children through bread so they will notice their origin and tradition, but additionally, in Junko's case (which is different from

[28] Also called *chirashi-zushi*, *bara-zushi* is a type of sushi with a variety of ingredients sprinkled on the vinegrated rice.

Ayumi's other students), her ingenuity in baking represents her status as a Japanese mother working hard to offer the best to her children while enjoying creativity.

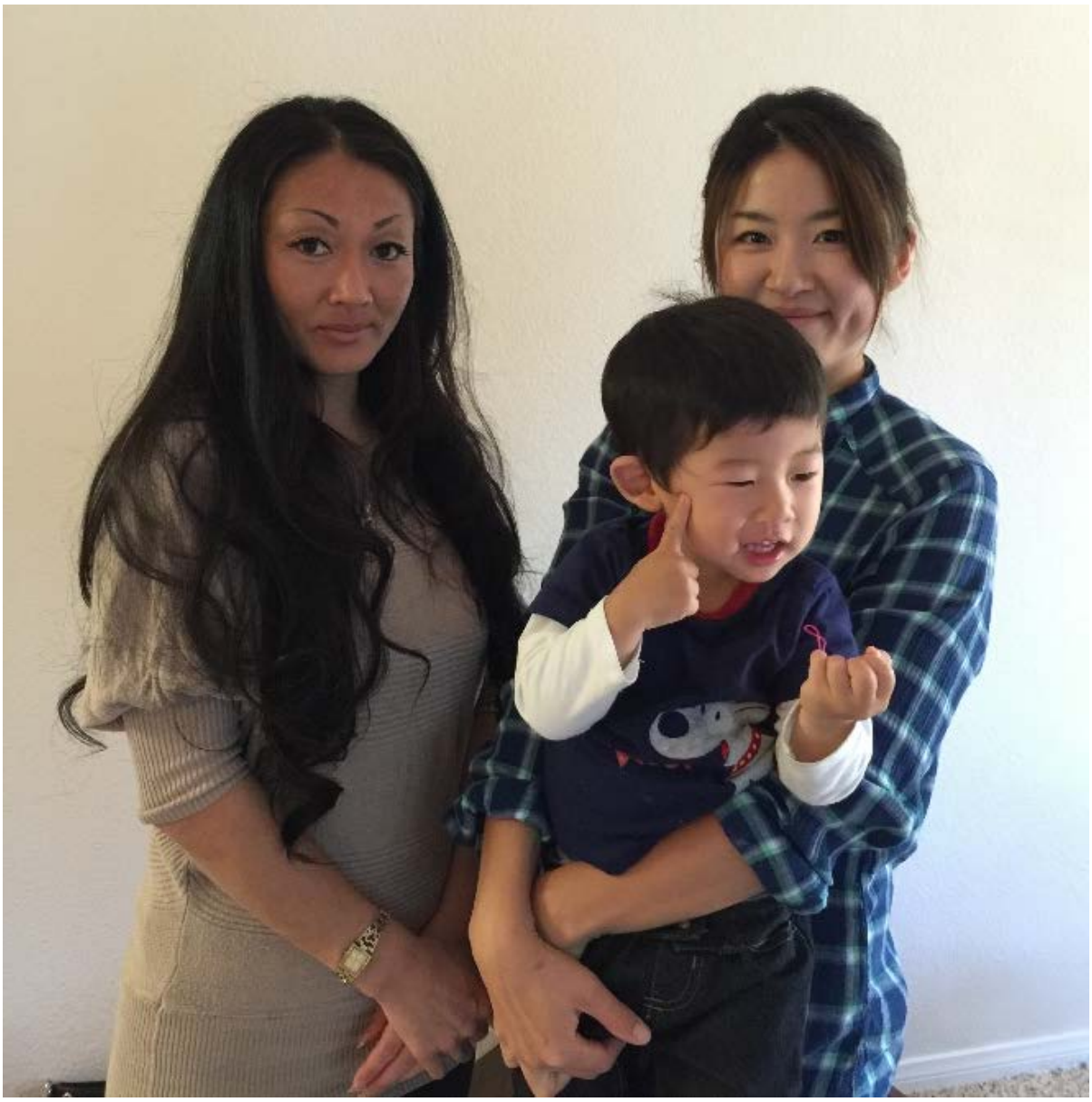

Figure 18. Junko Graham (left) with Kawano Ayumi holding her son, Leo (right)

CHAPTER 4: THE SAN DIEGO BREAD BAKING CLUB

I found the San Diego Bread Baking Club on the Internet when I was looking for other potential baking lessons, besides Ayumi's, where I could observe and interview Japanese people. I eventually reached the personal blog developed by the Japanese woman who owns this club. Since I was not a member of her club, the information I could see on her blog was limited at this point, so I made contact with her via email to show my interest in her lessons. Tomoko emailed me back soon, informing me about her lessons—which she conducts at her house—and rules, and I took the first lesson from her on December 17, 2014.

Following Tomoko's rules, I took the butter rolls lesson on the first day. Since I was the only beginner in that month, I was the only one taking this lesson. I was able to talk about my interest not only in baking as a student but also in observing her lessons and interviewing her, and possibly her students, to understand the meaning of Japanese bread for the Japanese. Tomoko promised to support my research on that day, and after taking a few lessons from her, I was able to observe some other lessons with her students' permission. While I was observing the lessons, I had opportunities to talk to some students, and, later on, I interviewed two of Tomoko's students outside of the lessons.

Tomoko received a diploma from world famous cooking school, Le Cordon Bleu in Tokyo, and has experience working at a bakery in Japan. Due to this professional work experience, Tomoko offers lessons using professional bread baking methods, which attracts her students. However, Tomoko's lessons are not just a place to learn professional baking techniques; they are also a place for students to identify themselves and even their children as "Japanese" through bread baking. In this chapter, I will show how useful theses professional bread baking

methods are in helping to maintain Japanese foodways in the U.S. and demonstrating the importance of professionalism, something Japanese want to pass down to their children. The rigorousness and meticulousness nature of her lessons defines the professionalism Tomoko wants to impart to her students.

Baking Lessons in the San Diego Bread Baking Club

By the time I first met Tomoko in December 2014, she had held baking lessons for almost two years. In the beginning, she advertised her baking lessons at San Diego Town.com or at Amezuma.com, where viewers are mostly Japanese wives of American husbands who serve in the military. Most of her first students found her lessons either through website or by word of mouth from students who previously attended her lessons. She has started exclusively posting the lessons and inserting photos on her blog since March 2013, but only the members of her club could see her posts. I was one of the few students who found her blog on the Internet, but it seems that most students still learn about Tomoko's lessons by word of mouth.

Once students attend their first lesson, they are registered on the mailing list and will be able to receive emails from Tomoko about lesson schedules and some events she offers. If the students have accounts on the Ameba Blog,[29] they can receive emails from it, and they are also able to see Tomoko's updated blog. In Tomoko's blog, lesson schedules and lesson situations are members-only content, but anybody can see the blog about Tomoko's private bread baking and other posts unrelated to baking, such as her posts about San Diego lifestyles.

[29] Ameba Blog provides the rental blog services. It is one of the biggest blog services in Japan.

Many students have attended Tomoko's lessons. In December 2014, when I asked Tomoko how many students she had so far, she said that there are one hundred and sixty or so. In March 2015, Tomoko gave me the concrete number, and it was one hundred and sixty-four; however, students always come and go because most students who have currently joined her lessons are Japanese wives of Japanese expatriates, who were relocated to San Diego for a couple of years before moving elsewhere. Other students are Japanese wives of Americans who serve in the military; because Tomoko's husband joined the military, they have close connections with her. It is rare to see students who have American husbands who are not connected to the military. These students are able to speak English well enough to have jobs outside the home, which means they don't have much time, especially on weekdays. Tomoko has lessons on weekends as well, depending on the students' requests, but most of the lessons are held on weekdays. Depending on what kind of lessons Tomoko offers, about thirty students usually come every month.

I also noticed that Tomoko's students are mostly housewives and mothers. Their ages range from mid-twenties to mid-fifties. Some mothers come to lessons with their babies and small children. The living room is spacious so children sometimes spend time to watching DVDs or playing together while waiting for their mothers to finish the lessons. When children get bored, they sometimes try to come to the kitchen area to see how their mothers are doing, but Tomoko or students are able to take care of the children whenever they are free. This way Tomoko's lessons can also serve as day care, which attracts Japanese mothers.

The lessons started at 9:30 a.m. through the end of January 2015, but she changed the start time from to 10:00 a.m. in February of that year because it helps her sleep a little more.

Due to the lesson schedule, Tomoko needs to prepare the bread dough so that it has finished the process of the first rise for everybody, which takes at least an hour. She needs to get up very early to prepare the dough, so she decided to start lessons a little later. Starting in March of 2015, she also changed the maximum number of students from five to three for each lesson. Depending on the lessons or the experience of her students, I saw four or five students, but Tomoko realized that three students are the best number so she can give them individual attention.

In addition to this limed number of students for each lesson, Tomoko provides a unique lesson system. Many new students are friends of her current students so she lets them take any bread lessons when they begin. But if the new students want to continue taking lessons, they need to take butter rolls lesson first, after which they are allowed to take other lessons, except those for advanced students. Since Tomoko explains the basics of bread baking in the butter roll lesson, she doesn't explain details of baking processes and what the students need to do in other bread lessons. New students who first joined for lessons other than butter rolls seems to be always shocked by how hard it is to follow the other students, and that changes the atmosphere of the lesson.

Tomoko's lessons are not regular, "classroom" type of lessons; in them students can experience the professional atmosphere of bread baking. Tomoko never kneads or makes bread with her students, but Tomoko shows how to roll and shape the bread dough to the students at first, and then students go through the same process. Some students take pictures and even videos while Tomoko is rolling and shaping the dough for use when they make bread at home; others take detailed notes on the recipe to remember the processes. The distinct difference

between the role of an instructor and students can be seen in Tomoko's lessons. She learned bread baking at school from professional bakers by observing their techniques, so she has adopted this educational system, where students are able to feel a professional atmosphere.

The recipes also contribute to the professional atmosphere. For each lesson, it is printed on a piece of paper: the ingredients are written on the front, and the steps are on back; however, it is usually written only in words, not sentences, so students need to annotate it and insert drawings for future use; otherwise, Tomoko's recipes are difficult to use. It may take time to get used to writing, drawing, and taking pictures and videos at the same time, but after coming to a couple of lessons, students seem to find the best way to remember the "moment" of each process of baking.

As I explained, butter roll lessons are usually the first lesson, but some students take this lesson again after learning a few other kinds of bread baking because butter rolls are one of the most difficult bread doughs to handle. Other breads, especially tin bread such as *shoku-pan*, English bread,[30] and brown sugar English bread[31] cannot be taken until students take at least six lessons beforehand because those breads require advanced skills, especially to shape the dough. However, since *shoku-pan* is one of the popular Japanese breads and many students want to take this lesson, students continue coming to lessons to increase their baking skills.

Tomoko mostly offers lessons on small rolls, adding to tin bread, but she sometimes teaches French-style bread, such as baguette and *batard*.[32] As with to tin bread, the advanced skills required mean that only students who have taken at least five lessons related to French

[30] English bread is like *shoku-pan*, but only uses very simple ingredients. It doesn't contain butter like *shoku-pan*. It usually has a mountain-shape on top.
[31] Brown Sugar English bread is one variations of English bread. This loaf is made with brown sugar instead of regular sugar, which is usually used for English bread.
[32] *Batard* is a type of bread similar to baguette, but shorter.

bread can attend. Tomoko rarely provides lessons for bread made with natural yeast. Tomoko offers various kinds of bread lessons, and she also teaches lessons which match each student's baking skills, which seems to be the secret of her popularity.

The lesson flow differs depending on the kinds of bread and the number and skill level of students. Even with the same recipe to make the same bread, Tomoko changes the lesson flow day by day. I took a bagel lesson at the end of January 2015, but the same bagel lesson I observed in early February was a little different than the one I took personally. The lesson flow was very different, and according to Tomoko, the January lesson took so long that Tomoko realized that she needed to make some changes for the lesson. Because each lesson is different, it is hard to generalize about the lessons. I will describe the situation of Tomoko's lessons by using the example of the bagel lessons on February 12, 2015 where I was allowed to observe.

Baking class on February 12, 2015: Bagels

This class started around ten o'clock. A little before ten, students came to Tomoko's house one after another. Four students came to the lesson, but three of them brought their small children. All students who were mothers showed up carrying cooler bags, purses, and diaper bags or bags filled with toys and snacks. At the entrance of Tomoko's house, they set down their belongings and helped children to take off their shoes before removing their own. They put on their own slippers, which they had brought, and came into the living room. A couple of students took their children to the bathroom at first, then they started to prepare for the lesson by putting on aprons and washing their hands. One of the students was new to

Tomoko's lesson, so at first she spoke only with her friend, who had regularly attended Tomoko's lessons. When the students were ready for the lesson, they introduced themselves until the lesson started.

At around ten, Tomoko was ready so all students went to the kitchen. Children are not allowed to be around their mothers, but all seemed to get along well enough, so they stayed in the living room and started playing together. One of the students brought a baby, and he was sleeping calmly in a portable car seat. In the kitchen, the huge workshop table and four marble pastry boards were already set with recipes, scales, scrapers, and containers of dusting flour. Students chose the space they preferred, and the bagel lesson started.

Most of the lessons start with rolling the dough from the first rise, but today the lesson started from the beginning, scaling the ingredients. Each student chose what to measure by checking with each other, and measured for four people, which is very efficient. Most of the ingredients (such as flour, sugar, salt, and yeast) are on the shelf, so students brought them to the workspace and started measuring. They first measured the main ingredients— such as flour, sugar, salt, and water—and the student who finished measuring for the first ingredient started measuring the toppings for bagels. As Tomoko said, each student would shape two kinds of bagels, so they were allowed to choose two toppings from cheese, poppy seeds, sesame seeds, cranberries, cinnamon, raisins, fried onions, and chocolate chips. The fried onions were handmade by Tomoko.

Once students finished scaling all the ingredients, they went to the counter to see how to shape bagels. Tomoko had already prepared the dough for herself. All the students brought their cellphones to record the shaping process, and they looked at Tomoko's hands carefully

through cellphones. Tomoko told the students some tips to make bagels while shaping the dough. Bagels are baked differently than other Japanese bread because they require boiling before baking, but they remain chewy and springy, which are the textures the Japanese look for in bread. If it takes time to shape the dough, it becomes more like bread not bagels—the chewiness will be gone but softness will remain because the air comes into the dough by the breath of the yeast, so Tomoko shaped the dough really quick and fast. Everybody started to worry because they know they cannot shape quickly like Tomoko, but she told them that "practice makes perfect."

After watching Tomoko's shaping of the dough, students went back to their original space and mixed all the scaled ingredients and kneading. Following Tomoko's instruction, they put yeast and honey into water first so the yeast could be easily mixed with the water. They mixed all the flour, sugar, and salt in a silver bowl, poured the water, and mixed it all with their right hands. When all the ingredients started to stick together, they placed the dough on the marble boards. Using a scraper in their left hands, they scraped the dough on the board. Then they rubbed the dough before slapping it on the boards.

While they were kneading the dough, the dough in the proofer became ready for bench time. Tomoko had prepared that dough for the students before they came to class, and it had just finished the first rise and needed to be divided and rolled. Students stopped the previous kneading work for a moment to take care of this dough from the proofer. They weighed the dough, cut it in half, rolled the pieces, and put them back to the plastic bakery trays. Tomoko covered the trays with a transparent plastic bag to protect the dough from drying out while it

was still in the proofer. Then she took the trays back to the proofer and set the time for 20 minutes on 95° F.

Students went back to the kneading process. The dough was for two bagels, so students divided it in half again using the scale, and this time they kneaded the toppings into the dough. Once they finished kneading, they rolled the dough and placed it in the trays. Tomoko wrote each person's name on Post-its to label each tray. She then placed these trays into the other proofer for 30 minutes at 95° F for the first rise.

When Tomoko placed the dough into the proofer, there were three minutes left before shape the rolled dough from the first proofer. Students chatted a little with each other while waiting, and after three minutes, Tomoko took out the trays from the proofer and gave them to the students. Students then formed the dough into a bagel shape. Since students saw Tomoko's performance before the kneading process, they seemed to forget how to shape the dough, and so they started to watch their videos to remember the process. It doesn't mean that Tomoko expects the students to remember the technique after seeing it once like professional bakers. Tomoko walks around the students' working space to see how they are doing periodically, and if students are having trouble she helps them. In this lesson, Tomoko walked around and made some suggestions to the students, especially to the new student. Tomoko paid special attention to the new student because she knows how hard it is to follow her lesson if you are not used to it.

Once Tomoko sees that students are doing well, she goes back to her working space, which is in the kitchen, to restart what she has been doing. Tomoko never bakes with her students, which she explains as follows: "I always tell my students to look carefully at my bread

and compare it with theirs. They can see the difference when they compare. Even though they use the same ingredients as me, they cannot make bread like me, which they will notice once they compare, and it's very important." Tomoko's bread is the best example, and Tomoko hopes that seeing difference between good and bad will help her students.

While students are kneading, rolling, and shaping, Tomoko makes bread for tasting and souvenirs, which could be the same bread as the students learn on the day and/or the bread Tomoko plans to teach for next month. To show the process of shaping the dough to her students, she has prepared the dough earlier so Tomoko needs to proceed through the process faster than her students because of the condition of the dough; this bread can be a good example for the students. However, Tomoko is always paying attention to her students, so whenever they have troubles with handling the dough, she comes and teaches them politely.

Since each student only made two bagels, they finished shaping fast. They still had fifteen minutes before "boiling" the dough, so Tomoko told students to cut the parchment paper small enough to fit each bagel. The parchment paper helps the bagel hold its shape better while boiling. For this boiling process, Tomoko had started boiling the water while students were kneading. Tomoko took the trays out from the proofer and checked the sizes of the dough. The dough is supposed to be a little bigger than it was before it went into the proofer. Students looked at the dough carefully, and some of them took pictures of them so they could compare later, and Tomoko started boiling the bagel dough in the pot. Students again paid attention to Tomoko's performance. While boiling the bagels, Tomoko told the students that "The longer the boiling time is, the chewier the bagel texture would be."

Preferences for textures differ, so although she told the students that she boils the bagels for thirty seconds they can choose a time frame that fits their preference.

As soon as Tomoko finished boiling the dough, she placed the bagels on the baking sheets and topped them with cheese or poppy seeds. She then put the baking sheets in the oven right away. Tomoko told the students to set the baking time for twelve minutes first to see how they are, and if it doesn't look like the bagels are ready to be out, they should check them again periodically. Tomoko and students chatted with one another in the kitchen while waiting for the bagels, and it took twenty minutes for them to be ready.

In the meantime, the dough that was in the proofer for the first rise was ready for the next process of bench time. As soon as all the bagels came out of the oven, Tomoko took out the trays from the proofer and distributed them to the students. Students quickly took out the air from the dough, rolled them again, and put them back on the trays. Tomoko covered all the trays with transparent plastic bags and placed them back in the proofer. Now students had nothing else to do, so Tomoko told the students to make tea for themselves and take a rest for a while.

While the students made tea, Tomoko continued working on other bread she wanted to introduce to the students. There are many kinds of tea available at Tomoko's. Students discussed what kind of tea they would drink while boiling water in the electric kettle. Once they decided what to drink, they prepared cups and saucers, which were available next to the students' workplace, and waited for the water. After a while, students poured the boiled water into cups in which students had already put their favorite tea bags, placed them on saucers, and

brought them to the dining table. Children joined the students, everyone relaxed while waiting for the dough to be ready for shaping.

By the time Tomoko called the students to shape the dough, it was already a little before noon. Everybody seemed to become hungry, especially after seeing Tomoko's perfect bread and bagels, but students went back to their workplace for shaping. After shaping, the dough was placed back onto the trays, and Tomoko put them back into the proofer for the second rise. While waiting for the dough to rise, students started cleaning the workplace because they had finished all their work there.

After the second rise, students boiled the bagels just like Tomoko did. Since Tomoko boiled the bagels for thirty seconds, students counted the same time all together in a chorus. There were four students in the lesson so Tomoko prepared two pots to fit two students' bagels at the same time. When all the bagels were boiled, Tomoko placed them on the baking sheets and put them into the oven.

Finally all the processes were finished. Tomoko usually takes care of the baking process so students came back to the dining room for tea. This time, Tomoko brought bagels, tea bread (which Tomoko would teach soon), and macarons, which Tomoko learned in a sweets lesson she recently attended. It was already after noon, and everybody including the children looked very happy to taste Tomoko's bread.

While tasting the bread, the students' bagels baked. Students went back to the kitchen to see how they did, and they took pictures of that day's accomplishment. Students seemed to have fun while chatting with each other and tasting Tomoko's bread. They were curious about the macarons, so when Tomoko finished cleaning her space in the kitchen and came to the

dining room, students asked her about. One of them asked Tomoko about tea bread and the schedule for next month. In an hour or so, one of the students realized that she had to pick up her daughter from kindergarten, so everybody else decided to leave as well. It was at around 1:30 p.m. in the afternoon, which is a little early for students to leave Tomoko's. Usually students stay at Tomoko's until 2:30 p.m., though probably the latest was 3:30 p.m. It depends on the students' schedules. Tomoko then called students to the workplace and brought bread and bagels, which she was able to give them as souvenirs. Most of the students brought containers to hold the souvenirs, but before the students put them away, Tomoko usually takes pictures of them with the students for herself. After taking pictures, students paid tuition to Tomoko, and prepared to leave. Not everybody left Tomoko's at the same time, but by 1:50 p.m., all the students had left and the bagel lesson for February 12 ended.

Timewise, Tomoko's lessons are very efficient. There is always something to do while waiting for the yeast to rise, and students don't have much time to talk freely during until the end. Tomoko expects students to acquire her technique as quickly as possible, so students are also very serious about learning. There was no extra dough to take home in the bagel lesson, but the dough the students make during lessons usually becomes the dough to take home so the students can review that day's lesson at home; otherwise, they would waste the dough which they worked hard to make.

At a glance, Tomoko seems to offer Spartan lessons by letting students work hard and giving no time for chatting, but this is the way Tomoko has gained her professional baking skills. Good bread cannot be baked easily in one night. Students trust Tomoko as a "pro," so they keep coming to her lessons to learn to make professionally "good" bread. Tomoko even said,

“The people who didn’t like me, my personality, or even my lesson flow and atmosphere disappear without anyone noticing. I think people who keep coming to my lessons must like my teaching styles.” Tomoko’s class is the very place to “study” bread baking in earnest.

Figure 19. Bagels baking class on February 12, 2015: Students taking pictures and videos as Tomoko demonstrates shaping the bread dough in order for them to review the process easily when they bake bagels at home.

Figure 20.
Bagels baked in class on January 30, 2015: these just came out of the oven.

Figure 21. Advanced baking class on February 5, 2015: instructor Shirasuna Tomoko (center) showing her students how to shape baguettes.

Figure 22.
Sachiko Bayne trying to shape a baguette after Tomoko's demonstration.

Interviews with the Instructor and the Students

Shirasuna Tomoko, Instructor

Shirasuna Tomoko, a native of Kanagawa prefecture, has lived in San Diego since 2012. Tomoko married her American husband, who serves in the Navy, in 2010. After her wedding, Tomoko quit her job as an office worker and decided to become a baker. Tomoko had been interested in bread baking for a while, but the marriage became the turning point that made it possible to pursue another career.

Tomoko decided to go to Le Cordon Bleu in Tokyo, which is not far from her hometown in Kanagawa. She started to work at a bakery in Tokyo while attending school. She also went to Germany for two months to study bread baking to increase her knowledge of European bread.

Her husband, on the other hand, had already started a life in San Diego, so Tomoko and her husband lived separately for almost two years. Whenever Tomoko had a vacation, however, she came to San Diego to be with her husband. Before Tomoko finally settled down in San Diego with her husband in 2012, she had come to San Diego a couple of times. While visiting her husband there, Tomoko decided to hold a baking class as a trial because she didn't want to waste her professional bread baking skills, and she thought it might be helpful for making some friends.

In March 2015, when I had a personal interview with Tomoko, she told me she had one hundred and sixty-four students in two and a half years, and Tomoko has currently thirty-three students who often come to her lessons. It depends on the month, but Tomoko usually offers

lessons at least two or three times a week. Tomoko's everyday schedule is pretty tight, not only because she has to prepare for the lessons but also she needs to make trial products for new recipes.

Tomoko herself personally prefers rice to bread as a meal. In fact, she feels a little frustrated with her family when she has to throw rice away because they are full. Although she doesn't eat bread as a meal, interestingly she still eats meals that include bread like buns with hamburgers. For her, it is the baking process that drives her passion, not the finished product, which makes her a little different from my other informants.

I interviewed her between lesson days, but Tomoko spent quite a long time with me sharing her experiences and thoughts on bread baking in San Diego. When arriving at her house, Tomoko welcomed me nicely in a quiet atmosphere since there was no class on that day. Once I sat down on a chair at the dining table, Tomoko brought me tea from the kitchen. As soon as I started a tape recorder, I started asking general questions about Tomoko such as her birthplace, education, and the reason she was in San Diego, before moving on to questions about bread baking and bread baking lessons.

Pride as a Professional Baker

I asked Tomoko about her bread baking experience in Germany. She thought the German bread was good but she realized how rough the baking processes are. As Tomoko said, "Japanese bread and Japanese bread baking is so delicate so bakers are very careful, especially shaping the bread, but European or German baking was really rough for every process," and she thought it was a very good experience to increase her knowledge about bread baking;

however, that was not the method she wanted to follow. Even though the skills she learned at Le Cordon Bleu are useful to expand her baking skills, Tomoko still doesn't want to follow their way of baking. I realized that Tomoko wants to bake bread her own way, which might have been the reason why she started to hold baking lessons at her house. I then asked Tomoko about the beginning of the bread baking class, and she said,

> While visiting my husband before I settled down in San Diego, I was really bored. My husband was mostly at work, and I thought I would go crazy. I also knew that my baking skills would diminish if I stopped baking so I decided to hold baking lessons. I didn't know if there were any baking lessons or if there's a good bakery in San Diego, but I knew my bread would be one of the best because I have a plenty of experiences working with "professional" bakers… I also believed that students would be happy if they were able to get good bread. If I could support Japanese people with my bread, I thought it is worth to try it out.

Tomoko seemed to start the baking lessons with confidence in her baking skills. This "pro" confidence can be found in many of her following remarks, and one of them is what she was talking about with the change of the number of the students in each lesson. Tomoko tried to teach as many students as possible in a lesson, and she had four students. But if there were many students who wanted to take the lesson, she maximized up to five or six students. Tomoko, however, decided to take two or three students in a lesson because she thought it

would be the best number of students whom she can teach “her” bread sufficiently. Her reasoning went as follows:

> If I teach bread baking irresponsibly, students can bake so-so good bread, but if I try to teach bread baking in the "pro" method, I need to look carefully at what the students are doing. If I don’t watch, students try to have their own way, which I noticed isn’t the best way to teach my skills. I also heard from some students that they understood baking processes better when I paid more attention to them so I had been thinking about teaching with fewer students in a lesson.

> Tomoko then shared her true feelings about baking lessons with me: “I want my students to feel happy coming here to learn. I need to raise the tuition fee, but I will provide more bread as a souvenir. This way I think students would be satisfied.”

Tomoko wants to teach “her” bread in her professional way. She cannot be satisfied with sloppy quality of bread even for the bread students bake, and the bread must have a certain quality that she thinks is good. She requires students to learn her “pro” way to make high quality of bread because of her experience as a baker. She continued:

> I was very strict when I first started this baking class. I didn’t learn bread baking at baking classes [(offered by amateur instructors], but I learned it from

"professional" bakers or chefs. I wanted to become one of the pros, and to do that, I needed to explore and learn by myself. I feel sometimes it's wrong to request this type of investigative spirit from my students because I'm not teaching in school or at a bakery, but when I just started this baking class, I did have in my mind that I'm not just an instructor of baking classes.

Tomoko is nothing but a professional baker in her mind, but not only is she skillful, she honors her craft with her attention to detail. More than once I have seen her throw away the bread she had just baked right after cutting and checking it because she realized the texture, flavor, and the shape of the bread didn't meet her standards. This very action represents her professionalism.

Tomoko's lessons also show her professionalism. She explained to me how to set up her lesson timeline in a professional manner when I mentioned the timeline attached to the refrigerator:

Ah, the reason I make the timeline is… bread baking needs to count backwards. My target time is the start of the lesson. I don't care about the rest of the time, but I need to finish the first rise before the lesson starts. If it takes two hours for the first rise by using the bread proofer, I need to think what time I should get up and start preparing the dough… I always count backwards and decide the time to get up in the morning.

Tomoko took a little breath and continued regarding the main reason why she needs to have a timeline like this:

> It takes more time for the students to make the dough and proceed through the processes, but if I make my timeline, I can imagine how long it takes for the students to do this or that process, adding extra time based on my time. Otherwise, it's hard to make a lesson schedule.

In most of her lessons, students first learn how to divide and roll the risen dough after the first rise, so she has to prepare the dough before the students come to her lessons. Since the dough is a living creation, Tomoko needs to get it in the best condition for the students.

Tomoko currently sets the lesson time to three hours, but in the past, she had six hour lessons for a certain kinds of bread, especially for bread baked in tins, such as *shoku-pan*. She decided not to have such long lessons anymore because it is very tiring for both her and her students, but as she said, there was an educational purpose behind the timing.

> I used to have a *shoku-pan* lesson starting from the beginning of the baking process. You use much more flour for s*hoku-pan*, which is different from the other kinds of small rolls, but I wanted my students to experience how to deal with such large amounts of flour… I thought students could learn a lot from this experience… even with the usage of a proofer, bread baking takes a long time. I

always tell my students that they can use the "overnight" method,[33] but if you do that, the dough would be a bit different than the dough from the "straight" method. I wanted them to know this difference as well.

Tomoko continued:

Tin bread takes longer to make, but I want my students to know how important waiting is to making bread. They can do whatever they want to do while waiting for the bread to rise at home, but they still have to be careful, watching the dough, but in my lesson, they need to wait earnestly.

It takes a long time to make good bread, which Tomoko tries to teach through her lessons. As a professional baker, Tomoko is able to teach not only baking skills but also the patience necessary for bread baking. Tomoko seems to be able to teach every aspect of bread baking in her lessons because she is a professional baker.

In the following, I felt Tomoko's pride as a professional baker when I asked Tomoko if she is happy when her students show their interests in baking by asking for tips against the bread they failed to bake at home. "I guess I feel like… ok, they didn't learn what I told them after all…" she said, showing the disappointment, "I think I like to support and educate people through bread baking, which I am able to teach, but what I really like about bread baking is it

[33] The overnight method is the methodology to make flavorful bread by letting the dough rise in a refrigerator for a night. It is usually compared with the straight method, which is the way to make bread straight from kneading to baking.

lets people eat "my" bread." Tomoko extended her thoughts on "her" bread, thus showing her professionalism as a baker:

> Even if students use the same recipe as me, the bread would be different from mine. I really like the moment students say, "Delicious," when they eat "my" bread. I really feel good. It takes time to make good bread, but if they didn't say anything about my bread, I wouldn't make it. I think it's the same to all bakers or makers. Bakers need evaluation—need to know how good "your" bread is. Maybe other instructors of baking class might be different, but I like to know students or people's evaluation of "my" bread.

At last, after taking a short breath, Tomoko confessed her real intention of offering the baking lessons:

> I feel terrible, but I really don't think students can make the same quality of bread as mine. Even though I try to teach the best I can, I still don't think students can be like me because I have more experience than any other student. I also try my best all the time, so I really feel thankful to the students who come to my lessons to taste "my" bread and think it is good.

Tomoko's class is not just a baking class but a professional baker's baking class, where students can experience the professional method of bread baking and taste bread made by a

professional baker. Tomoko is interested in teaching bread baking, but only in the professional way, or, rather, her way.

Tomoko still likes the fact that many people come to her lessons. She makes some friends and provides the opportunity for students to do the same, but what she likes about holding the lessons is that she can maintain her skills as a baker. Tomoko started to express her honest feelings about her lessons like this:

> What I like about holding the lessons here is… to be able to make acquaintances and gain information about San Diego…, But honestly, people who come to my lessons are the people who like my personality or my method of bread baking because people who don't like my personality eventually disappear from my lessons. I hear from students that they enjoy coming to my lessons because they can make friends and make connections with other Japanese people…

Tomoko eventually showed her true colors when she stated:

> But, what I myself like about the lessons is that I can keep up with my baking skills. As I told you, if I stop, my skills would atrophy. I really like the fact that people gave me opportunities to make bread here in my lessons. I'm really thankful to students giving me the opportunity to make "my" bread.

Students come to Tomoko's lessons for various reasons, such as making friends, but, essentially, they come to enjoy the professional or bakery-quality bread made by a professional baker. Tomoko, on the other hand, likes the fact that her students accept her as a professional baker and also evaluate "her" bread as good. Tomoko's bread baking class—the San Diego Bread Baking Club—is the very place where all help each other out by honoring professionalism.

Hardships as a Professional Baker

Tomoko and I were still in the quiet dining room talking about her baking and teaching experience. I asked how she created such a professional atmosphere in her lessons. She then shared with me her secret troubles in order to continue the lessons, starting with how hard it is to make perfect recipes for lessons: "I'm always worried about the recipes until the beginning of the first lesson of the new bread." She then described the cases with which she has had difficulty:

> For example, in terms of the tea bread I will start teaching soon, I have changed the recipe from the previous one I taught with, but I always make a recipe at the last moment. While experimenting, I always worry if the one I baked is right or not, but I know I just have to believe my tongue. Once I taste the bread I baked, I know what I have to do next. I sometimes have to change the amount of water to use for the dough, and in terms of the English brown sugar bread, I had to change the yeast. But that's actually not the end, it's the start. I restart thinking

about the previous bread I baked comparing with the one I just baked, and I restart baking the new bread with a new recipe.

Tomoko paused briefly, then continued to talk about the difficulty of making recipes to her satisfaction:

> It takes at least five hours to bake a new bread recipe, but I don't make just one. If the bread takes thirty-five minutes to bake, I start making the different type of dough after thirty-five minutes. If I don't compare three types of bread, I won't be able to know which one or which recipe is the best.

Tomoko cannot compromise as a professional baker. She needs to create a recipe that satisfies her, but it takes a long time to make a recipe she thinks is good. Tomoko then talked about how difficult it is to balance her private time and baking lessons.

> I cannot spend my entire time baking, you know. I need to go out… I don't think people really cannot get it. If I have lessons today, tomorrow, and the day after tomorrow, and then I have a day off, people ask me out, but I have a lot to do, honestly. If I have a lesson next day, I have to think about the time when I go out. If I go out late, I need to prepare for the next lesson late at night. Whenever I go out, I always think about lessons.

Tomoko thinks about the lessons at every moment, so it is very difficult for her to be away from bread baking and lessons:

> It's getting difficult to offer lessons with my housewife chores. My husband expects me to do housework and baking lessons perfectly because I'm always at home, but it is actually not… I have to think about the recipes, and I actually have to make the bread following the recipes. I think about bread baking until I go to bed.

Again, compromising is not an option for Tomoko. As a professional baker, Tomoko needs to bake bread perfectly. Tomoko then shared with me another hardship she is facing. It is no exaggeration to say that Tomoko's life is composed of bread baking at this point, and to keep up with her bread baking lessons, she has to continue to offer lessons and produce new bread to entice people to keep coming to her lessons. Tomoko, however, is now hitting a brick wall in creating new recipes, and she described her current issue like in this way:

> It's getting difficult to create new recipes or new bread. For a year and a half or two years since I started holding baking lessons, of course, all recipes were new ones I created at first, and then I have been trying to make three or four new recipes every month. I need to create new recipes every month. When I first started offering lessons, I had a lot of recipes in my mind, and it wasn't that difficult to make recipes because I had experience working at the bakery in Japan

> and I kind of knew what people want, such as *melon-pan* and *cream-pan*. Basically I can use a similar texture of the dough for butter rolls, *an-pan*, and *cream-pan*, so I knew how to make arrangements for each bread, but it has been getting hard to create new recipes eventually or even currently… It's actually because I don't have any input. I can refer to books or search the Internet to see what kinds of bread are popular in Japan, but I have never tasted them before, which makes it very hard to create new recipes.

Tomoko paused, then went back to talking about her difficulty in making new recipes:

> When I was in Japan, I could taste various kinds of bread, and I could actually try to taste them and enjoy it. I don't actually feel that way in San Diego. I have tried, but I could imagine the taste before eating, and usually the taste is the same that I imagined.

Since baking lessons are a business for Tomoko, she needs to continue creating new recipes that will appeal to students who come to her lessons. Some students request lessons of certain kinds of bread (for example, croissants), but she cannot offer croissant lesson because of the difficulty of the baking process. Tomoko explained the reason she cannot offer bread that requires complicated techniques as follows:

> I get a lot of requests from my students that they want to bake different types of bread, such as croissants, but I wonder if they have enough skill to make croissants. I can let them to make a failure here if it is only a little, but while making it, if they give up because of its difficulty, I think they will feel so bad and maybe they will even think that they should've not come to the lesson. I don't want to make them feel bad, so it's hard to create the best recipes for lessons.

Tomoko knows what kinds of bread is difficult to make since she has a lot professional baking experience, and as a result she knows what to offer to her students. Tomoko then told me what kinds of bread lessons she has tried to offer:

> If I can offer lessons to make any kind of bread from various countries, it's going to be easy, but I have to think about the bread that Japanese people like. Otherwise, my students won't be interested. I know they aren't interested in baking bread they don't know. I cannot taste the bread most Japanese people know and think is good, which makes it difficult to generate new bread.

Tomoko's students come to lessons not simply to learn bread baking, but Japanese bread baking, so she needs to find recipes for bread the Japanese like. She gave a concrete example of what students look for in her baking lessons:

> I know my students are not interested in the bread I had a lot of difficulties creating… One of them is called *pain complet*, which is a French-style hard bread made using whole wheat. I guess Japanese people don't like whole wheat much. The other one is corn bread. I make it by using canned corn, with not only the corn but also the juice in the can. Some students knew how good it is, but not all of my students. Japanese people are usually not interested in bread that doesn't look gorgeous.

Tomoko went on to explain Japanese people's preferences for bread:

> I now feel that it is very difficult to make bread that "all" Japanese people like. Generally, *an-pan* is one of the most popular bread lessons students want to take. Really? That many students want to take it? I was surprised by how many students want to take *an-pan* lessons, but I realized that students want to take lessons for the bread they already know.

Tomoko confirmed that her students' interests are in Japanese bread or the bread most of the Japanese people know. Tomoko doesn't know why such breads are popular among students, but the information that I related in Chapter 1 makes it apparent: Japanese bread has a peculiar texture and appearance—it should be fluffy and springy just like rice, and it also should have a good presentation. Tomoko continued, mentioning the concrete example of the Japanese people prefer to have in the bread:

> Each type of bread has its best texture. Even though I bake French bread using the French baking method, it actually doesn't taste right to me. I don't like the texture because I'm "Japanese." There is a certain texture the Japanese like the best. For example, in terms of the French-style bread, Japanese people look for a very delicate texture. The crust should be crunchy, but the center should be springy. Japanese people tend to look for springiness in their bread.

I have mentioned it above, but it seems clear that Japanese people like bread that has a springy texture, even from a professional baker's viewpoint. With her understanding of her Japanese students' preferences, Tomoko experiments and tries to generate new Japanese bread all the time so she can continue her bread baking lessons as a business. However, new recipes can't be produced immediately, even though or perhaps because Tomoko is a professional baker. There are many difficulties to overcome. It takes time to create a new recipe, and Tomoko is not just an instructor of the baking class but also a housewife, so she cannot concentrate solely on bread baking. At the same time, because Tomoko is a professional baker, she knows her students' abilities, and she needs to adjust the recipes for them. At any rate, Tomoko has an ability to manage the work as a baker, instructor, and housewife in a professional way, which creates the distinguished atmosphere of "professionality" in her lessons.

Food Education and Home Baking

Tomoko seems to have many sufferings by holding baking lessons and being a professional baker, but Tomoko does enjoy baking bread. With a big smile, Tomoko claimed that the bread baking is one of the pleasures in her life, which she believes makes everyone happy: “Bread baking is sometimes stressful, but, at the same time, I can relieve stress by baking bread. I also know I feel very happy when everybody says my bread is delicious because all my efforts pay off.” Tomoko seemed to be very satisfied with what she is doing for students and also for herself. She then remembered the beginning of her interests in bread baking:

> It took a while for me to start bread baking… I had been interested in the food business because I graduated from a school that trains nutritionists. I had also been studying to become a food coordinator while I was working as an office worker, hoping to become involved in the food business in the future. I came across bread baking, and I realized how much fun I can get from it. I now feel bread baking is one of the most important properties in my life. I feel happy by baking bread, and I can also make everybody happy I bake.

Tomoko finds joy in bread baking even though she sometimes feels stress, especially when she tries to create new recipes. But she knows how much fun she can get out of bread baking, so she believes that she can be the one who can tell of its pleasure. One of the reasons Tomoko believes she can describe the joy of bread baking is because she knows how important bread has been ever since she could remember:

> It's not an exaggeration to say that I grew up with bread. My parents were born after WWII, and they grew up with bread because of the influence of the war. My dad used to tell me how thankful he was for bread, and my parents really like bread, so bread was something ordinary to me. Bread was the same as rice. It was not something special, but something common. I feel nostalgia about the bread I used to eat when I'm here because it was a part of my life. I want to make such nostalgic bread because I know everybody would be happy if they can bake the same kinds on their own.

Tomoko understands the feelings of Japanese people missing Japanese bread because of her personal experience in the past. She also knows she can bake bread of professional quality, but she doesn't want to just sell bread—she wants to provide lessons so everybody is able to have bread anytime they need it. However, Tomoko's aim to offer lessons is not just to satisfy their appetite for Japanese bread; it is to show her students the importance of maintaining Japanese foodways through bread baking.

> I believe that people can teach something through creation. It is a part of food education, but if you don't make anything on your own, you wouldn't be able to educate your children in terms of food. I want my students to use my lessons to educate their children. I know children who don't eat any other bread that their mothers get at the store, but actually eat my bread when they come here with

> their mothers. They know what is good. I would be able to tell children that the dining room is filled with the fragrant smell of fresh baked bread because their mothers are baking bread right there. I also think children feel like eating bread here in my lessons and feel happy because of its aroma. I strongly believe this is food education.

Tomoko continued, emphasizing the importance of educating children about food through bread baking:

> I also believe that the aroma of bread enriches children's thoughts. If they realize there's good food at home, they want to be at home. I want my students to use home baking to tell their children how important it is to eat their food at home not just to satisfy appetites. The fragrance doesn't come out if nobody actually bakes right there. I want children to be thankful to their mothers for baking for them…

Bread is not just food, but to become edible, there are so many processes: preparation, kneading, waiting, and baking. The children waiting for their mothers to finish all the processes become able to understand how long it takes to make good bread. They also know who is making the bread they eat in lessons and at home—mothers, which teaches their children about their love. Tomoko herself felt her

mother's love through cooking as she grew up. She explained her experience of learning her mother's love in this way:

> When I hear that people who eat my bread say that they are happy because of it, I definitely can claim that eating makes people happy. I myself grew up in an environment where I could cook with my mom, and I felt happiness through cooking. Children eat bread here in my lessons, which I think is very important when they grow up because they can actually see and be thankful to makers or mothers.

Tomoko then extended her opinion that the appreciation of the food mothers make is an important lesson for children:

> I think it's a part of training. It takes so much effort to make bread, so you shouldn't waste it. I heard that children like to eat the food they actually made with their moms even though the food is not their favorite. I really think cooking with mothers, showing children the actual work of their mothers making food, and also eating such food is very important.

Children cannot learn to appreciate the food their mothers cook for them on their own. They need a place to learn, whether it's their home or in Tomoko's lessons. The proverb says "Seeing is believing," and children are able to feel their appreciation for food by looking at their

mothers' cooking or/and experiencing the actual processes of cooking. Smiling, Tomoko claims this method of food education is a peculiarity of Japanese foodways:

> As you know, food education has become a topic of conversation in Japan. I'm not sure if this is the subject talked about in Japan, but we have a duty to tell children the importance of making and eating food at home, and not wasting food. I've seen a lot parents are not educating their children about food in America. Because we are living here in such an environment, we need to tell children not to waste food because people don't just make food but make food with all their love.

Since the food environment in the U.S. is different from Japan, it is important for mothers to show Japanese foodways to their children on their own. Mothers might have been able to show their children their cooking or to cook with their children at home, but in Tomoko's lessons, it takes a long time to finish all the processes of baking. Usually it takes three hours, but it may take longer if they try to make more complicated bread. Children who come to lessons with their mothers have to be away from their mothers in another room for such a long time, and they must also wait for the time to eat, which requires a lot of patience. Tomoko's class is the very place for children to learn patience along their with mothers' love; on the other hand, for mothers it is where they can taste Japanese bread baked by a professional. The experience of bread baking evokes their nostalgia for Japan and helps them remember to be Japanese mothers.

Figure 23. Shirasuna Tomoko, Instructor at the San Diego Bread Baking Club

Sachiko Bayne

Sachiko is a native of Yamaguchi prefecture who has lived in the U.S. for many years. She is a mother of five grown-up children, and the grandmother of a seven-year old grandson. Sachiko's initially visited the U.S. as was a high school student. Her relatives lived in Pasadena, CA, and she visited them during a summer break. Sachiko became fond of American lifestyles then and dreamed of living in the U.S. in the future with an American husband. Sachiko didn't like Japanese food much when she was young, especially *anko*, which is now one of her favorite foods; instead she preferred to eat Western food such as hamburgers and cakes. Sachiko didn't have any regrets leaving Japan due to her food preferences, and she eventually got married to her American husband. She now lives in San Diego with her family.

I first met Sachiko when I observed one of Tomoko's advanced baking lessons in February 2015. Sachiko has been interested in my research since she first heard about it from Tomoko, and a week after our initial meeting, we decided to meet at a cafeteria in one of the shopping malls in San Diego. Since Sachiko has been in San Diego for years, she was well versed in the local issues about bakeries and baking lessons in San Diego.

Due to the absence of Japanese bread, Sachiko started to learn bread baking first at Masako-san's baking lessons, which I will describe in the next chapter, and later at Tomoko's. Sachiko had been enjoying Masako-san's baking lessons, but under the influence of Tomoko, she decided to go to Le Cordon Bleu in Tokyo for the summer in 2015 to obtain the same baking certificate as Tomoko.

I met Sachiko a few times before and after she gained a certificate. Sachiko's way of thinking about Japanese bread and baking changed in many ways with that experience, which has also changed the styles of the bread Sachiko bakes. Her bread combines Japanese and Western food, which represents Sachiko's life history.

The Peculiarity of Japanese Bread

Sachiko and I met late one morning in mid-February at the cafeteria of a local shopping mall for our first interview. It was almost a week after our first meeting at Tomoko's class. The mall was still quiet, and not many people were around us. Sachiko and I took a seat near the ice skating rink. Once we were nicely seated, she took out a memo pad from her purse and indicated that she prepared it before coming to the interview. Soon I started the tape recorder, and Sachiko started to talk about the reasons why she thinks that Japanese bread has a certain peculiarity compared to American and other East Asian countries' bread. Sachiko first discussed the existence of wide variety of Japanese bread by using character merchandise and Kit Kat.

> As you know, Japan is called the "Character Kingdom." The Japanese can easily absorb any foreign characters into our culture. For example, I love Snoopy, which is originally from the U.S., but it's hard for me to find Snoopy goods in the U.S. I can't say none because I sometimes find a few here, but when you go to Japan, you can find a lot of Snoopy goods. I go back to Japan only to buy Snoopy goods. I'm pretty excited to go back to Japan this year because it's the sixty-fifth

anniversary of *Peanuts*, and I know I can find many merchandise related to this sixty-fifth anniversary in Japan.

Sachiko paused, and then she continued:

Of course, you can find a lot of merchandise of Japanese original characters like Hello Kitty, but you can also find many goods from the other foreign characters like Moomin,[34] which is originally from Europe. Japanese people are good at producing their own merchandise by licensing foreign characters…that's why Japan is the "Character Kingdom." In Japan, you can get any character merchandise.

Sachiko believes that the Japanese not only accept but adopt any foreign characters into Japanese culture. This absorption has increased the variety of Japanese character merchandise. Sachiko also mentioned this characteristic of the Japanese with food using an example of Kit Kat:

In Japan, you can find all sorts of Kit Kats adding to the basic chocolate flavor. For example, in the spring, you can find *sakura* cherry blossom flavor. When I looked on the Internet, I could find at least fifty flavors of Kit Kat. I also found local limited flavors—Tokyo limited flavor, Okinawa limited flavor, and so on.

[34] The Moomins are the main characters in a series of novels, illustrated books, and a comic strip produced by Finnish illustrator and writer Tove Jansson.

> Including such local limited flavors, it actually became more than two hundred flavors. Now you know, similar to character merchandise, Japanese people cannot be satisfied with just a basic flavor, but they like to explore and find the flavors which the Japanese would love…

Her example of the wide variety of Kit Kat is accurate, and that same variety can be seen in Japanese bread. As I mentioned in Chapter 1, most bakeries serve seasonal bread as well as local limited bread, which expands the variety of Japanese bread. Sachiko then concluded her discussion about the variety with a memory of her youth:

> Various kinds of bread were imported into Japan at first, and just like character merchandise, Japanese people have produced more kinds. I don't remember clearly, but when I was little, there were only certain kinds of breads available. *Melon-pan*, *an-pan*, *cream-pan*, *jam-pan*,[35] and wafer sandwiches[36]… Maybe there were more in Tokyo, but since I started going to a junior high school, I could choose more varieties at the bakery. I remember that I looked around the bakery to choose the one I like after school with my friends.

Sachiko confirmed what she has just said with this last statement:

[35] *Jam-pan* are sweet rolls like other *kashi-pan,* such as *an-pan* and *cream-pan*. Strawberry jams are usually used for its fillings, and they are shaped like a half-moon.
[36] A wafer sandwich is a sandwich just like wafers but made with bread. Jam and vanilla cream is usually sandwiched between square-shaped, thinly sliced loaves of bread.

> See, the Japanese people like to explore and make progress. The first place I go, when I go back to Japan, is the bakeries. I enjoy choosing and buying various kinds every time I go. I can see that the Japanese cannot be satisfied with only the basic, they require more varieties in bread.

Almost fifty years ago when she was little, Sachiko didn't see the variety of bread, but after a few years later, she saw a significant difference in the bakeries in terms of variety. Her favorite part of visiting bakeries in Japan is still in the extensive variety of the bread. Just like Shūko and Junko said, Sachiko requires the variety in Japanese bread. Sachiko also noticed that this is one of the distinctive features of Japanese bread, and it seems that she is very proud of it.

Then Sachiko talked about the texture of Japanese bread compared with the other East Asian bread she purchased in San Diego. She noticed the different sense of baking between Japan and the other East Asian countries, and made this claim:

> The Chinese and Korean bakeries are a bit different. I used to go to the bakery at the Chinese supermarket called 99 Ranch, but I don't go there anymore. I used to like the bread there, but now I think the flavor is too Chinese. I feel like Chinese people like to use taro or sweet potatoes for fillings. The Chinese bakery, 85 °C is the same. I also think their bread is not delicate enough. I always feel so excited to taste Japanese bread, but I really don't feel that way for other East Asian countries' bread. I also noticed the different flavor for sweet rolls with *anko* fillings they sell. Their sense of flavor is different from us.

Sachiko remembered tasting the Korean baked goods, and declared:

> Even the Korean bakery's cake I got a little before… I don't think I would go there again. The decoration was perfect, but the taste was terrible. I often bought roll cakes, but their sponge wasn't moist. Instead it was too dry, and the texture wasn't delicate at all. I then thought that the packaged roll cakes at the Japanese supermarket sells are much better. Japanese food is really delicate.

Sachiko thinks that Japanese bread is more delicate than Chinese and Korean bread. Even though Chinese and Korean bakeries have bread similar to Japanese bread in terms of a variety, the taste is very different, so Sachiko feels foreign to such bread. Sachiko again felt the peculiarity in Japanese bread, and this time it was not only in its variety but also in the texture. At last, Sachiko argued the reason why high quality bread with a delicate texture and the abundance of the variety can be generated by the Japanese.

> I really think Japanese people are always looking for the good taste for food. They make efforts to make tasty food. Even I try to make bread better than before every time I bake. I have also been researching how to preserve the bread by keeping its softness and fluffiness. I really think Japanese people are hardworking people. I also believe Japanese people have such hospitality. They

always think about how to offer the best service to customers… I'm very impressed.

Sachiko believes that Japanese people have been looking for high quality food and making a great effort to produce good food, recalling her own experience of baking. The delicate texture was produced with a lot of struggle for the Japanese; the variety was increased due to the bakers' consideration for customers. Japanese bread is the result of the bakers' efforts to please customers, which makes Sachiko feel so special toward Japanese bread.

The Ultimate Goal of Bread Baking

Sachiko has such special feelings about Japanese bread. The first reason she started bread baking is because she wanted to eat *melon-pan*, which she thinks is one of the most unique Japanese breads. However, she found it frustrating that her family did not share her interest. When she started baking bread, her husband and children would request American bread such as sourdough or the seasoned bread used to make sandwiches at Subway. The disappointment for her is not being able to share in her love of Japanese bread and perhaps feeling a little separated from them because of this. As mentioned before, her husband is American and her children grew up in America, so it appears that extensive time living in Japan and immersion in its culture is almost essential to understanding the importance of the bread.

Sachiko and I met in one of the Tomoko's baking classes, but she first started to learn bread baking at Masako-san's baking lessons. She has been learning tole painting, and one of

the classmates brought *melon-pan* to the painting class. Sachiko was fascinated by her *melon-pan*. She wanted to learn bread baking after that in order to bake *melon-pan* at home, so she asked her classmate to introduce her to Masako, whose classes she began to attend. Sachiko enjoyed learning bread baking from Masako, and she attended lessons for three years. Masako ran out of recipes, so Sachiko started looking for another person who bakes bread at home. By the time she finished Masako's class, Sachiko wanted to sell Japanese bread. She was interested in contacting people who know how to sell homemade bread.

After a few months of looking for people who baked at home, Sachiko heard about Tomoko from a friend. She started attending lessons in June 2014. The first lesson Sachiko took was rolls with gratin fillings, which surprised her. In Masako's lesson, Sachiko didn't learn how to knead bread dough by hand, so Tomoko's methods were a new experience for her. Additionally, the baking process was very different from Masako's. Sachiko was wondering if she should continue taking Tomoko's lessons because the style was so different, but she finally decided to continue because she had learned so much in the first lesson. Sachiko stated her comments on Tomoko's class after attending it for a few months.

> Before attending Tomoko's lessons, I learned bread baking from another person [Masako-san], and I thought that bread was pretty good but once I started learning from Tomoko, I could eat only good quality bread. At first, I was worried because Tomoko's baking style was a very different from Masako's. So I had to adjust to the baking style, which I thought it would be difficult; however, I knew that Tomoko graduated from Le Cordon Bleu, which is a very good school, so I

> believed that I could do better with her, and I started taking lessons from Tomoko… The more I took lessons, the more I learned.

Sachiko seems happy about her decision to continue to take classes from Tomoko. She gave an example of what exactly she learned from Tomoko:

> I was wondering how to preserve the bread fluffy and soft for a long time, so I have adjusted the amount of bread flour and all-purpose flour when I especially bake *melon-pan*, but I finally noticed that bread with less yeast keeps its fluffiness and softness, which Tomoko taught me. It was shocking.

Sachiko enjoyed learning from Tomoko even though it was difficult for her to adjust her baking technique from Masako's way to Tomoko's way. However, Sachiko believes in Tomoko's professionalism in baking, and she doesn't seem to hesitate to learn more about baking by taking more lessons from Tomoko. Sachiko then continued to talk about what she learned in detail at Tomoko's, and what she likes about Tomoko and Tomoko's baking:

> I really enjoy Tomoko's lessons. Tomoko taught me not only about bread dough itself but also about how to cook *anko* from scratch. I would have never learned how to cook *anko* because Masako used packaged *anko*. I really liked Masako's lessons because I learned two kinds of bread in her class, and the lunchtime was

> really enjoyable. We made salad and soup along with bread and ate lunch together with classmates… but I think Tomoko is really into bread baking.

Sachiko kept admiring Tomoko's professionalism. She then confessed her honest feelings about Tomoko:

> When I talked with Tomoko after lessons, I noticed how much Tomoko loves bread. What I liked about her is that Tomoko enjoys bread baking, which gives me the joy of bread baking. Tomoko doesn't eat bread herself, but I know she loves bread baking. I can tell from her shinning eyes while talking about bread baking.

Again, Sachiko mentions Tomoko's professionalism in bread baking, and it is obvious from her statement that Sachiko definitely trusts Tomoko as a professional baker. Sachiko has strong feelings about bread, especially Japanese bread, and Tomoko is able to help her produce the types of bread which she prefers and for which she has been looking. At the end of the interview, Sachiko told me her dream of bread baking: "My ultimate goal is to sell my bread… but I also want to eat good bread." Sachiko then mentioned that she wants to go to Le Cordon Bleu and learn professional bread baking in order to start bakery business in the future. Sachiko has liked bread baking since she started attending Masako-san's baking lessons, but Sachiko began to take bread baking seriously by being inspired by Tomoko.

After a month or so, I received a message from Sachiko that she decided to go to Le Cordon Bleu in Tokyo, Japan to get the same certificate as Tomoko. She attended the three-month class and at the end of June 2015, she gained her bread baking certificate from Le Cordon Bleu, which was her immediate dream. Sachiko wanted to share her feelings on bread baking with me after acquiring the certificate, so we decided to meet again in September 2015.

Originality and Sachiko's Bread

Sachiko and I met at a café in San Diego in September 2015. Sachiko brought a camera with her and periodically showed me pictures of the bread she baked at school of Le Cordon Bleu in Tokyo as well as the prototype she has been baking in San Diego for her future career. As soon as we settled down at the table in the café, Sachiko started to explain how her feelings about bread have changed, so I turned on the tape recorder immediately.

> Before attending lessons at Le Cordon Bleu, I truly believed that Japanese bread was the best in the world, but that was not true… I realized how good French bread is. But I'm not saying French bread is better than Japanese bread, but instead the bread made with the best ingredients is always the best. If American bread is made with better ingredients, it would be better bread.

Sachiko noticed that American bread is not tasty not because it has less variety, and it is rough but because it doesn't have good ingredients. Sachiko explained how her feelings have changed after taking lessons at Le Cordon Bleu:

> As I said, I thought Japanese bread was the best, so I thought I needed to sell Japanese bread in the U.S. because American bread isn't good, but now I think French bread is as good as Japanese bread. And I am currently hoping to be able to make some bread with the skills I gained at Le Cordon Bleu… French style of bread baking. I still think Japanese bread is good because the ingredients used for bread are always good. Actually Tomoko used to say this… but you know there are many kinds of bread flour the Japanese developed. For example, Haruyutaka bread flour is made in Hokkaido. I really think the ingredients are the most important part of bread.

Sachiko then mentioned that she is now looking for a place to get good quality bread flour in San Diego. She is now interested in making bread in the French to bake some bread and is no longer being particular about "Japanese" bread. She showed me a couple of pictures of the bread she baked at school and explained her current hopes for bread baking:

> This is the baguette I baked. The *anko* is kneaded into the bread dough… so I would say this bread is called *azuki* bread or *azuki* baguette. This is a prototype so I don't know how it will go, but when you look at the dough carefully, it has

> the color of *azuki* beans. Next time I bake this kind of baguette, I want to put more *azuki* beans. This is what I want to bake…

The *azuki* baguette Sachiko showed me was the one displayed for the final exam at school. Students had to come up with an "original" bread for final exam at Le Cordon Bleu, and Sachiko made the *azuki* baguette. Sachiko explained to me the reason why she decided to bake the *azuki* baguette as her "original" bread while describing what she thinks about bread:

> As I said, I now don't have any distinction among Japanese bread, French bread, and American bread. In the end, this baguette I baked isn't French bread at all because it has *azuki* beans, which aren't French… but I wouldn't say it is Japanese bread, either… What I can say is, what I'm looking for in bread is the combination of *wa* and *yō* (Japanese and Western). I never liked *anko* when I was little or before coming to the U.S…. but now it's totally the opposite. People say that when you get old, your sense of taste would change, and I strongly believe that I like *anko* now because I cannot get it here in the U.S.

Sachiko continued:

> I never thought about eating *anko* when I was young, but a while after coming to the U.S., I craved *anko*, which made me bake this hybrid of *wa* and *yō* with using French bread baking skills, which I was influenced by the French school…

The original idea for the *azuki* baguette came from Sachiko's experience coming to the U.S. as a Japanese citizen and craving *anko*, but it seems that there was another experience she thought about while making the hybrid bread. Sachiko explained details when she thought about combining the Japanese and Western ingredients to make bread like this:

> I was interested not only in bread baking but also in baking in general, especially cakes. While I was studying baking on my own and made *azuki* mousse cake, I found that the *azuki* and whipping cream match really well. Once in Japan, I had a cream puff with *azuki* whipping cream filling, which was really good, too. Since then, I tried to make *azuki* whipping cream at home. This experience also affects the idea to make something hybrid between *wa* and *yō*, which eventually reflected my *azuki* baguette. I guess I like to be creative.

Sachiko finally concluded the statement about her creativity with excitement:

> I now think about baking baguettes with Japanese sweet potatoes, the ones with sesame seeds, and the one with purple sweet potatoes. The purple color should be pretty. I am now thinking about adding non-Japanese ingredients, too… maybe apples? I hope to be able to sell a wide variety of baguettes in the future.

Sachiko's creative sense in bread baking also seems to be influenced by making the *azuki* baguette, but she concluded that the ultimate reason she decided on baking the *azuki* baguette is because of her move to the U.S.:

> In the end, I don't think I would have come up with the idea of baking this hybrid bread if I wasn't in the U.S. I wasn't interested in *wa* taste of *anko* at all so I doubted if I would eat it if I lived in Japan. I cannot get *anko* easily here in the U.S., which made me crave it. People ask for the impossible when it's hard to get it, and I thought I can fill up the impossible by making something hybrid. Anyway, coming to the U.S. made me think that way.

Necessity generates creativity. Sachiko's sense of creativity blossomed due to the necessity of *wa* in the U.S., where she decided to live when she got married. Because Sachiko had a longing for American food, she didn't mind living in the U.S.; however, her longtime stay in a foreign country, along with age, has changed her preference for food, and she has desired to have "Japanese" food, particularly bread. Sachiko began to learn to make the Japanese bread which she craved a couple years ago, and with the accidental encounter with Tomoko, a professional baker, she decided to go to the baking school to pursue her career as a baker. At school, Sachiko unexpectedly became fond of French bread and French-style baking; however, there she created the hybrid bread of *wa* and *yō*—the *azuki* baguette, which she believes is the ultimate bread she was looking for a long time because it represents Sachiko herself as a Japanese citizen living to the U.S., and trained at a French school. The *azuki* baguette is nothing

but Sachiko's bread. In addition to this *azuki* baguette, she is currently looking for something unique to Japan that is like her *azuki* baguette, even though she is interested in non-Japanese ingredients in bread as well. Bread is one of the effective foods to inform and pass down a quality peculiar to the Japanese, and Sachiko successfully attempts to show not only her creativity but also herself as Japanese through her bread.

Figure 24. *Azuki* baguette baked by Sachiko Bayne for the graduation party at Le Cordon Bleu Tokyo in July 2015. **Photo by Sachiko Bayne.**

Figure 25. Brioche de Nanterre (Brioche *shoku-pan*) baked by Sachiko Bayne at home. She wishes to sell this bread when she starts her bakery business in the future. **Photo by Sachiko Bayne.**

Figure 26. Sachiko Bayne

Okamura Manami

Manami came to San Diego with her family due to her husband's job in 2012. Manami has started learning to bread bake sometime in 2013. Manami found Tomoko's advertisement on San Diego Town.com stating that people could see how Tomoko bakes bread at home, and she became curious about bread baking. After a while, Tomoko put up the advertisement looking for students for her baking lessons, and Manami attended.

I first met Manami at one of the lessons I observed in February 2015. Since she and I found that we lived close each other, we started to hang out together, mostly talking about bread and bread baking. In March, she had to leave the country for good because of her husband's job; however, she and I have emailed each other since she left San Diego, and she expressed her opinions about Japanese bread and baking in Japan. Not like the other students who would live in the United States for good, Manami showed me how lifestyles change the priority of bread baking.

The Continuation of Eating Habits in a Foreign Country

In late February after our initial meeting at Tomoko's lesson, Manami and I met for the interview. I went up to her apartment. Since she and her family are going to leave San Diego in a month or so, I saw a few boxes packed up already, but the toys for her small children were still out in the living room. As soon as Manami welcomed me at the entrance of her apartment with her little son, she took me to the dining room, and I sat down on a chair at the dining table. Manami asked me what kind of drinks I prefer to drink, and I picked up cherry blossom tea. She

prepared cookies along with tea. Her son was playing with the toys in the living room, so, while we were chatting together, we could still watch him. When she was finally seated, I turned on the tape recorder and asked about her bread.

I first asked Manami to remember her life back in Japan related to bread. She said, "I think I have had bread daily. I had *shoku-pan* almost every morning… basically, I liked to have bread for breakfast. When I heard of a good bakery, I visited it." Manami seemed to like to have bread, especially *shoku-pan*, regularly in Japan. I then wondered if she had other kinds of bread, such as *kashi-pan* and *sōzai-pan* as well, and I asked if she liked other kinds of bread as well. She replied: "I had sweet rolls as well. I think I had bread often. When I was a student, I bought bread at convenience stores. Even when I started working, I had some often. I mostly had bread as a meal not as a snack. Breakfast or lunch." She continued, talking about her habits of eating bread:

> I don't think I had bread for dinner though. I had worked as a nurse in Japan, and I heard some of my nurse friends go to bread baking lessons. I wasn't interested at that time, but when I came to this country, I started making not only handmade bread but ramen, soba, and udon noodles. (Homemade) ramen is good.

Manami seems to crave not only *pan* but also other Japanese foods, particularly flour-based foods. This craving was not limited to her; her husband felt it, too. When she started learning bread baking, she and her husband realized that they could make other kinds of

Japanese foods on their own. Looking for information on the Internet, her husband purchased the ingredients for ramen and calculated the best hydrolytic ratio for the *mochimochi* ramen to satisfy his appetite for Japanese noodles. Eventually they purchased a pasta machine to flatten the dough for all sorts of noodles, starting with ramen and making udon and soba later on. Other than *pan*, noodles remind them of Japan. This demonstrates the length some of the Japanese people living in San Diego will go to in order to fill their cravings for Japanese foods.

Manami had bread for ordinary meals in Japan, but not for dinner. Bread seems to be a light meal and doesn't fit with dinner by itself. She also stated that she didn't have any interest in baking or making any other food on her own in Japan. She hasn't mentioned that it was a necessity to start making everything at home, especially bread because it was one of the ordinary foods for her in Japan; so, to make this point clear, I asked Manami why she has started making things by hand. She replied,

> I just wanted to eat them. There are ramen shops in San Diego, but I wanted to eat something I think is tasty. I really had a strong desire for [Japanese] food much more than I had in Japan. I started to look for the ingredients for noodles and tried to make handmade noodles using the similar ingredients to those used in Japan.

Craving for a specific kind of ramen noodles led Manami to make it on her own. About bread, she said, "I bake bread for breakfast. Bread is for breakfast." Similar to ramen noodles, Manami bakes bread because she wants to eat a specific kind of bread that she cannot find in

San Diego. Similar to Sachiko and other students in Ayumi's lesson, Manami needs to continue the food practice to which she was accustomed in Japan. To confirm if she has continued her eating habits from Japan, I asked Manami if she has eaten bread for dinner since she came to the U.S. She said, "It's rare. Maybe with a stew, or sometimes I make salad for the main dish at dinner time, so we eat bread with salad. I usually make a lot of bread to last a couple of days."

In the U.S., Manami seems to still have bread mostly for breakfast. To continue eating the specific kind of bread she prefers, she needs to bake daily. She also makes other food such as ramen, soba, and udon noodles because of her desire to have a certain quality of Japanese food. I finally affirmed that Manami's desire for food has changed to "needs" to satisfy her stomach in order to continue her food habits in the U.S.

Japanese Identity and Japanese Bread

After a while Manami's little son got tired of playing by himself, and the time for a nap finally came. Manami had to take him to the bedroom, so we stopped talking for a moment and I stopped the tape recorder. I had some tea with the cookies Manami prepared for me while waiting for her to come back into the dining room. When she returned, she offered me a coffee. After pouring some coffee for me, I restarted the tape recorder, and we continued our talk about bread.

Since Manami seems to have a specific preference for bread, I asked her what kinds of bread she specially liked. She described her preference in this way:

> I like the fluffiness and delicate texture of Japanese bread. I like the flavor and the moisture of Japanese bread as well. American bread seems dry to me. I also like the variety in Japanese bread. There are all kinds of rolls like *sōzai-pan*. The sweet rolls are not too sweet, either. Japanese bread is just right to me.

Manami likes the texture and the variety of Japanese bread, just like the other people I have interviewed. This is the main reason why Manami had to start baking on her own: she cannot get the proper Japanese bread in San Diego, as far as she knows. Manami then continued talking about her experience with purchasing bread at the local supermarket in the U.S.:

> When I first came to this country, I often bought a bag of bagels, but I started to buy the bagels in the section of freshly baked bread in the supermarkets. I used to like them… but once I started baking my own bagels, I disliked the bagels at the stores.

Manami preferred purchasing the "freshly" baked bread, but once she started making it on her own, she liked handmade bread more than the bread at the store. Her bread is fresher than the store baked bread, so she might not have been able to be satisfied with not so "fresh" bread anymore. This is also one of the points other Japanese women I interviewed mentioned, that "freshness" is one of the elements Japanese bread. Manami also explained her preference

on this freshly baked bread, as well as the delicate texture of the bread, by remembering her experience of making bread out of a package:

> Once I bought a package of bread mix [at the local store], and I baked bread out of it. Following the recipe in the package, I could make good bread with crunchy crust and fluffy crumb. It was pretty good, but since the bread contained a lot of yeast to make the bread fluffy, the bread was not delicate like the Japanese bread I bake. The rolls you can eat at the restaurants are crunchy and fluffy, so I think they're pretty good. I don't think I can buy the bread sold at the supermarkets any more, but the rolls at the restaurants are still pretty good to me.

Manami like the freshness of the bread even though she made it out of a mix, but she realized that it was not as delicate as Japanese bread. As Sachiko described regarding the nature of yeast, bread containing a lot of yeast gets harder quickly. It also generates the unpleasant smell of the yeast, which makes it hard to eat. However, by following Tomoko's recipes, which minimizes the amount of yeast, Manami can bake bread and be satisfied because the pleasant texture of fluffiness and crunchiness last longer and the smell coming out of the bread is actually pleasant due to its proper amount of the yeast. She still likes the rolls she gets at the restaurants as well, but I believe that is because the bread is usually soft when it is served warm, which gives it almost the same texture as Japanese bread. I also believe that Manami doesn't take the bread back home, so she doesn't have to worry about the texture of

the bread changing later. This way I would be able to say that Manami still likes American bread, but only the bread served warm at the restaurants, and it should have a soft and fluffy texture when she eats it. At any rate, this way of thinking about bread made me ask why she basically wants to eat Japanese style bread, which has fluffy texture inside and crunchy crust. Manami answered by comparing bread with instant ramen noodles:

> Do I want to eat "Japanese" bread? I think the bread I always imagine is "Japanese" bread. I can't consider any other bread "Japanese," so the bread I want to eat is "Japanese" bread. This is a bit off from Japanese bread, but I don't think the instant ramen noodles sold in the U.S. are tasty at all, but Americans think they are good, so I wonder how Americans react when they eat "Japanese" instant ramen noodles.

Manami continued talking about her thoughts on "Japanese" food: "I'm so used to eating 'Japanese' food, so that's why I like to taste the flavor of it. Following this theory, Americans think their food is the best, and so not everybody has to think American food is the best."

Manami grew up with bread available around her, which is Japanese bread. Since she didn't know about any other bread available around the world, all she could imagine was Japanese bread. Manami thinks Japanese bread is the best because she grew up with it. Being Japanese, Manami prefers Japanese bread, so for her bread has to have proper Japanese qualities, delicacy, fluffiness, crunchiness, and a pleasant smell. It also needs variety.

The Necessity of Bread Baking

After hearing about Manami's bread preference, I asked about bread baking. To understand how she has managed to continue her eating habits with qualified Japanese bread and to satisfy her appetite for it, I finally asked Manami about bread baking at home and Tomoko's class.

Through Home Baking

Manami told me that she has a bread machine, so I asked her how she uses it. She first described the baking experience with a bread machine, and then talked about bread baking and parenting.

> I bought a bread machine as soon as I came to the U.S., but I couldn't make good bread with the American bread machine. It was a Cuisinart one. The bread I made with it was really hard compared to the bread you can bake with a Japanese bread machine. The crust was really hard. When I didn't have time, I baked bread in the machine, but I started to bake the dough in the oven after kneading and rising after a while. It takes thirty minutes to knead a dough by hand, but since I have small children, I cannot do it.

Manami tried desperately to make the bread she prefers with a bread machine, but she has failed to make the ones she wanted to eat. She then started to use a machine just for kneading, which seemed to be somewhat successful. The bread machine helped her to keep a good balance of baking and parenting. She then talked about how to maintain baking and parenting with her busy lifestyle.

> It takes three to four hours to complete all the processes of baking, but you don't actually have to be with the dough all the time. My friends always ask me how I manage time for baking with parenting, but honestly, each process doesn't take much time so I can do it no problem.

Different from Ayumi's lessons, it takes more time to complete all the processes of baking with Tomoko's recipes; however, Manami is able to manage time both for baking and parenting due to the slow rising of the bread dough because the breads Tomoko offers have less yeast. Tomoko's recipes fit well with Manami's lifestyle. She lastly stated the importance of bread baking in her life:

> It takes time, but if I don't make bread for a week or so, I start to want to make bread so bad. So I sometimes bake two kinds of bread in a day. I'm not sure if I would be like this once I go back to Japan. I'm not working here so I have time… maybe that's why I feel like this.

Manami is not sure if she could manage her three jobs (as a nurse, baker, and parent) in Japan, but she at least seems to have time to enjoy her life in the U.S., with daily baking even though she is busy parenting. Manami even thinks bread baking is necessary for her not only to satisfy her eating habits but also to fulfill her spare time in the U.S.

Through Baking Lessons

With an understanding of how Manami manages bread baking at home with parenting, I asked questions about how she became interested in taking lessons from Tomoko. Previously, Manami briefly told me that she became interested due to Tomoko's ads looking for students for her baking lessons, but this time she explained the reason in detail:

> My daughter was very little when I came to San Diego, and I wanted her to eat *shoku-pan*, but the American bread was not good. I also didn't know what's in the bread. Since my daughter has an allergy for eggs, I needed to bake for her. If I baked the bread by myself, I would know what's in the bread.

Just like the students at Ayumi's, Manami looked for bread that her daughter can eat safely. Mothering and bread baking seems to be related for many people who started bread baking when they come to the U.S. because they have doubts about the ingredients of the unfamiliar American bread. Manami had been eating bread or *shoku-pan* daily even in Japan, so

she seemed to keep her eating habits not only for herself but also for her daughter, which motivated Manami to learn bread baking in class.

In Tomoko's class, students have to take at least six lessons before taking the *shoku-pan* lesson because they need to get used to dealing with a small amount of bread dough, which requires more technique to knead and roll, as Tomoko mentioned before. I assumed that Manami took at least six lessons from Tomoko to make her favorite *shoku-pan*, but I asked her how many lessons she actually took. She answered by showing her collected recipes from Tomoko's lessons:

> I guess once in a couple of months. I got pregnant and gave birth at some point so I couldn't take as many lessons as I thought, but since I go back to Japan soon, I have recently taken lessons twice a month.

Manami tried to remember the lessons she has taken from Tomoko while looking at the recipes, and she continued: "I think I took at least ten of Tomoko's lessons… not over twenty…maybe fifteen? The bread I bake often at home is *shoku-pan* and soft white rolls. I bake soft white rolls a lot."

In a couple of years, Manami took fifteen lessons, which is not that many, but she seems to be satisfied with the lesson of her favorite *shoku-pan*. Other than *shoku-pan* she still likes to bake simple rolls. Manami frequently mentioned her favorite bread and what kinds of bread she has learned in Tomoko's lessons to support her home baking.

> I have learned simple breads except for *sōzai-pan*, the bread I want to eat and make easily. I learned soft white rolls and rolls with chocolate cream filling at the same time. It's easier to make than butter rolls. Soft white soft rolls are very moist and so good. It takes time to make chocolate cream… and the reason I don't take *sōzai-pan* lessons is because it takes time to make fillings. Once I took the lesson for rolls with sweet potato fillings, and it was very tasty, but since it takes time to make fillings, I didn't make the rolls with sweet potato fillings at all at home.

Manami paused before confirming her previous statement: "That's why I basically take the lessons for simple bread and rolls. I don't make the bread if it takes too much time to make fillings."

Bread baking is needed to maintain her dietary habits so she doesn't take lessons for the somewhat complicated ones in Tomoko's class, which is the reason why she hasn't taken very many lessons. However, it shows that her lesson choices are closely related to her daily home baking. She talked about how helpful Tomoko's lessons are for her home baking:

> Learning is one of the purposes for going to Tomoko's lessons, but I also like the fact that I can exchange information with other students. I also like to go to lessons to gain knowledge about bread baking. It took a while for me to bake good *shoku-pan*. I failed again and again, so the other day I brought the failed

bread to Tomoko. Tomoko gave me tips to make better bread, and I finally could bake bread I was satisfied with.

Manami went on, filled with satisfaction: “Tomoko’s lessons gave me an opportunity to think about bread and research about bread. If I didn’t go to Tomoko’s lessons, I think I would have endured eating American bread even though I didn’t think it was tasty and longed for Japanese bread…”

Tomoko’s baking lessons enhanced Manami’s knowledge about bread. They also enriched Manami’s daily home baking by introducing new recipes and by improving her skills. Manami seems to be satisfied with her current homemade bread thanks to Tomoko. Tomoko has been an irreplaceable instructor for Manami in support of her procurement of preferable bread in the U.S.

Bread Baking and Life

Manami's previous statements make it clear that bread baking is pretty important for her life in the U.S. I finally asked her what she thinks about bread baking, and Manami answered like this, “Bread baking gave me a fulfilling life and satisfaction.” Thanks to bread baking, Manami can enjoy her life in the U.S. She then stated how essential bread baking is for her current life:

> I basically eat the bread I make and I don't buy bread outside. If there's no homemade bread at home, I just eat cereal. But, I try not to have this kind of thing happen, so I keep baking bread daily. I have to have homemade bread for breakfast. I always count the dates. The loaf lasts two days so right before the day we finish the loaf, I start preparing the dough.

It seems that Manami cannot think about life without homemade bread. She affirmed this fact with the following statement:

> Bread baking is now part of my life cycle. I really don't feel tired of it. My family tells me that they want to eat homemade bread, but I really think I'm the one who wants to eat it… But I don't think I make it just for myself though. I make bread because I have a family.

Bread baking is integrated into Manami's life cycle and inseparable from her life. To obtain bread not only to satisfy herself but also her family, she continues baking. The homemade bread is a necessity for them at this point, but she doesn't seem to feel obligated to make bread due to its necessity. Manami asserted:

> I have baked bread so many times at this point, but every time I see an improvement. There's no perfection. Even though I feel like I can bake good bread, I still find something that I might be able to improve. When I bake bread again and again, I can make it better each time, which gives me joy. I couldn't roll

> the dough well before, but now I can roll it quick and easily. I can see the improvement every time, so I really enjoy baking. I think bread baking is now my hobby.

The necessity for a specific food instills a sense of duty to produce it, but Manami doesn't feel like baking is an obligation; instead she enjoys bread baking as a hobby. She didn't state it clearly with her own voice, but she vaguely mentioned her role as a wife and a mother to produce what a family requests just like Ayumi, the other students at Ayumi's lessons, and Tomoko. As a Japanese wife and mother, Manami attempts to offer whatever is the best for her family, and bread is one of those things. Tomoko thinks this way of thinking leads to Japanese food education, and Manami seems to be able to work on it without effort, instead with pleasure, or even by nature. The temperament of Japanese married women is deep-rooted in her heart; however, lastly, Manami declared how moving to the U.S. changed her thoughts and life.

> If I was living in Japan for my entire life, not coming to the U.S., I don't think I would have baked bread. If I didn't have a big oven, I don't think I was interested in bread baking like now. I really thought it's hard to bake at home. When I started living here in the U.S., I realized that I'm not limited to eating good bread, but good food *per se*. I also realized that I have to make the food I want to eat on my own if I really want it.

In Japan, Manami thought bread is something just to buy at bakeries and stores, but once she moved to the U.S., she couldn't find the ones she imagined as "bread." Manami realized not only bread but also other foods such as soba and ramen noodles, which she could find in the U.S., are not authentic enough for her, which moved her to make on her own. As she mentions, in Japan, unless you order it specifically for your kitchen, the right kind of oven doesn't come with an apartment luckily, a decent size oven is always available in the apartments in the U.S., and this perfect environment made Manami to want to bake bread at home. In addition to this physical change, a coincidental encounter with Tomoko made Manami notice what is needed for the Japanese, and, further, that she is a Japanese woman. At last, Manami has also became a women who realized her identity as Japanese through bread and its baking.

The Memorable Bread Baking and the Change of Lifestyle

Manami left San Diego with her family to Nara prefecture, Japan. She is originally from Fukushima prefecture, so it was the first time she lived in Nara. She seemed to have mixed feelings of excitement and worry before leaving the U.S., but after a couple of months, she sent me an email to say hello. She also told me about the situation of bread baking since she started a new life in Nara.

> When I came back to Japan, I baked bagels and English bread once. I bought a big oven for bread baking, but I'm still not used to the adjustment of the oven

temperature. In terms of flour, I have to choose a proper one for bagels; otherwise, it becomes too fluffy. However, whenever I want, I can get bread at a decent price and easily, so I buy bread most of the time. There are more varieties. I'm also very satisfied with the texture and the taste of the bread I purchase at the bakery.

It seems that Manami's eating habits haven't changed, but she doesn't bake bread as much as in the U.S. because the preferable kinds of bread are available near her house. She is also having trouble finding the flour to make the bread she likes, which might be one of the reasons she has to stay away from baking. However, in July when I received another email from her, she seemed to have found the proper flour for the bread.

I'm getting tired of the bread I purchase at the bakery close by, so I started to bake bread on my own. I mostly bake bagels, English bread, and brown sugar English bread. I use the Hokkaido brand flour, Haruyokoi, to make bread. In terms of bagels, I can make more springy ones compared to the flour I used to use in the U.S. I just recently used King Arthur flour, but I felt the bagels were a little too fluffy. When I use Haruyokoi flour for English bread, I feel like I can make them more springy, and also the flavor is pretty good. I think I could make the best one ever by using Haruyokoi flour.

Manami realized that different flour makes very different bread. She thought the bread made with King Arthur flour was good enough while she was in the U.S., but now she doesn't seem to be satisfied with it. "Good enough" isn't good enough. Manami then confirmed the best flour to make Japanese bread, or at least for her homemade Japanese bread, with the following statement:

> I really think the Japanese flour is suitable to Japanese bread. I also like to try out all sorts of domestic flour for bread so I have already ordered some kinds online. I then started to bake bread once or twice a week like I used to bake in the U.S.

Manami's obsession with springy texture of bread seems to be obvious in this email. The knowledge of bread baking made her to continue baking in order to satisfy her desire to have a specific kind of bread. Her lifestyle with bread has clearly changed since she learned bread baking at Tomoko's in the U.S.; now she is baking as often as possible, even in Japan. Manami now continues the food practice she had in the U.S. by daily baking bread on her own. In an email she sent in August, she also stated her continuous bread baking habits like this:

> I still bake English bread once a week. I kind of have a rotation for baking with those three kinds of bread: English bread, bagels, and brown sugar English bread. I really like the springy texture of English bread I bake. I don't think I can get the same kind at the bakery, so that's why I bake it on my own.

Manami seems to enjoy bread baking in Japan because it satisfies her wishes for having her favorite texture of springiness. Although she was wondering before if she would continue baking bread in Japan, she has been accomplishing it; however, in November, I unfortunately received this email indicating quitting daily bread baking due to her job.

> I have started working as a nurse again so I haven't baked bread for a while, but I bake English bread when I have spare time. Recently I have had to buy a lot of bread on weekends and freeze it to last for a week.

Manami continued to have bread for her breakfast even after moving to the U.S. She started baking bread with a bread machine first, then switched to the oven regularly after learning baking in Tomoko's class. Manami tried not to change her desire for the specific quality of bread, which affected her lifestyle after going back to Japan. In order to keep eating the preferable kind of bread, she resumed making bread on her own because she realized that the bread she is looking for isn't even available at any bakery in Japan. However, she had to give up her bread baking habit because of her new job, which is not ideal. She still seems to enjoy bread baking as a hobby. In Japan, Japanese bread is still a necessity for Manami, but since she cannot find the right kind of bread, it cannot be a definite food anymore without putting a lot of effort. The move to a foreign country brings many changes in people's lives physically and emotionally.

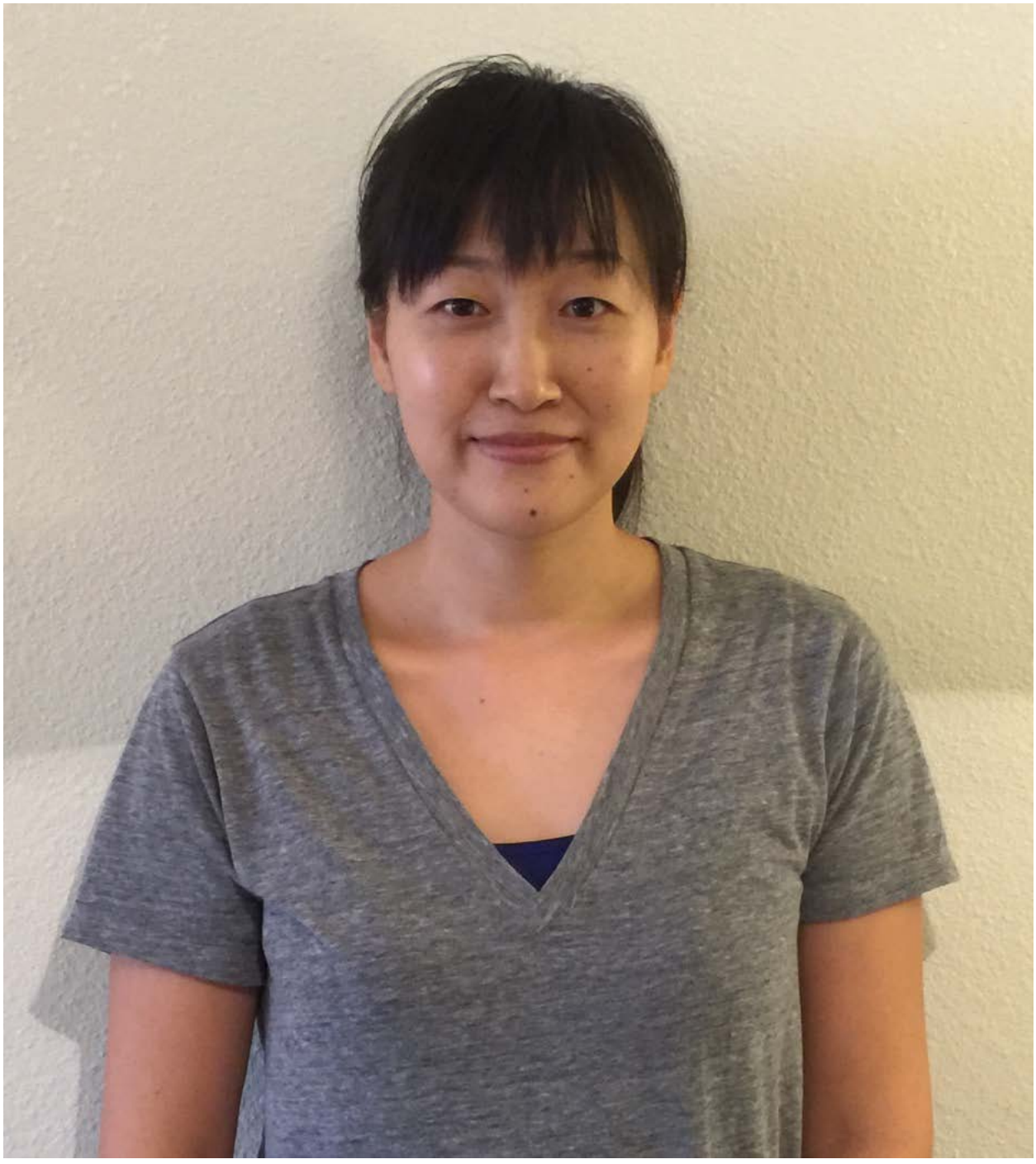

Figure 27. Okamura Manami

CHAPTER 5: MASAKO-SAN'S BAKING CLASS

While having a talk with Sachiko, whom I met in the San Diego Bread Baking Club, she brought up her first baking class, taken from another Japanese woman, Ōhashi Masako. I was interested in her lessons, too, and so Sachiko emailed Masako for me. Masako wanted to know the details of my research. I called her on the phone and explained what I wanted to know about her and her lessons. After a couple of weeks, Masako suggested that I attend a lesson as a student so I would be able to know the class and students better, and I decided to do so, as I had with Ayumi and Tomoko.

Masako-san's baking class[37] is different from Ayumi's Kawano Bread Baking Class and Tomoko's San Diego Bread Baking Club in terms of scheduling the lessons. Since her baking lessons are known only by word of mouth, people cannot attend her lessons without invitations from current students. She also holds lessons only for a group of five to six students. Students either gather a group by themselves or attend a lesson whenever there is an empty spot. I had an invitation from Sachiko, but I didn't know anybody in a group, so Masako chose a group with an empty spot for me. The group Masako chose for me was one with five middle-aged Japanese women. She thought they would be a great fit for me because they have been living in the United States for a long time and know many things about life in the United States.

I first met the group of students in the lesson for Vienna-style brioche and curry bacon rolls on March 3, 2015. When I arrived at Masako's house, she welcomed me nicely opening the entrance door for me. I saw a couple of shoes already at the entrance, so I removed my own

[37] Masako didn't specifically name her class, so I named her class by using her given name and *san* (Mrs.). I also thought "Masako-san" is better than just "Masako" because her students usually call her "Masako-san."

and walked into the dining room. As I had guessed, a couple of students were already in the dining room wearing aprons to prepare for the lesson. As soon as they saw me, they greeted me and introduced themselves. It seemed that I was the youngest in the group, so I became a little nervous talking to them, but they were really nice to me. After a while a couple of more students came, and they also introduced themselves to me. They seem to be curious about me, asking questions about graduate schools, but the time for the lesson came, and we all gathered around the table to get started. The lesson was very different from Ayumi's and Tomoko's, and it was hard for me to follow the first lesson with new people. But, in the end, I learned about baking as well as the people in the group.

Masako was right indeed. The people in this group were really nice. I was the youngest in the group, and they treated me almost like their daughter even though we had just met. Everybody in the group seemed to be curious about my bread project, and they were willing to help me out. I then decided to join this group. The first lesson was in March 2015, and I continued baking bread with this group until I left San Diego in March 2016. I observed the lessons as an observer as much as I could, and almost every time I took pictures of the lessons and used a tape-recorder to support recording the events in my notes. Since Masako and the students in the group were busy outside of the lessons, I had interviews with them during lessons and lunchtime. I managed to have personal interviews with two students—Takako and Nahomi—and Masako, the instructor, individually. The others were shy to talk individually, so we had a discussion with all the students instead so them to talk comfortably with me. The passion for baking lessons varies due to people's aims, which can be found in individuals'

speeches later in this chapter. Further, this chapter also shows how a baking class can be a community where people can be themselves.

Baking Lessons in Masako-san's Baking Class

Masako-san's baking lesson starts at nine thirty in the morning and ends usually at three or so. Depending on the day, it can end at three thirty or four not because baking takes long but because students are too excited about chatting, which extends the time of the lesson. In Masako's lessons, students learn two kinds of bread, which makes them longer than the other lessons as well. As I mentioned before, the class I had attended included five middle-aged women: Okano Takako, Kato Nahomi, Shiraiwa Rumiko, Shibata Tomoko, and Tachikawa Hisako. After every lesson, the students decide the date of the next one in the following month. Rumiko is in charge of emailing the group a week before the next lesson to check everybody's schedule again and make sure they are still available. Since the lesson is not usually held for less than five students, Rumiko checks their schedules in advance to avoid the cancellation of the lesson. Rumiko is also in charge of discussing with Masako what kinds of bread they would bake for the next lesson because Masako is such a busy person that she sometimes forgets what kinds of bread they have already baked.

Students come to the lesson a little before 9:30 a.m., though sometimes a couple of students are delayed because of the rush hour on the freeway. At the entrance, everybody takes off their shoes before going to the combined dining and living room. There, students place their bags on the floor and put on their aprons. Masako is usually preparing the bread

dough for the second bread when everybody arrives. The first one is usually already set in the bread machine, and once it is ready, students can start working.

Masako has two kinds of bread machines; one is in the kitchen, and the other is on the floor in the hallway. Both machines are called *konemaru*—the one in the hallway is small size, so it is called *chibi-maru* (*chibi* means *small* in Japanese). Masako has learned her baking techniques from the Japan Home Baking School, which offers these official machines only for the students of the school. Masako purchased the regular *konemaru* first, which she brought to San Diego, and she bought the smaller one later on when she went back to Japan. Since Masako is still technically a student of the school, she takes lessons whenever she goes back to Japan and is still able to purchase its products. If Masako's students ask her for the specific products, she buys them in Japan and brings them back to the U.S. The most popular product students ask Masako is the rolling pin, which has a unique shape and makes it easier to remove air from the bread dough. A couple of students bring the rolling pin which they bought from Masako (essentially from the school) to almost every lesson, placing them on the dining table before the lesson starts. Masako has two rolling pins, but more rolling pins are helpful for a group of five students so everybody can do the same process of bread shaping all together.

Once the first dough is ready, Masako brings it in the tin of the machine and places it on the dining table, where students work on the bread. The dining table is usually covered with a beige linen liner, which prevents the dough from sticking. Masako also brings a digital scale and a scraper from the kitchen. She tells the students to cut all the dough into the same amount and to roll them to be ready for the first rise. Since there is only one scale, one student usually cuts and measures the weight of the bread dough, and others roll the dough. Different from

Ayumi's and Tomoko's lessons, in Masako's class, all the students support each other and bake the bread from the same dough. The bread is the creation of the group.

After rolling all the bread, students cover the bread with the linen liner and let it sit for at least for minutes for the first rise. The time for the first rise changes depending on the bread, but the maximum time is sixty minutes. While waiting for the dough to be ready for the next step, Masako usually explains the baking process for the first bread by looking at a recipe. Each recipe is two pages long and printed in color; ingredients and the time sheet are on the first page, and the shaping process after the second rise is shown with pictures on the second page. The recipes are usually set on the living room table, and the student who comes first distributes the recipe to other students before the lesson starts so, by the time of the first rise, everybody has recipes already. Since they know the first process of cutting and weighing already, they place the recipes usually on the living room table with their own pens to identify their copies, and then they bring the recipes to the dining table to hear the details from Masako during the time of the first rise.

Since the first rise takes longer than it takes to discuss the baking process, the students often have time to chat on their own. Sometimes all of the students talk together, but most of the time two or three students talk to each other. The subject for the talk is random and might be about their children or the weather, but they all seem to enjoy it. When timer beeps, Masako tells the students to remove some air from the bread and roll it again for its bench time. Masako demonstrates how to do it first, but because it's the same for most of the breads students have already learned it. Nonetheless, Masako reminds them of the process by showing the way she does it. When finished rolling the dough again, students cover it again with a linen

liner, usually for fifteen to twenty minutes for the bench time. While waiting, students continue talking, but this time, Masako brings the tins to the dining table and tells students to spread shortening all over the tins to prevent bread dough from sticking. Usually the first bread is a loaf of some kind, and the second one is sweet rolls or buns with filling. It seems this way students can enjoy two kinds of bread on the same day—simple bread and sweet or filled bread. For another reason, Masako doesn't have as many tins and baking sheets, so this way Masako doesn't have to purchase more baking utensils, which take a lot of storage space.

When the bench time is over, the bread dough is now ready to be shaped. Masako shows the students how to shape the dough first, and then the students start shaping their own dough. Nahomi is usually good at shaping the dough, so other students sometimes ask for her help. At this time, Masako has returned to the kitchen to prepare the dough for the second bread, take the baking sheets out of the kitchen cabinet, and adjust the temperature of the oven for the second rise, but she comes back to the dining table once in a while to see how the students are doing.

Once students are done shaping the dough, they place it in order in tins. When a tin is full with the dough, Masako takes it to the kitchen and places it on the top of the oven. The oven is already pre-heated so the top of the oven is warm, which helps the dough to rise. Masako prefers to have the temperature of 40 °C for the second rise. When students finish shaping all the dough and Masako finishes placing all the tins on the top of the oven, students usually have twenty-five to thirty minutes until the second rise is done. Masako brings the second dough from the machine in the hallway so students can start working on the second bread. The first process of dividing and rolling is the same as for the first bread or any other

bread. When Masako says how many grams each bread should weigh, a student cuts the dough and other students roll them.

When students finish rolling and cover the dough balls with a linen liner, the first bread is usually ready to be placed into the oven. Masako shouts to the students that she will place the bread into the oven. Students go to the kitchen to see the very moment the bread goes into the oven with excitement. While waiting for the first bread to come out of the oven and for the first rise of the second bread, some students help Masako to prepare fillings and others talk with each other again in the dining room.

Even though students are excited about the moment of the bread coming from the oven, the kitchen is too small to fit six people, so they wait in the dining room. When the bread is ready to come out from the oven, Masako again shouts, saying “Bread is ready!” Students come back to the kitchen to see the bread, and all are now very excited. They start talking about the color of the bread and which one looks good. They also like to smell the aroma of the bread. Masako places the bread on the rack to cool down, and while she is doing that, the first rise for the second bread is ready for rolling again prior to bench time. Since the students are used to doing it from the first bread, they usually finish quickly.

Students wait for fifteen to twenty minutes again for bench time by either talking or continuing to help Masako make fillings. As a proverb says, “Too many cooks spoil the broth,” and mostly because of the limited space, not all the students stay in the kitchen. After bench time, Masako brings the fillings for the second bread from the kitchen and demonstrates how to shape the bread with fillings. Students start shaping the dough following her advice. When the students start shaping, Masako brings the baking sheets with a silicone baking liner, and

students place the bread they shaped on these baking sheets in order. Masako uses silicone baking liners because they are easy to clean.

When she is finished placing all the shaped dough on the baking sheet, Masako takes them to the kitchen and places them on top of the oven, just like the first bread, for the second rise. Students start clearing the dining table, since the lesson itself is technically done, and they now prepare for tasting or lunch time. Masako brings the tablecloth for the table, which she chooses to match the breads, and students cover the table with it. A couple of students start working on washing lettuce, cutting tomatoes, and slicing pepper to make salad in the kitchen, and others take out dishes, tea cups, and chopsticks from the cupboard, place them on the table, and bring the chairs back around the dining table. Since the first bread is cool enough to cut and place in the basket, Masako cuts some loaves, thinking about leftovers for the students to take home. She places the bread in the basket and sets it in the middle of the table. Of course, students around the table are excited and always smile looking at the bread.

While students are working on each job in the kitchen or at the dining table, Masako places the second bread into the oven. Tomoko likes to make desserts, which she always brings desserts for us, and Tomoko places them on the table, too. When the second bread is ready, Masako takes it out from the oven and places it on the rack for a few minutes. Students then place the salad on the table. They usually serve two plates of salad so everybody can reach either of the plates. When the bread cools down a little, Masako places it in the basket with tongs, and students bring the second basket of bread to the on the table. However, there is so much bread that it is hard to place them all on the dining table. Some bread is placed on the coffee table in the living room. Masako makes hot water in the electric kettle, pours it into the

tea pot, and brings it to the dining table. Now they are ready to taste the bread with salad and black tea—afternoon tea time finally begins. Perhaps they simply prefer the taste of the black tea with *pan*, or maybe they feel this tea fits well with the bread because both may seem a little less “Japanese” compared to other options.

Except for Masako’s seat, which is close to the kitchen so she can make hot water for more tea, everybody sits randomly. As they eat, they talk about random things: their children, schools, rabbits in the garden. They enjoy talking and eating usually for two hours, and sometimes more. The lesson itself is important, but it is no exaggeration to say that this tasting/lunch time is as important as the lesson. It is the best time for both students and Masako to be able to forget chores and work and enjoy themselves with friends.

Very quickly the time passes, but after a couple of hours of chatting, students start clearing the table. Usually rush hour starts at three o'clock in San Diego, and it gets worse after that. Nobody wants to hit rush hour so they try to leave by at least two thirty. Some students wash and dry all the dishes; others put them away. When students finish cleaning up, they come back to the dining table, and divide the leftover bread to take home. Students usually decide their preferable bread with the game of scissors-paper-rock, and winners get the bread first, and others in order. Students bring containers to take home the leftover bread. Once they get the bread, Masako distributes cards, on which to record the date and what kinds of bread they baked, and envelopes to pay for the lesson. Students also discuss the date for the next lesson with Masako, and the lesson ends.

Each lesson starts from nine thirty in the morning and ends at three in the afternoon or later, which is quite long to be with other people, even though it is not a workplace they have

to be at every day; however, everyone always look happy and energetic after such long lesson. By going through the same processes of making bread and sharing the food, thoughts, and information about each other's lives, the lesson generates a sense of unity, which allows them to be able to be Japanese even in the United States. Masako-san's baking class is a community where Japanese women can be themselves in addition to enjoy bread baking.

Figure 28. Curry bacon rolls and Vienna-style brioche from the baking lesson on March 3, 2015. Tomato salad was prepared by students while waiting for the bread coming out of the oven.

Figure 29.
Ōhashi Masako, Instructor, helping Tomoko to shape the bread dough for butter top *shoku-pan* and yeast donuts during a baking lesson on June 4, 2015. Cockwise from the left: Hisako (front); Tomoko (second from front); Rumiko (third front); Nahomi (back); Masako (right).

Figure 30.
Curry-pan and corn bread baking lesson on April 2, 2015: Students (Hisako on left; Takako in the middle; Nahomi on right) helping each other to chop onions with a handy chopper to make ingredients for *curry-pan.*

Figure 31. Masako, Instructor, shaping the bread dough for donuts as demonstration in front of students at butter top *shoku-pan* and yeast donuts baking lesson on June 4, 2015.

Interviews with the Instructor and the Students

At my first meeting with the group of people in Masako-san's baking class in March 2015, I was nervous because I knew I was the youngest. I made sure that, when I spoke, it was not too casual, but respectful to elderly people, which is required in Japanese culture. However, unexpectedly, not only Masako, the instructor but all the students were really nice to me, treating me as their daughter, and I had a good time baking and talking with them. Since everybody in the class became interested in my bread project, I was able to have interviews with them at the second baking lesson in April 2015.

I initially had an interview with Takako, whom I actually first met on that day because she had been absent in March, but she was very passionate about bread baking, especially for her family. She was willing to tell me her thoughts on bread and her experiences in baking. The interview was held during the wait for the first rise of corn bread, which took forty minutes or so, but Takako gave me many stories in such a short time. Secondly, I had an interview with Nahomi, who also bakes regularly at home. Nahomi was a little different from the other people in the class because she doesn't have any children and she also has a job. Nahomi shared her keen views toward bread and her thoughts as a Japanese woman with no children.

Some other students were more comfortable talking in a group, so I had a discussion with all the students and Masako during lunch time. It became a success because sharing thoughts and stories generated more thoughts and stories. Lastly, I had an interview with Masako to hear about her stories as an instructor. All the interviews made it a long day, but I found Masako-san's baking class to be composed of women with a cooperative attitude as "Japanese."

Okano Takako

Takako has lived in the United States for twenty years. She started to come to baking lessons because she has liked bread, and her friend asked her if she was interested in joining the lessons with her. I have taken a lesson with the other members of the group, but it was the first time Takako and I met. She has been participating in the lessons for almost a year, but she was absent a couple of times because she had to go back to Japan to take care of her mother. Even though we met each other for the first time, Takako knew I was a student researching bread through group emails, and she talked to me very politely but with passion.

We started talking while we were waiting for the first rise of the corn bread. We were standing around the dining table, so we were sometimes in the way of Masako and other students busy taking some utensils we used to the kitchen sink, but everybody was listening to our conversation and sometimes made comments or nodded their heads in agreement with Takako; they seemed to enjoy listening to our conversation. However, most of the time, they talked about what they have been doing since our last lesson to catch up while washing the utensils, preparing for the next step, or just standing around the table like us. Takako looked shy at first, but once I started asking questions about baking, she almost couldn't stop talking about her passion for bread baking. Time went by very quickly before we started the next step of dividing and rolling the bread.

Bread Baking for Joy and Family

I casually started asking Takako how often she bakes at home since she started learning baking. Takako told me that she has tried baking most of the bread she learned not just because she likes bread but also because she wants to review what she has learned in class. In class, she doesn't have to do everything by herself, so once she has to do it alone, she finds some things she didn't actually understand. Takako seems to be a serious learner and very passionate about bread baking. She explained the reason for her passion for bread baking:

> One thing I'm happy about baking is that my son started eating the bread I bake, such as *cream-pan* and *korone*. My daughter likes bread so she's been eating the bread I bought, but my son has never had bread from outside. He still doesn't eat some kinds, but he eats the bread I bake. My husband likes bread so he eats it as well, but I'm just really happy that my son has been eating my bread.

Takako seemed to be very satisfied with her son's reaction. She continued to talk with excitement about her son's attitude about her most recent baking:

> My children are over twenty years old already. My daughter is twenty-five, and has been working. My daughter likes bread so when she comes back home, we bake together. She's been home for this week so we have already made *okonomiyaki-pan*[38] together. My son ate it. He doesn't eat red bean paste, but

[38] *Okonomiyaki* is a savory pancake containing a variety of ingredients, such as shredded cabbages, green onion, thinly sliced pork, shrimp, and more than people can imagine. The word *okonomi* means "as you like," so people

> he seems to like *cream-pan*, corn bread, and ham bread. My daughter was actually surprised by seeing him eating bread. We have even been telling him that bread is delicious, but he has never had one [I bought] since he was a child. I'm so happy that he eats my bread.

Takako seems to like to bake for her children, especially for her son, who never had bread before. Takako looked happy while she was talking about this story that the first bread he had was the bread she had baked. While listening to her, I noticed her "mother" face talking about her son. I asked her if this fact motivates her to bake, and Takako said:

> Yes, even though I told him that bread is good, he never had it before…But I think I like the fact that he ate *my* bread. If you feel like eating bread, you can just buy it outside and eat it, but he chose to eat my bread, which made me really happy. He still cannot eat certain kinds of bread I bake, but when I try to bake something, I think of my son, and I like to bake the bread he likes…

Takako bakes for her family, especially thinking of her son. Even though her children are grown-up, she still thinks about them, which shows her motherhood. She seems to like to bake and offers the best to her family as a mother, but I was wondering if she bakes for another reason as well, and asked her what bread baking is for her. Takako answered,

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can enjoy the pancake with their favorite ingredients. *Okonomiyaki-pan* is a kind of *sōzai-pan* whose flavor is just like *okonomiyaki*.

> I can't say home baking is the necessity of my life, but rather it's a hobby that gives me a joy. When I get emails from this group informing us what we will bake next time, I'm really excited about it. I'm also excited about baking the bread by myself at home, but the most fun part of home baking is the joy I get from my family enjoying my bread.

She bakes bread baking essentially to please her family, but learning to bake it is also enjoyable for her. Bread baking brings such happiness into her life, especially as a mother. Takako then continued mentioning how bread baking changed her lifestyle.

> We eat bread more often than before…especially, for breakfast, we eat bread twice or three times a week now… When we eat bread, I make a soup that matches the bread I baked. Before, we only had Japanese traditional style of dishes, rice, miso soup, and pickles, but with bread, miso soup doesn't go well. I like to make something that goes well with the bread… Bread baking brought another joy to my cooking.

Home baking is tied closely with family for Takako. It gives her happiness, especially as a mother and a housewife who is in charge of cooking at home. Baking is additional work for her, but she does not think of it as an additional chore; rather, it enriching her lifestyle as a mother and a housewife in the United States. This way of thinking is just like Ayumi, Ayumi's students,

and Tomoko discussed: Japanese homemade bread represents a Japanese mother's love and effort.

Additionally, another interesting point Takako brought up was that her homemade bread expanded her cooking repertoire. Miso soup, she felt, did not to go well with rice, so Takako cooks different types of soups. She did not mention what kinds of soups she thinks matches *pan* best, but it was evidently not miso soup. Since miso soup is a traditional Japanese food, it appeared that Takako felt *pan* was not quite "Japanese," but something more foreign.

Local Procurement and Ingenuity

Takako likes to bake for her family and herself, so she bakes as much as she can. Since baking requires a lot of equipment, which can vary depending on the type of bread, I was curious how she acquires materials for baking. Takako described the way she bakes Japanese bread in the United States like as follows:

> I use whatever is available here. I don't have a specific tin for *shoku-pan*, but I used a tin for American pound cake as a substitute even though the bottom of this tin is a bit narrow. I use a cake knife as a scraper. I have bought a rolling pin from Masako-san, but I used to use a wooden rolling pin I had at home. I try to use things available here.

Takako suddenly remembered some specific equipment she actually purchased for bread baking and said, “Ah, I think I bought molds for *korone*, though. Masako-san told us that we could make the molds with aluminum foil, but I didn’t think I could make it well… so I asked my friend, Mika-san, to buy them when she went back to Japan.”

Takako tries to use the materials she already has to bake bread conveniently. Since it is hard to get the materials for Japanese bread, she needs to make do, utilizing materials similar to what would be used to make bread in Japan. However, her ingenuity also reveals her role as a Japanese housewife managing the house economy. In Japan, housewives are usually in charge of handling everything related to house matters, including family budget (see the Chapter 3 discussion of Ayumi’s role as a mother; l will return to this topic later in Chapter 6). Takako’s bread is made not only out of love of her family, but also out of her experience of being a Japanese mother and housewife.

Kato Nahomi

Nahomi has lived in the United States for about six years. She has been working as an instructor of how to wear a kimono for years, even after she moved to the United States. Nahomi is a busy working woman, but she has more time to enjoy her life in San Diego than in Japan so she attends baking lessons regularly and bakes bread at home.

Nahomi and I started our conversation about bread baking while waiting for the second rise and the actual baking to be done. We both were excited about the bread coming out of the oven after our talk, but until then Nahomi was enjoying sharing her thoughts on bread and

bread baking with me. Nahomi came to the place I was standing—around the dining table—and we started talking while standing there. Everybody else was busy in the kitchen making the filling for pirozhkis. Our conversation was mostly private in the dining room, but we could hear some noise from the kitchen.

Freshness and Safety of Bread

With the noise from the kitchen, I was afraid that the tape-recorder wouldn't catch Nahomi's voice, so I brought the tape-recorder before I started asking questions. I asked Nahomi about her first experience having American bread. Nahomi said,

> I thought it was good at first, but after a couple of years, I felt something different in the bread. I started to craving better bread. My friend came here to learn bread baking, and she invited me to join her. Once I had bread here, I strongly thought Japanese bread is much better.

Nahomi didn't know what caused her feelings about bread. She might have just missed Japan like being homesick after a couple of years of living abroad, but it is obvious that she felt something she didn't notice before in American bread. Then the bread Nahomi had in class determined her preference for Japanese bread, and I became curious about what kinds of Japanese bread are tasty for her. I asked her what kinds of Japanese bread she bakes to eat. Nahomi gave some examples:

> We are only two of us at home, so I prefer to bake loaves of mountain-shaped bread… Not stuffed rolls, but if it is easy enough to make… for example, ham and cheese rolls. I prefer to bake something simple enough that you can eat as it is without any other dishes, but most of the time I want bread for breakfast so I bake loaves.

Nahomi mainly bakes simple bread, like loaves. She then told me how she manages to bake “fresh” bread:

> The amount of bread we eat for a week is half the amount of the bread we bake in the lesson. I still make bread following the recipes for that amount, but I give some bread to my friends or ask my husband to take it to work. In this way, we can eat "fresh" bread every week.

I was able to catch a glimpse of Nahomi’s preferences on “fresh” bread from her answer to another question. It is one of the qualities Nahomi is looking for in bread. Since Nahomi seems to bake often, I asked her if she still purchases bread from the store or if she only eats the bread she bakes. Nahomi answered: “I try to buy bread from the fresh bakery section at supermarkets like Vons and Ralphs. I really don’t want to buy bread from the shelf now… I kind of feel like anything might be in the bread on the shelf.”

For Nahomi, “fresh” is a key quality for bread. Bread has to be “fresh.” Nahomi, like many of the Japanese women I interviewed, also worries about the safety of the pre-packaged bread

on the shelves at supermarkets. Nahomi is looking for safety in bread as well. Nahomi explained why she is obsessed with "fresh" products, including bread:

> I think it's because I'm Japanese or I'm so used to Japanese lifestyles. I think something fresh is delicious, and I want to eat something without preservatives. It's pretty easy to get such things in Japan, and I'm so used to it. I don't choose bread from the shelf because of my Japanese lifestyle.

I nodded my head showing agreement, and she continued:

> Even in the convenience stores in Japan you can get good bread. They even have private brands for bread. Japanese people are really picky about freshness. The expiration date is really early, and if the product is getting close to the date, the store destroys it. It might be too much, but it was my normal. I know it's different here in the United States. The method of product distribution and the freshness of bread are directly related. So it's impossible to change the system in this country, but I just think there's a gap between the United States and Japan in terms of its freshness of food.

Nahomi prefers to eat "fresh" food as a Japanese person, and it is the same with bread. The bread Nahomi had before coming to the lessons was missing this quality of "freshness," which made her determined to bake by herself. Further, both "freshness" and "safety" are

intertwined in Nahomi's thinking. Fresh bread doesn't contain any preservatives, so it is safe to eat. Nahomi didn't explain the texture and the varieties of Japanese bread, which many Japanese women mentioned, but these two qualities—freshness and safety—are paramount for her, and she believes that both the bread she used to have in Japan and what bakes at home and in lessons have these qualities. Nahomi seems to be now enjoying her life with fresh and safe homemade bread in the United States.

Home Bread Baking as a Communication Tool

Since Nahomi enjoys her bread baking because it fulfills her desire to eat fresh and safe bread, I wondered if bread baking is a necessity for her. She first said, "Yes, it's necessary because we like to eat the bread I bake, and it's also a conversation opener for us." She continued, rephrasing what she meant by baking as a tool to have a conversation:

> I sometimes get the inspiration for a dinner menu from the bread I want to eat with it. Conversely, I imagine what kind of bread fits well with today's dinner…so bread extends the joy of cooking. My family is also excited about the bread. Adding to this, wine is a key for us. It's not a big deal, but while drinking wine, we talk about dinner… "Oh, this bread goes really well with the wine we are having tonight," or like, "Maybe I should bake that kind of bread next time for this wine.

Nahomi enjoys meals with bread, so she likes to think what kinds of foods match the bread she bakes. For example, when she makes sandwiches, she first thinks of what kinds of ingredients she will. If she decides to make sandwiches with fruit, she likes to bake whole wheat bread because she thinks it matches fruit well. Nahomi not only thinks of the best combination of bread and ingredients but also of who eats the bread and when. If she just wants to bake bread for breakfast for her family, she just bakes their favorites; but for visitors she bakes fancier bread.

Nahomi's homemade bread enriches the meals by becoming a topic of conversation. Bread connects Nahomi and her husband as a common interest. They are also able to enjoy their favorite wine with their favorite bread. Baking brings Nahomi the joy of eating with family as well as an extensive cooking repertoire, just as it did for Takako.

Making Connections and Releasing Stress

After hearing about home baking, I asked Nahomi about her thoughts or feelings about coming to the baking lessons. Nahomi seems to enjoy the lessons, but I sometimes felt a difference in Nahomi compared to other students because she is the only person in Masako-san's Baking Class who doesn't have children. I didn't have children, either, at this point, so Nahomi shared her feelings with ease about not having children. She said, "I really can't talk about children and their school stuff. I know this is the same everywhere, so I try to get involved with such topics of conversation as much as I can."

I have noticed this issue of not having children since I have attended baking lessons with Ayumi. The first question people asked me was, “Do you have any children?” and I realized that having children is one of the most important issues for Japanese women, or at least Japanese women coming to baking lessons. At Ayumi’s baking lessons, students coming to the lessons were almost the same age as me, and they expected me to talk about my children as well. Many times at Masako-san’s, people are talking about their children as well, but they were mostly sharing information about schools since their children are at least teenagers, and some of them are older. What Nahomi meant by “this is the same everywhere,” is that the places Japanese women gather are the places they share information about children. Married Japanese women are expected to have children or at least a child right after their marriages. I will talk about this issue later in Chapter 6, but it is a hard topic for women in general, especially when people want to know why you don’t have children. Nahomi told me later on that she had serious breast cancer at my age, and she couldn’t have any children. It is very personal and harsh for some women who want to but cannot bear children. This topic seems to harden Nahomi’s face, and even mine, but she at least admitted or had to admit this fate as a Japanese married woman; however, she mentioned the positive side of Masako-san’s baking lessons as well:

> I can make different types of friends here in this lesson. The subject for conversation is very different from the friends I have outside of this lesson, but I can still have a good conversation energetically in Japanese, which eases my

stress. I really enjoy communicating with people here, and becoming friends with them.

Nahomi compared the lessons she took in a different group this one, but she seemed to enjoy baking with both. Nahomi affirmed her instinct with the following statement: “I have first started taking lessons with other friends. The atmosphere of the lessons was very different, and I liked it as well. I met really nice people there. I think this is one of the real pleasures of taking lessons here.”

Even though Nahomi has some difficulty in sharing information about children, she still enjoys the lessons not only to acquire the knowledge of baking, which brings the joy of cooking for her family, but also to talk with friends in her native language. These points are more important for Nahomi than not having any friends or not socializing with any other Japanese women. Masako-san’s baking class is a place for Nahomi to be comfortable enough to be a Japanese woman.

Group Discussion about Japanese bread in Class

Students in Masako-san’s Baking Lessons are very friendly and like to talk. They usually keep talking until they have to leave. On April 2, 2015, the day of the corn bread and pirozhkis lesson, they as usual were eager to talk about their experiences and give opinions about Japanese bread. I had quick but good conversations with Nahomi and Takako during lessons. Adding to these talks, I had an opportunity to listen to every student’s voices during tasting or

lunch time on that day. I also attempted to have a one-on-one interview with Masako after lunch time, but students were also interested in our talk so it became a group discussion. I occasionally asked questions to lead the talk, but most of the time, everybody including Masako just kept chatting with each other.

The Nature of Japanese Bread

Our tasting time started with this very first comment of Hisako, who just had the first bite of pirozhkis, “Ah, this is so good, Masako-san. I will be very impressed if these pirozhkis are served at home.” Judging by their smiles, everybody else seemed had the same impression as Hisako. Hisako also made a comment on the other bread we baked on this day, corn bread: “This is very soft and springy.” Tomoko agreed and said, “It is springy…” Both of them seemed to like the softness and springiness of the bread. While everybody was enjoying the bread, I asked them the first question: “What is better about Japanese bread compared to American bread?” A few of them answered.

Tomoko: It is springy.

Masako: It is moist.

Hisako: It is fluffy.

Tomoko then added her opinion: “it is also delicate, and has a taste! I definitely feel sincerity in [Japanese] bread.” Masako agreed with Tomoko and said, “[American bread is] rough, or dry? I can’t say there is no taste, but it’s a bit difficult to describe…” Masako had a little difficulty explaining the texture of American bread, but they roughly agreed that they preferred the texture of Japanese bread. Takako then continued talking about her preference for Japanese bread, and other people followed her and continued chatting:

> Takako: Japanese bread also has varieties. The sweet breads we have been baking are different from American sweet breads. American ones are usually Danish pastries.
>
> Masako: [American bread usually uses] butter or [when I think of American bread, I imagine] cupcakes.
>
> Takako added: Danish pastries… for the sweet side, or loaves of bread or baguette.
>
> Hisako: Less varieties.
>
> Takako: Of course, there are loaves and baguettes at bakeries in Japan, but in terms of sweet breads, there are countless in Japan.

Masako agreed with Takako and said: It's very hard to choose bread at the bakeries when I'm in Japan. It's fun.

Masako continued: I thought America is the bread country, so when I first purchased bread in this country, I got very shocked. Wow, do I have to live on this kind of bread? I didn't think it has a taste at all. It was hard and wasn't springy.

I asked Masako specifically where she purchased the bread, and she answered: I bought them at local supermarkets like Vons.

Following this Masako's statement, everybody else asked her questions and made comments to one another about the bread they can purchase at the local stores:

Tomoko: Are you talking about the bread displayed on the shelf or the bread baked at Vons?

Masako: I can't remember exactly, but it was just a regular loaf.

Nahomi: Don't you feel the difference in yeast?

Masako: Yeast? Sure, and all the ingredients are also different.

Hisako: I think the yeast itself is also different from the ones used in Japan.

They seemed to notice the difference of the smell between American bread and Japanese bread, and they didn't like the smell of American bread. They also noticed the other difference in bread while talking with each other:

Masako: I agree on the difference in yeast, but I still think the huge difference is in the texture. We grew up with the soft and fluffy texture in bread. I think that's why we can't get used to eating (American bread).

Tomoko: I also think Americans don't much care about freshness. In Japan, people try to sell the freshest bread telling the customers things like, "It has just come out of the oven." But here in America, nobody seems to care about its freshness. Freshness doesn't seem to be the selling point here.

Hisako agreed with Tomoko and added: I don't see people come to the store aiming to get the freshest bread that has just come out of the oven.

For the group of people in Masako-san's Baking Class, Japanese bread should be fluffy, soft, moist, and springy. The variety is also a key for Japanese bread. Another quality that the

group thinks is required for the bread is freshness, which Nahomi was talking about before this group discussion. On these points, not only this group of Japanese women but also the other students and instructors in other baking classes seem to agree. After reviewing many Japanese women's comments on the qualities that they are looking for in bread, it is now absolutely clear that American bread is not good enough to satisfy their appetite for good bread, which led them to bake bread on their own.

Making Connections and Releasing Stress through Bread Baking

Everybody seemed to enjoy their bread during our discussion about Japanese bread. Masako occasionally poured tea in our cups, and, once the kettle became empty, she boiled more water with an electric kettle in the kitchen. After letting the stomach settled down with some more bites of bread, I moved to the next question—"How did you start bread baking? Is it because American bread wasn't good enough, like you have just told me?"—in order to confirm my guess.

> Masako said: I started baking because I had nothing else to do at home. I couldn't drive, couldn't speak English…To make you feel better, you have nothing else to do except for cleaning at home. I had learned bread baking in Japan, and I had a bread machine here. Besides, I didn't like the American bread I bought. I started baking not to feel bored as well.

Masako started bread baking because she had baking skills, and she also had time. She seemed to begin baking as a pastime in addition to fulfilling her appetite for good quality of bread. Tomoko then asked Masako: “Did you give bread to somebody? But you couldn’t do it, could you?” Maskao answered:

> No, I didn’t have friends back then. I sometimes gave some bread to neighbors or asked my husband to take it to work. But after a while, I made some friends, and gave the bread I baked to them. Even though I had been bread baking only for a year or so, I started baking five times a week at that time, so I improved my baking skills a lot. How about you?

Masako asked everybody how they started bread baking this time, instead of answering the questions which everybody asked.

> Tomoko: One of my boys was in the same class at the Japanese school with Masako-san’s son, and I liked Masako-san. I honestly started baking because I liked Masako-san.

> Masako: As I remember, Mika-san gathered people for me to start baking lessons for this group.

> Takako: Mika-san took me here. I liked bread anyway.

Tomoko: If I didn’t like bread, I wouldn't have come here.

Hisako: I think it would be hard to take lessons if you don’t like bread.

Masako: Right. The wives of the Japanese expatriates working at overseas branches of Japanese companies can’t work outside due to their visa status. They learn something to kill their time, and baking lessons are one of those things, but if they don’t like making something, I don’t think they would come here. They may learn flower arrangement or something.

Tomoko: Besides, I think the meaning of lessons is different here. Here in the U.S., with fewer Japanese people… lessons are the place for housewives who want to speak their native language and share…

Masako: To share the concerns about child care.

Hisako: To release stress from child care.

Here Masako agreed with Hisako, nodding her head.

Tomoko: I think people coming here have the tacit understanding to become friends with one another…People who come here like to talk and exchange information.

Starting from Masako, this group of Japanese women believe that people who come to baking lessons like to make something, and the most important point is that they like to eat bread. People start baking because they have time, and they come to lessons not only because they have time but also because they like to talk and share information with other students. It seems that "the information" Masako and Hisako talked about was useful for Japanese mothers not just for housewives with no children; however, as I mentioned before about the struggles of a married Japanese women without children, it is a natural way of thinking among Japanese married women. Bread baking is a priority in baking lessons, but gathering and making female Japanese friends are also important because the class provides the very place for Japanese women to be able to be Japanese comfortably, just like Nahomi talked about with Masako-san's baking class.

Bread Baking and Life Changes

In the previous conversation, the group of Japanese women talked about how they started bread baking, and it seems that they start bread baking on their own, like Masako, or come to baking lessons because they have time. Students also had a goal of making Japanese

female friends at these lessons. Adding to these facts, a change of lifestyle is also another reason to start bread baking.

> Nahomi: I don't think I would come here to learn bread baking if I'm in Japan. As Masako-san said before, I have more time here, that's why I came here to learn, but when I was in Japan, I never thought of learning baking and cooking.

Masako thought that it was a reasonable answer, nodding her head.

> Masako: I started learning bread baking in Japan because of my friend's invitation to her house for tasting the bread she baked at home. She was trying to get a certificate for baking at Japan Home Baking School. I have never thought of baking bread at home then…it's almost twenty years ago. I went to my friend's house from a sense of social obligation (Giri) but once I tasted it, I was shocked. I've never thought how tasty fresh bread which has just come out of the oven is.

> Masako continued: It was actually perfect timing for me to start learning because two of my sons started to go to kindergarten. I wanted to learn something since I had a little time for myself while my children were in kindergarten…

Hisako: I don't think I would have come here if it is not now… My daughter has just started going to college… and it was just a great [timing].

Tomoko agreed with Hisako and said: I don't think I could come here a bit before, either. I wanted to come here for a long time, but…

Masako: You have four children.

Tomoko: Even if I learn it, I've never thought of baking at home.

Since bread baking is time consuming, people have to have a set time for it. It takes at least two or three hours to complete all the processes of baking, so if you are busy working or taking care of small children, it is difficult to take time for baking. Nahomi doesn't have children, but she worked full-time in Japan. She didn't have much time to learn anything; however, she seems to work flexible hours in San Diego, so she can spend more time on herself. Other people in this group are mostly housewives with children, but most of their children are grown up, or at least teenagers, so they can spend more time by themselves. Bread baking is greatly associated with time and timing.

Bread Baking as Japanese Motherhood

Everybody seemed to agree in their preference for Japanese bread, and that is a one of the reasons they started bread baking in the United States. With no access to the decent Japanese bread, or the bread qualified like Japanese bread, they had no choice but to make it themselves. On the other hand, as housewives unable to work outside the home, Masako-san's Bread Baking Class is a setting in which they are allowed to be free without feeling bound by home and outside. Moreover, people can release the stress caused by home, work, and living abroad by coming to baking lessons and sharing about their concerns and any other current news. However, even though everybody enjoys their spare time by being Japanese, especially Japanese women in baking lessons, they never forget their ultimate goal for bread baking, which I found when I asked to everybody about their motivations for baking and coming to lessons.

> Masako started this conversation by remembering Takako's comments during the interview: The reason Okano-san baked *cream-pan* last week is for her children… It takes at least three hours to bake, which isn't easy.
>
> Takako: I have to have time to stay at home long enough to bake.
>
> Masako: Right. You really have to have energy for it.
>
> Takako: Yes. I can't stop in the middle of the baking process. I really have to think ahead of schedule in baking.

Tomoko: Three hours… it takes at least four or five hours for me. It is very hard to stay at home for five hours straight.

Masako: Can you do it because of your family?

Takako: I myself am happy… but I don't think I would bake bread just for myself.

Nahomi: To me, not because I want to eat, but I bake bread for family.

Tomoko: Everybody in my family says it's delicious.

Nahomi: I don't think I would do it if it is just for myself.

Masako: I don't think I would do it for myself, either. If people really enjoy baking itself, they might do it for themselves, but it seems a little different…

Tomoko: Right.

Nahomi agreed with Tomoko and added: Right. I always imagine the family's faces enjoying the bread while I'm baking.

Takako: I guess I bake bread because my family is delighted.

Masako: Their smiles give me a lot of energy and motivation for baking.

Tomoko agreed, and Masako continued: With their smiles, I can keep baking. Even now, my son's friend Brandon says, "I'm jealous of Taka." This kind of thing motivates me to bake, and I feel like I want to bake even for Brandon as well… If my family didn't say anything about my baking, I don't think I could keep doing that. I really think so.

Hisako: What if there's no reaction to your baking?

Masako: When I was learning to bake in Japan, my children kept asking when the next lesson would be right after watching me bringing back the bread I baked in the lesson. My children were always excited about the bread I baked. Especially if you hear from small children…

Nahomi: Actually exactly the same kinds of things are happening for my husband now. My husband is already excited about what I will bring back home today, and says, "What's next?"

Masako smiled, and Hisako asked Nahomi with a smile: So your husband comes back home early today, huh?

The center of baking is always the family. Japanese women aren't able to forget their families as long as they are wives and mothers. Masako then started talking about her children's reaction: "Right after children came back home from school, they first asked me 'What was today's bread?' while still holding their school bags." Everybody else continued talking about their experiences following Masako.

Tomoko: Ah, my son has just texted asking me "What are you gonna bake tomorrow?"

Takako: My children are living far away from home now, but they know I go to lessons once a month. They always ask me what I would bake in the next lesson a little before coming to the lesson.

Hisako: With text?

Takako: Yes, always.

Everybody: Amazing!

Takako: I usually send them a text when I get home, but whenever I forget, they will send me a text again and ask me what kinds of bread I baked in the lesson. They request pictures as well.

Masako: I completely understand what you are talking about. When my eldest son comes back home from college, he can't go back to school without having *shoku-pan* I bake.

Takako: I want to bake because of their similes, which make me happy and smile as well. That's why I have baked twice already this week, and this is the third time for me.

Everybody could not stop talking about their families' reactions to the bread they bake, both in class and at home. As long as their families enjoy it, they keep baking. As Takako says, her daughter enjoys baking with her, so her daughter may continue baking as well. I caught a glimpse of the start of the tradition of Japanese bread baking from this group of people, and I also found that the baking tradition is the reflection of Japanese mothers' love for their families.

Ōhashi Masako, Instructor

Usually lunch and chatting time continues until two o'clock or so, and then everybody starts clearing the table, washing the dishes, and putting them away. After finishing cleaning

everything, students start talking about how to divide the leftover bread so everybody can bring the same amount of bread to their home. After distributing the bread to everybody, they record what they baked on the day on the envelope, put the money in it for the day's lesson, give it to Masako, and then finally go home.

On the day they learned corn bread and pirozhkis (April 2, 2015), they used their usual method of rock, paper, and scissors to divide the bread," recorded what they baked, and paid for lessons, but all the students except for Takako stayed around the table to chat. Takako had to leave because her daughter was in town, but the others had questions about the lesson or just wanted to talk more. They slightly changed their seats from the lunch time, with a more relaxed mode. I planned to have a personal interview with Masako, since students decided to stay with us, they periodically asked questions about the bread which they had learned to bake that day. They also listened carefully to what I was asking to Masako, and sometimes they agreed with her by nodding their heads.

Bread Baking as a Passion for Life

Since I had heard her general opinion about Japanese bread and baking already during the group discussion, this time I asked Masako specifically about the management, scheme, and motivation of baking lessons as an instructor. Masako started to offer baking lessons ten years ago, and more than one hundred students have already "graduated" from her lessons; however, new students keep coming to learn bread baking from her. Masako stated how she has managed the lessons in this way: "I am currently offering at least 6 lessons per month because

six groups want to have lessons every month. Some other groups want to have a lesson once in three months or the others like to have one once in six months." Masako continued:

> Probably it's going to be like that here, this group as well. When I get new recipes, I sometimes offer lessons for graduates, but after three years or so, everybody will have different lifestyles, and it's getting difficult to arrange the dates for lessons. Probably if I count those kinds of groups, I may have ten groups to teach currently, but I had taught fourteen lessons per month five years ago.

Everybody seemed very surprised by how hard Masako has been working. Masako said, about her busy schedule in the past,

> Once I had four lessons per week because I had twenty groups of students at that moment. But, I was getting really tired; besides my children were still little so I had to go to school to pick them up. I had to plan to end the lesson at ten after two to pick up my children, but my children got sick sometimes, and I really didn't think it was a good idea to offer too many lessons.

Masako has been busy as an instructor, and she has also been working really hard as a mother. Currently, each group consists of five or six students, so Masako has at least fifty students in total, which is half of the peak. But she is still busy because she started learning English at a

community college. I wondered how Masako has managed her busy schedule with lessons, college, and housework. Masako explained the difficulty of management of all the work:

> It's not that hard right now, but when I first started offering lessons, I had to practice a lot before lessons. I baked the same bread all week, but I was still nervous… I also had to think about the flow of the lesson because I usually offer lessons of two kinds of bread on the same day.

Masako had to practice bread baking to make sure she can finish teaching on time, so she was still able to take the role of a mother, not just an instructor. It seems to be time-consuming, and it is not a reasonable job in terms of making money; however, Masako's goal for teaching bread baking is not just to make money; it also brings joy to her life in the United States. Masako clarified this point of bread baking as enjoyment for her life stating:

> I started baking lessons because my friends told me to, and I have never thought to keep doing it. But I felt that I've done everything I could [after the first lesson]. I was really nervous. I even thought I was teaching fine [after the very first lesson]. I also enjoyed it. After I've done with the very first class, I thought I really liked it, and then I thought to keep offering lessons. It was just natural [for me to hold baking lessons].

Masako went on talking about the enjoyment she gains from bread baking lessons:

> I don't feel like this is a job. To me, bread baking lessons make my life worth living. Lessons gave me something really big, and I felt worthless here in the United States, and I regained my energy out of it. Bread baking is a treasure for me, so I really don't want to work really hard because I don't want to feel it's actually work to do, to be honest with you. It seems rude [to say it like this], but bread baking is a pastime and the extension of the hobby [for me].

Previously during the group discussion, Masako shared her first feelings about American bread and different lifestyles from Japan, which made her dissatisfied. However, she kept looking for something to make her happy, and she finally found that it was bread baking. Once she started sharing her bread, she made friends through it. And because of those friends, now Masako is an instructor of almost fifty students. It looks like it was just a coincidence, but in the end, Masako's passion for baking Japanese bread brought back her pleasant personality, which is always a full of laughter and smiles during her baking lessons. Due to her harsh experiences of moving to the States, Masako cultivated a hardworking spirit as a Japanese wife and mother. By sharing such experiences in class, not seriously but with a light-hearted matter, Masako successfully provides her students a vitality to live like her in a place away from their native country of Japan. Masako-san's baking class is the very place to create a passion for life, bringing people together to celebrate their shared interest and form lasting relationships. Masako's last statement indicates her appreciation for the fact that she is able to support her

students through lessons, not acting in a patronizing way but instead enjoying herself in baking bread as a leisure activity:

> Probably lessons are the place to release stress for myself as well. And I want the lessons to be useful for people at least a little, which makes me happy… I really like bread baking, but I also like people…both.

Baking Japanese bread is nothing but a necessity, not only to gratify the desire of Japanese women's appetite but also as a way of amusement in order to live comfortably as Japanese in the U.S.

Figure 32. Students (Clockwise from left: Hisako; Nahomi; Rumiko; Tomoko) and Ōhashi Masako, the Instructor, before tasting the bread and tomato salad for lunch during the baking lesson for raisin twist *shoku-pan* and egg buns, May 28, 2015.

CHAPTER 6: BREAD BAKING AND GENDER ROLES

In San Diego, the Japanese women I interviewed had different types of motives for baking Japanese bread. Ayumi started baking Japanese bread due to her feelings of nostalgia for Japanese bread and her native country. She later began to offer baking lessons, at first because her friends asked her to teach them, but she realized that she can inform her students (who are mostly mothers and expectant mothers) that baking homemade Japanese bread is an effective methods to show love for their families. Her students, especially Naomi, Chiaki, and Junko, come to Ayumi's lessons not just to learn bread baking and to enjoy the taste of Japanese bread, but to find a way to introduce Japanese food culture through baking Japanese bread for their families. Shūko, on the other hand, has been in the U.S. much longer than the other women, and she tries to look for something Japanese inside of herself through Japanese bread and baking.

Tomoko worked as a professional baker in Japan. She originally started bread baking to maintain her professional baking skills in San Diego, but after holding baking lessons at her house as the San Diego Bread Baking Club, she has attempted to create her lessons where Japanese women can experience the professional method of bread baking. Tomoko can challenge herself to perform as a professional baker by teaching; students can acquire skills to bake bread at home and to fulfill their appetite for Japanese bread through her lessons. Tomoko also aspires to let her students know their performance of baking is a useful way to pass on Japanese foodways to their children. Home cooking is one of the most important aspects of Japanese food culture. Specifically, as housewives and mothers, Japanese women have a responsibility to take good care of their families, especially children, so feeding good

food to their families is required. Even though home baking is not a routine work for Japanese women, since a majority of Japanese people lives on rice, Tomoko attempts to show the role of Japanese women through bread baking as food education in her lessons. By seeing the processes of bread baking, children are able to learn the virtue of homemade food, which contains freshness, good quality, and a mother's love and effort.

The students I interviewed in the San Diego Bread Baking Club, Manami and Sachiko, showed their appreciation for Tomoko's effort in offering lessons. Although Manami's first goal was to continue her habitual bread-eating routine, she noticed that she could safely feed bread to her daughter, who is allergic to eggs, knowing the ingredients of the bread and the baking processes. Since going back to Japan, Manami bakes less often, but she still desires to serve fresh and safe bread to her family, to feed them as a Japanese wife and mother should. Sachiko enjoyed baking before meeting Tomoko, but she was definitely influenced by Tomoko's professional way of bread baking. Because of Tomoko, Sachiko decided to learn bread baking at a world famous school in Japan that trains people to become professional bakers. Sachiko is now able to create her original bread professionally, which represents her distinctive background as a Japanese woman who experienced struggles while away from Japan, but acquired the skills to show a unique sense of herself.

As with Ayumi, Masako began bread baking lessons due to her friends' requests. She first had doubts about her ability to continue doing it, but the lessons ended up giving Masako the energy to enjoy living in the United States. All the members of one of the groups I interviewed in her class have also gained a joy of living in a foreign country through the encounter with Masako, who is such a positive person. In lessons, by baking bread together as a

group, students and Masako feel a sense of unity as Japanese women. Additionally, Masako and the students have noticed that their homemade bread brings their families together. In their role as married Japanese women, it is natural to try their hardest to make their families happy, and so everybody tries to feed the best bread for a family's satisfaction by baking it themselves. This way Masako, Takako, Nahomi, Rumiko, Tomoko, and Hisako are able to fulfill their roles as Japanese wives and mothers.

After reviewing all the Japanese women's ambitions for baking Japanese bread, I noticed they had something in common—the incredible effort they exert to bake bread to satisfy their role as Japanese women. It takes at least two hours, and usually more, to bake bread. It is not a short period of time. Moreover, the Japanese women I met spend time going to lessons and learning bread baking. They spend a lot of time on not only baking bread at home but also learning new recipes regularly. All this effort is so they can provide something familiarly "Japanese" for their families. In any case, most Japanese women I interviewed not only manage their regular house chores, such as routine cooking and cleaning, but also spend extra time bread baking even with their busy schedules as Japanese wives and mothers.

In this chapter, I will explore the reasons why Japanese married women can make such astonishing efforts to fulfill their responsibilities as wives and, especially, mothers. At first, I will discuss the general roles of males and females in a Japanese society. I will then illustrate the Japanese female role focusing more on the role of mothers. Lastly, I will conclude this chapter by clarifying the connection between bread baking and the roles of Japanese women.

Japanese Gender Roles: Men and Women

The equal social status between males and females is actively claimed everywhere in contemporary Japan, but ever since the Tokugawa era (1603-1868), females in Japan have been treated as inferior to males. By the end of the Tokugawa era, girls were taught the 3Rs,[39] but "beyond that the emphasis was on teaching the basic skills required for running and maintaining a household—namely, sewing, weaving, spinning, etc.," according to Kimi Hara (1995, 94). She added that the tea ceremony, flower arrangement, and painting were also taught only to girls. Girls were meant to become good mothers, which indicated the role of women under the teachings of Confucianism. Therefore, it is considered that education for females was less valued, and only the subjects that would be useful and helpful to support their future households were taught to them.

Even under the new leadership of the Meiji regime after the end of the Tokugawa era, with the influence of Western countries, the Confucian philosophy was continuously emphasized, and higher education for girls and women was thought to be unnecessary. The ultimate goal for the Meiji leadership was "to enrich the country and strengthen the army" (*fukoku kyohei*) in order to catch up with Western countries after the long period of national isolation of *sakoku*, and men were required to become hard workers and brave soldiers to enhance the wealth of the country. Women were, on the other hand, claimed to serve their men and families devotedly, and so "education for good wives and wise mothers" (*ryosai kenbo kyoiku*) was emphasized even more than before.

In 1880s, the Japanese government set up secondary schools for girls, though the number of schools opened to them was very limited. In 1900, the first women's college was

[39] That is, reading, writing, and (a)rithmetic.

established at last. Although higher educational institutions began to accept women, those schools were still considered to be inferior compared to men's colleges and universities. An Ad Hoc Educational Council, from 1917 to 1918, reemphasized the traditional principle for women to become "good wives and wise mothers" as preparation for the upcoming wars against the world, and, as a result, Japanese females were again deprived the opportunities to have higher education.

After the crushing defeat of World War II in 1945, Japanese females were finally able to obtain the same opportunities as males in education, with US support under the occupation of the General Headquarters of the Allied Forces (GHQ). Women were allowed to attend the same schools as men. Although it seemed that this fact would change not only Japanese school systems but also the social status of Japanese women, the consciousness of "men as breadwinners and women as housewives" (Goldstein-Gidoni 2012, 84) remained deeply rooted among Japanese people. I will show the existence of this notion in contemporary Japan later in this chapter, but, even in San Diego, I was able to sense it from my informants. First of all, all the Japanese women I met were housewives. It is true that some of the Japanese women had visa and language issues and so were unable to work outside of their houses; however, even women who have lived in San Diego for a long time and have permanent residency in the U.S. (for example, the members of the group at Masako-san's bread baking lessons) have remained housewives to support their husbands and children.

In 1993, more than 96 percent of girls graduated from high school. The ratio of women entering colleges and universities has risen from 5.5 percent in 1960 to 45.9 percent in 1994 (Fujimura-Fanselow 1995, 127). However, a majority of women pursued their studies in junior

colleges rather than four-year universities at this time. Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow states that parents encouraged their daughters to have just enough education to become “good wives and wise mothers” because they believed that “too much education will make a woman too proud and therefore unfit to be a good wife” (Fujimura-Fanselow 1995, 130). Even nationwide public opinion surveys conducted around this time showed the fact that parents placed more priority on the higher education of their sons than daughters. Japanese females were still considered to become just a supporter of males in the Japanese society.

Following the acquisition of a certain degree of college education, young women have tended to have their careers only for a short-time period because many Japanese believed that it is natural or normal for females to marry and have children by a certain age. That way females can support their household as “good wives and wise mothers,” which is supposed to be the goal for Japanese females. Although my informants in San Diego mostly graduated from colleges or four-year universities and had a certain amount of education, Ayumi quit her job not right after marriage, but certainly after her pregnancy. In the case of Tomoko, it was mostly because she wanted to pursue another career, but she also knew the fact she had to come to the U.S. at some point because she got married to an American husband and so she gave up her career as an office worker. Manami was a nurse in Japan, but she quit her job so she could care for her husband in San Diego. Although Manami resumed her career as a nurse after she went back to Japan, her decision to come to the U.S. surely reveals the existence of the notion “good wives and wise mothers,” being a supporter of the household.

The notion that married women primarily have the responsibility for the care and upbringing of their children as mothers was still accepted by most Japanese even in the late

1990s, and females are still required to become housewives and mothers after their marriages. In San Diego, even among Japanese women, it is natural to expect married women to have children or at least a child, as I described in Chapter 5. I had some difficulty getting to know my informants since I didn't have any children at that time. Nahomi, who has been married for years and doesn't have any children, had a more difficult time than me, as I also mentioned it in Chapter 5.

Having children early on in marriages is common among Japanese women in contemporary times. On top of that, most Japanese men believe housework and child rearing are “women’s work” and not their main responsibilities in the household. They also believe that they should fulfill their roles as husbands and fathers by earning money to support their families instead. Many Japanese husbands primarily place their responsibilities on their careers, so they work long hours from early morning to late at night. In other words, they usually spend little time with their wives and children at home. In fact, it is not an exaggeration to say that this reality makes wives have more child-rearing responsibilities in Japanese society. Because mothers have such a heavy burden in parenting, as Fujimura-Fanselow indicates, “this responsibility [child rearing] entails a total devotion to one’s children, spending as much time as possible with them, doing everything for them and caring to all of their needs—indeed, sharing a sense of oneness with one’s children—and at the same time a willingness to sacrifice one’s own plans and desires for the sake of the children’s well-being”(Fujimura-Fanselow 1995, 143), Japanese mothers are willing to put forth the effort and dedicate everything for their children. The Japanese mothers I met in San Diego chiefly place their responsibilities on parenting, which has led them to learn bread baking and attend lessons. This way they can offer Japanese food

to their children as much as possible on top of homemade meals to establish their children's identities as Japanese. Even though it is time consuming, they continue to bake bread because it is one of the ways to express their love of their children.

Japanese Motherhood

As soon as women get married, they are expected to have children and become housewives and mothers to fulfill their roles as married women in Japanese society. This notion has been normal and even natural for the Japanese for a long time, at least since early 1600s. In addition, there still is a rigid distinction between men and women in contemporary Japan: becoming housewives and mothers to support their household—especially their children—are the priority of Japanese women; on the other hand, men are the ones who support their families by earning money outside the home. In other words, mothers have a huge responsibility for child rearing, so they have been the closest parent to their children.

Mothers love their children as irreplaceable, precious gifts, which is a universal truth. Japanese mothers are no exception, especially because they have a very tight bond with their children because of their priority on parenting in the household. However, mothers are not just mothers of children; they exist as more than just mothers in the Japanese society. Yoshiaki Yamamura attempted to clarify the meaning of a mother in the Japanese society by analyzing the Japanese television drama series *Mothers*, aired between 1959 and 1967, and the radio program called *Narrating Mothers*, aired between 1952 and 1969.

In his research on *Mothers* episodes airing between 1963 and 1964, Yamamura discovered that it represented mothers as "good wives and wise mothers" who devotedly

support their families, especially children, which gives happiness to her. For example, in episode 231, “A Mother: This Could Be the Eend" ("*Haha—Kono saigonaru mono*"), a mother ventures into the yakuza’s[40] territory alone so her son may leave his life as a member of yakuza. Moreover, in this episode, a mother even claims that “I want to serve my son. I want him to feel that it was worth being born as himself at least once… All my happiness comes from my son’s happiness” (Yamamura 1978, 83). In episodes 187 and 188, “A Tragedy in Japan" ("*Nihon no higeki*"), a mother is working as a barmaid or a waitress, which represents a mother who is always ready to sacrifice herself and do anything for her children (Yamamura 1978, 83). No matter what happens, supporting and protecting children is presented as a mother’s role in the drama. These drama episodes clearly represent the idea of a mother as a symbol of devotion to children, parental affection, and self-sacrifice; at the same time, it also explains that the happiness of Japanese motherhood comes entirely from children.

This type of happiness of Japanese motherhood was also shown among the Japanese mothers I met in San Diego. Junko (in Chapter 3) is able to keep baking bread because she knows her children love and enjoy eating it. The happiness of being a mother comes from her children’s satisfaction of eating her bread. In Chapter 5, Takako explained her passion for bread baking because of the pleasure her children have in eating it, especially her son’s reactions to her homemade bread. She has continued to bake bread because she cares for her family, especially her children. It was a surprise for her that her son, who never had bread before, actually started to eat it, but only Takako’s homemade bread. Her son would eat no other kind of bread. His appetite for her bread surely made Takako happy as his mother. Takako doesn't

[40] Japanese gangsters.

mind baking bread for him, no matter how long it takes. During the conversation among members of Masako-san's Bread Baking Class, Takako and other members mentioned that the joy of bread baking comes from their families, especially their children. When Masako asked everybody in the group their main purpose for baking Japanese bread, they all agreed that they bake bread because they like to see the smiles on their families' faces after eating it. This agreement also reveals the happiness they as Japanese mothers who are responsible for taking care of their families, because bread baking is one of the ways to show their love. As physical affection for children, I have seen Manami making bread while carrying her baby during lessons. Her baby boy started to cry in the middle of the lesson, so she decided to carry him on her shoulder. Baking bread, especially kneading bread dough by hand, is not easy because it requires strength; however, Manami managed to do this hard work with the added weight of the baby on her body. Manami's performance expressed the importance of physical contact with the baby and also showed her devotion to children, parental affection, and self-sacrifice as a Japanese mother who cares for children no matter the conditions.

Figure 33. Manami is kneading the bread dough while carrying her baby during a lesson on February 12, 2015.

On the other hand, Yamamura's analysis of the radio program, which is based on 144 recordings of Japanese celebrities discussing their mothers in August 1964, also presented the mother as a symbol with much value. Different from the television drama, this is non-fiction, which is more likely to represent the true feelings of the Japanese toward mothers. During the talks, many celebrities seemed to report that their mothers had a hard time regardless of wealth, according to Yamamura (1978, 111). Hattori Ryōichi, a composer, said, "I have an impression of my mother as a person who has worked very hard from morning to night." Ito

Yūnosuke, an actor, stated, “I felt her suffering appear all over her body while my mother was just sitting quietly” (Yamamura 1978, 111). These impressions from both celebrities represent the mother as exhibiting self-sacrifice and devotion.

Following the above concept of a mother as a symbol of self-sacrifice and devotion, Yamamura believes that “children cannot be away from the burden which they receive from their mothers” (1978, 112). In other words, mothers’ happiness is their children’s successful lives, which mothers believe makes children happy, and so children’s lives are shaped by their mothers’ willingness to sacrifice themselves. Munakata Shikō, a printmaker, said, “My mother wouldn't have minded hurting herself to protect her children from my father’s beating.” Morishige Hisaya, an actor, also discussed his mother’s sacrifice of her own life: “My mother raised three boys by herself as a widow since she was twenty-eight. We didn't feel such a burden if our mother lived her own life instead of sacrificing herself for us. We really appreciate her action only to live for us. We feel like she was like a goddess for us, but at the same time, we also feel she was such a pitiful woman who lived only to take care of her boys” (Yamamura 1978, 113). Both celebrities felt guilty that their successful lives happened because of their mothers’ self-sacrifice; however, at the same time, because mothers have such a strong will to do anything or sacrifice herself for their children, children can believe the value of a mother is not just as a flesh-and-blood mother of children, but almost as a supernatural entity like a goddess, just like Morishige exclaimed. Japanese motherhood represents greatness in the Japanese society.

In more recent research on Japanese women in Japan, the social scientist Ofra Goldstein-Gidoni conducted fieldwork among Japanese housewives at a particular suburban

condominium complex called Royal Heights and its neighborhood, located in Osaka, Japan, in the early 2000s. She wanted to understand the social role of the married Japanese women. Centered on the email message exchanges between the author and one of her best Japanese friends, Mariko, and interviews and discussions with housewives living at Royal Heights, Goldstein-Gidoni illustrates the "real" voices of the Japanese housewives in contemporary Japan. Interestingly enough, Goldstein-Gidoni discovered that married Japanese women are still strongly ascribed the traditional notion as the main supporter of the household.

Goldstein-Gidoni conducted interviews with over fifty women, who were mostly born in middle-class families between 1966 and 1970. Even though their parents had enough money to send them to four-year colleges and universities, most of them went to junior colleges to get just enough education for marriage with men and later to become "good wives, and wise mothers." Even after graduating from junior colleges, they intended to work only for a short period of time before getting married; this way, they would be able to become housewives and mothers to fulfill their roles as married women. One of the Goldstein-Gidoni's interviewees, Murakami-san, expressed her feelings about having become a housewife: "I have never asked myself if it's okay to be always inside the house as a housewife only. My mother was there to guard the house (*ie mamoru*). I thought it was so natural (*atarimae*) to resign when you get married."

The other interviewee, Kato-san, stated, "…I worked for three years, only to earn money to get married…" (Goldstein-Gidoni 2012, 58). These real voices of women imply that the traditional notion to get married at a certain age, become housewives, and then have children

still exists among Japanese females in contemporary Japan. This phenomenon also exists among Japanese women in San Diego, as mentioned in the previous section.

As Goldstein-Gidoni describes, "The social role of the 'housewife' and, more specifically, the 'professional housewife,' has undoubtedly gained rather clear meaning and implications in postwar Japan" (Goldstein-Gidoni 2012, 68). In other words, "housewife" (*shufu*) is required for women to manage house chores and child rearing perfectly to fulfill their social role because it is something ordinary to become when women get married, but it also established its social status as it is just like the other occupations. Most women at Royal Heights didn't seem to be satisfied with their management skills, but there are a few *shufu* who are proud to be *shufu* and are also acknowledged as "model housewives" (*shufu no kagami*) by other *shufu* (Goldstein-Gidoni 2012, 69). According to Goldstein-Gidoni, "a model housewife is somewhat modernized version of the 'good wife, wise mother,' who emerged in Japan at the end of the nineteenth century and at least until the 1980s epitomized the role of the married woman who devotes herself to taking care of the house and her husband and to raising her children" "(Goldstein-Gidoni 2012, 69). At Royal Heights, Inoue-san was considered a model housewife because she takes *shufu* work very seriously and she even likes to be *shufu*, as she indicated in this way: "I consider *shufu* my profession, and my *pāto* (part-time work) as a way to pass time. That's why I define myself as *shufu*. I'm a *shufu*, who might quit the job suddenly, but I would never quit being a *sengyō shufu.*[41] I will be a *sengyō shufu* all my life; *sengyō shufu* is my profession" (Goldstein-Gidoni 2012, 70). Inoue-san has a part-time job, but she works outside only to fill her free time because her daughters grew up and she feels lonely at home. She is committed to

[41] Professional housewife.

work on the condition that it doesn't disturb any of her family members' schedules. Inoue-san is nothing but a *shufu* and always gives priority to her family. In San Diego, I have also seen Japanese women place their priority on their family members. All three baking lessons started in the morning after their husbands left for work and ended a little after noon, or at the latest at three o'clock or so. This way some of the students have enough time to pick up their children from preschool or kindergarten; others have enough time to cook dinner before their families get back home. The morning and early afternoon lessons work well for instructors because they are also *shufu* like their students. At the end of the lesson on February 12, 2015 (as I noted in Chapter 4), during my observation, one of the students at the San Diego Bread Baking Club realized it was time to pick up her daughter at one thirty. As soon as she noticed the time, she left Tomoko's house because she didn't want her daughter to be left alone. Most Japanese women I met in San Diego are *sengyō shufu* not because they bake bread for their families but because they give their families priority.

The other model *shufu* at Royal Heights is Sakai-san. Mariko emailed the author explaining Sakai-san as model *shufu* like in this way: "She is a real *shufu no kagami*, she likes cooking and housework. Her mother has also been a model housewife who is married to a model *salaryman*[42] (*sarariman no kagami*[43]). She [her mother] used to even bake breads on such a regular basis that it made her daughter believe, until a rather late age, that breads were usually made by mothers at home, just like rice." Adding to this fact, Sakai-san also told me during the interview that her mother tried to make everything with her own hands, including bread and even miso. Sakai-san and, even more than her, Sakai-san's mother seemed to work

[42] White-collar workers; this usually refers to male workers, not females.
[43] This term is similar in concept to *shufu no kagami*. It means "model *salaryman*" or "model white-collar worker."

hard thinking about their families. Even if you like cooking and housework, it takes a long time to make everything by hand, but as a "professional" housewife and a mother, Sakai-san's mother could put in incredible effort to do the best for her family. This kind of effort is what I have seen among my informants in San Diego, trying to bake bread on their own even though it is easy to purchase Japanese bread at a Japanese bakery or Japanese markets. My informants believe that homemade bread is fresher and tastes better, so they want to provide the best bread they can for their families. To do so students go to baking lessons and learn the baking methods in class. Instructors also make an effort to offer the recipes that make the best bread because they believe it is helpful for their students who are working hard to provide the best for their families. The efforts of my informants to bake the best homemade bread verified that they are "professional" housewives and mothers, just like Sakai-san at Royal Heights.

Another interviewee, Yamada-san also believes herself to be a professional housewife. She thinks the role of professional housewives is more than the housework and child rearing; another important chore is to care for her husband. Yamada-san articulated her thoughts on professional housewives in the following manner: "[The] *sengyō shufu* is normally considered the one in charge of housework. She is the one that does the laundry, the cleaning, and the child rearing. But, for me, it also means to make a place where my husband can relax. Always before he comes back home [from work], I try to prepare everything in the house and make it clean and nice, especially for him to relax" (Goldstein-Gidoni 2012, 74). Thus Yamada-san's comment reveals the fact that it is natural to do everything about the house, including chores, child rearing, and caring for one's husband, as long as married women have a profession as housewives. I will describe this in a later section, but in San Diego, making a home like a

Japanese “home” is also the Japanese women’s duty, on top of chores, especially for the women who came to San Diego because of their Japanese husbands’ jobs. Following the Japanese tradition of distinguishing between inside and outside the house, I have seen Japanese instructors place a small rug at the entrance inside their houses or made a clear distinction with a tile floor. Students naturally removed their shoes there, and instructors sometimes provided slippers for them because they are the guests. In addition to this tradition of taking off shoes, my informants, especially instructors, attempted to separate rooms and collect Japanese products as if they are in Japan. This way their Japanese husbands are able to feel “Japan,” even though they live in typical American houses. The husbands are also able to feel relaxed and comfortable, at least at home, by being away from the American lifestyles that they experience at work. My informants’ work hard to make a residence into a “home,” which shows they are devoted to caring for their husbands. Because they take their responsibility as housewives seriously, my informants are willing to bake Japanese bread not only for their children but also for their husbands, although it requires additional work.

In contemporary Japan, because *shufu* is considered as a profession, its skills are measured by how perfectly they can be performed, even more so than they were in the past. Many Japanese females have continuously adhered to the traditional notion of “good wives, wise mothers”; therefore, once they get married, they are willing to sacrifice themselves to do the best as they can for their families. They tend to believe that self-sacrifice and devotion to a family are normal or natural performances for Japanese housewives and mothers. It is sometimes too much of a burden for children because mothers have place more priority on their children’s well-being than their own. Because of the nature of motherhood, mothers are

considered to be almost a supernatural entity in Japanese society. Because Japanese mothers are "good wives and wise mothers," no matter what their conditions are, the traditional notion that Japanese females should persistently support their household remains imbedded into the Japanese society. And it has in San Diego, too, which is why my informants have continued to make efforts to do the best they can. Baking and serving Japanese bread for their families in San Diego is love coming from Japanese motherhood as a supporter of the household, which has imbedded among my informants.

Bread Baking as the Fulfillment of Japanese Motherhood

Along with the increasing globalization, today, many Japanese *salarymen* have recently been expected to achieve corporate jobs in foreign countries by Japanese companies. This foreign job assignment is called *kaigai chuuzai*. Japanese expatriates (*kaigai chuuzaiin)* are usually assigned to work in foreign countries for a few years. On a *kaigai chuuzai*, families are normally sent abroad with their husbands because wives specifically have an important mission: "to create a Japanese home away from home and make a foreign place livable" (Kurotani 2005, 3) for the sake of husbands' success in their job assignments in foreign countries.

The anthropologist Sawa Kurotan conducted field research between 1996 and 2000 among expatriate Japanese wives who had moved with their husbands from Japan to three locations in the United States—Centerville in the Midwest, Greater New York, and North Carolina—in order to understand their roles and national identity in a transnational mobility

between Japan and the U.S. Kurotani primarily interacted with and interviewed almost 120 women during her fieldwork, and among her informants, she discovered that, just like most Japanese married women living in Japan, the wives of Japanese expatriates have attempted to fulfill their roles as wives and mothers by emphasizing the professional aspects of their domestic work, including doing household chores and child rearing perfectly because those women believe that is *their* job as married "Japanese" women. Japanese wives and mothers continue to act as "good wives, wise mothers" even in foreign countries because they also believe that performing their roles as Japanese wives and mothers is the way to protect their own identities as well as their families' identities as Japanese.

According to Kurotani, Japanese expatriates must accept foreign ways of operating at their jobs in order to work smoothly with Americans; however, they needed to keep a Japanese temperament inside of themselves, since their main purpose of being assigned to work in the U.S. is to bring back good results to Japan in a few years (2005, 56) and not to become used to the foreignness. In other words, living in the U.S. for work is only a temporary experience. Japanese expatriates need to maintain their Japanese work etiquette for when they return their headquarters in Japan and must resume relationships with their colleagues and superiors there. Just as keeping a behavior peculiar to the Japanese leads to the husbands' success in their foreign job assignments, their wives try not to forget what is expected of them. Making their American homes just like Japanese ones, with some adaptions, and also serving homemade Japanese food maintains the responsibilities required of them in Japan.

Kurotani, in fact, observed standard American homes of her female informants, who decorated with something Japanese and had arranged the rooms to make them feel like

“home,” where Japanese families are familiar and feel comfortable. The primary example was taking off shoes at the entrance, which keeps the boundary between outside and inside of the house, because Japanese people traditionally think *dosoku* (dirty outside shoes) shouldn't come inside (Kurotani 2005, 76). Kurotani also noted that “some expatriate wives place a small carpet in the foyer to create the boundary; in some homes, children’s shoes scattered about the entrance area become an inadvertent yet effective signal” (Kurotani 2005, 77). It looks like this is also a very common phenomenon for many of the Japanese in San Diego. As I described in the Introduction, I have seen students take off their shoes at the entrance of all the houses where the baking lessons take place. When I first visited Ayumi, I noticed a small rug was not placed at the entrance area because the tile floor created a clear distinction between inside and outside. However, Ayumi’s shoes were placed on the tile floor, which signaled to her guests and students to remove their shoes. Ayumi also provided a pair of slippers for me, which, following Japanese tradition, meant that I was a guest. Tomoko also lent me slippers at the entrance for my first visit to her. Even at Masako’s house, I removed my shoes on the small carpet placed at the entrance. At Masako’s, there was a box filled with slippers that guests could wear as needed. Because it is natural for Japanese people to remove their shoes at the entrance, all the students I have met in every lesson took off their shoes without question. Even some of the children who came with their mothers removed their shoes without being prompted.

Room arrangements are also unique to the Japanese. As Kurotani mentions, the formal dining room and parlor by the front entrance are frequently used as children’s playrooms. Because Ayumi’s son was still little, Ayumi arranged the living room, which is next to the dining room, as her son’s playroom. Because Ayumi’s family was living in a two-bedroom apartment,

they didn't have much space. This is why Ayumi made the living room by the front entrance her son's playroom. I also didn't see any couch in the living room; instead many of her son's toy were scattered. I saw a similar setting at Manami's apartment when I visited for the interview. Even though she was about to move back to Japan and many things were already packed, I saw children's toys placed in the living room area. It might be because the space was limited in her one-bedroom apartment, which didn't allow her to place play sets in the living room, but both Ayumi and Manami do not care much about separating living areas between adults and children. In fact, both of them seem to be happy with their settings because they are able to pay attention to their children while they are doing house chores, especially cooking and baking. Mothers often sleep with children, so husbands and wives sleep separately, which makes the bedroom arrangements different from American standards. In the living room area, Japanese people commonly sit on the floor and use the couch as backrest. At Ayumi's place, as I mentioned, there was no couch in the living room. This can be seen in the picture in Chapter 3, in which Naomi, Chiaki, and Ayumi are sitting on the floor. Even the Japanese guests do not mind sitting on the floor. In expatriate Japanese homes, random things are also used to decorate homes, ranging from traditional and modern Japanese products (such as *kimono*-clad dolls and a calendar with colorful pictures of Japanese gardens) to American folk art. The most important feature for expatriate Japanese wives is to make their temporary residence into a place where their husbands can relax and feel comfortable, like "at home" (Kurotani 2005, 79), so they do not care about such mismatched collections; instead they strive to make the home to feel as if they are living in Japan. It was not obvious, but I noticed some subtly mismatched collections at Masako's house. Masako has stayed in San Diego over ten years, but while I was

preparing plates, cups, and utensils for lunch, I saw mismatched dining collections. Since Masako didn't expect to stay long in San Diego, she might have not cared about mismatched dining sets. However, even though she has many different kinds of plates, cups, and utensils, I have seen many Japanese ceramics and chopsticks placed in the cupboard. As long as Masako has certain sets of Japanese products at home, she and her family feel comfortable, as if they are in Japan. Another mismatched product for American houses I noticed at Masako's was the vegetables she was growing in her garden. When Masako talked about gardening with her students, she mentioned to them that she was growing "myōga," which is a type of Japanese ginger usually used as a relish. Masako didn't say that she grew it in Japan, but this plant is something Masako, her family members, and even students feel is Japanese. Some of the students requested a branch from Masako so they could grow it in their gardens to easily eat it as if they are in Japan.

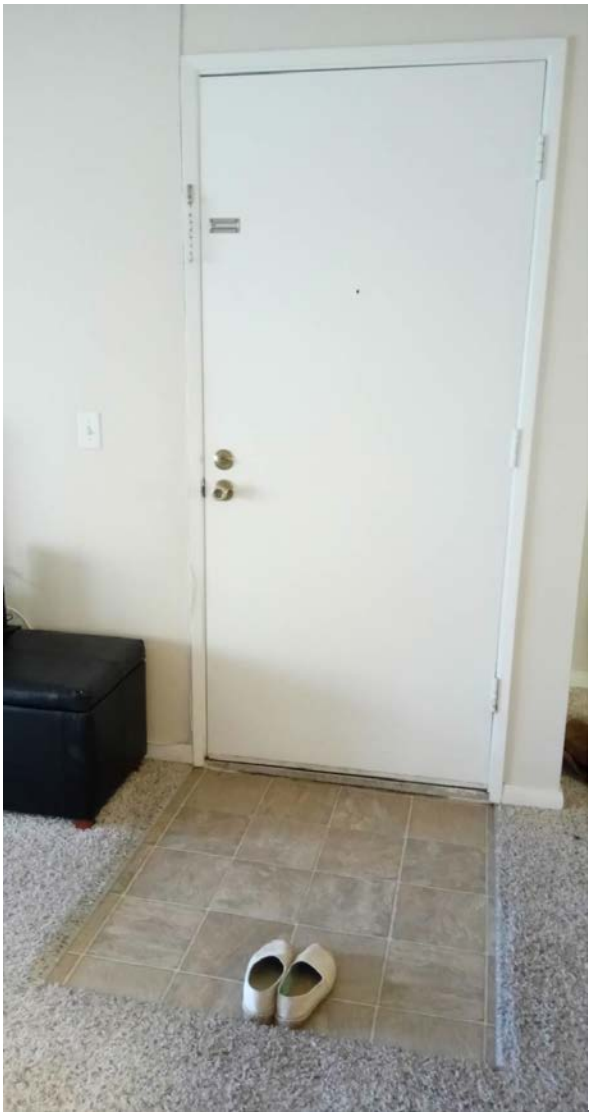

Figure 34. The entrance area at Ayumi's apartment **Photo by Kawano Ayumi.**

Cooking Japanese food and feeding a family is the other important activity for expatriate wives as Japanese wives and mothers. As observed by Kurotani, Japanese expatriates are exposed to American lifestyles, including its work etiquette and dining habits, to enable their business interactions go smoothly with Americans. Children are also exposed to American food at school, especially at lunchtime. To offset such American-ness, or foreignness, husbands and children need to eat home-cooked Japanese food at least for their dinner (Kurotani 2005, 95). As a matter of fact, expatriate Japanese wives and mothers not only serve home-cooked Japanese food to their families but also do extra work to maintain their family member's identities as Japanese citizens, according to Kurotani. Some expatriate Japanese wives in Centerville even try to serve Japanese-style bread at home. However, since bread is not available nearby, they plan ahead and order it all the way from a bakery in Chicago. This fact likely reveals the constant effort of married Japanese women to meet their responsibilities, and it also represents the belief of the expatriate Japanese wives that they are the ones who protect the cultural identity of their family members and themselves as long as they are "Japanese" married women. In San Diego, as I discovered through my fieldwork, the main reason that my informants practice Japanese bread baking is to serve "Japanese" bread to their families. Most of the informants I have interviewed try to serve Japanese bread to their families for breakfast, which is common in contemporary Japan. To do so, Japanese women take Japanese bread baking lessons. In addition to serving Japanese bread for breakfast, Masako told an anecdote about serving sandwiches for her son's school lunch using the bread she makes. According to Masako, her son's friends know the bread is homemade, and they are jealous of him. As a Japanese mother, Masako tries to do her best to serve "Japanese" food even for her

son's lunch. Her efforts in baking Japanese bread clearly reveal the fact that she is a Japanese mother who takes the responsibility to protect child's identity as Japanese.

Because expatriate Japanese wives and mothers attempt to deal with their jobs of house management as a priority for their families, they consequently rank themselves lower than other family members. In other words, they don't usually have time to take care of themselves. Though it seems to be harsh on them, expatriate Japanese wives and mothers aptly release their pressure from their domestic work without interfering in other family members' schedules. Kawagoe-san, who is one of Kurotani's informants, even claimed that "housewives can 'play as much as they please,' as long as they can connect their play with the realm of their housework and as long as their leisure activities do not conflict with their domestic duties" (Kurotani 2005, 150).

Japanese women generally maintain their friendships and any other relationships with other women for life (Kurotani 2005, 116). It is almost a requirement for them because they usually obtain tips for house management and child rearing from female relatives who they live close by or from the other women who are around them, such as neighbors, mothers from children's schools, and female classmates from culture schools, if they take classes. As mentioned, Japanese men usually don't engage in anything around the house because their priority is work. Japanese women, therefore, prefer to ask somebody else other than their husbands for advice. Different from the life in Japan, many expatriate Japanese wives and mothers cannot rely on their close relatives and friends; as a result, they often develop communities among expatriate Japanese women through their husbands' work and support each other by sharing the experience of living abroad. Other than such expatriate Japanese

women's communities, many other communities, especially for leisure activities, are also available to any Japanese women who live in foreign countries, from expatriate wives and mothers to permanent residents. Popular ones are hobby groups such as quilting, making stained glass, tole painting, and making shadow boxes. Japanese-speaking instructors usually teach those classes for a small or no fee. Japanese women gather once a week or so to practice and share their creations in classes, but exchanging information and socializing with each other seems to be more important than the crafts because they can relax by communicating with other Japanese women and also by being away from domestic work for a moment (Kurotani 2005, 121).

During my field research in San Diego, I also observed a similar phenomenon among Japanese female informants striving to make Japanese bread. The three Japanese bread baking lessons I observed were held by all Japanese-speaking instructors. There were various reasons those instructors began to offer lessons, and of course, the main reason was to teach baking methods of Japanese bread, which many students have been missing since coming to the U.S. Most students were expatriate Japanese wives and mothers, especially at the San Diego Bread Baking Club; others were permanent residents who have lived in the U.S. for a long time or are still new to the U.S. But all the informants I have interviewed were housewives. They had various motivations for baking Japanese bread, and the most common one was to bake for their families because they believed that meeting their families' demands is their jobs as wives and mothers. While Ayumi's students, Chiaki and Naomi, were discussing their motivations for baking, they stated that they preferred to bake bread themselves because of their commitment to their families' safety, especially for their soon-to-be-born daughters. Ayumi's other student

Junko claimed during our interview that bread baking enables her to provide bread easily whenever her children crave it. Homemade Japanese bread is a necessity for Chiaki, Naomi, and Junko because it is safe and convenient for their families. Manami, from the San Diego Bread Baking Club, also mentioned the necessity of practicing baking Japanese bread on her own. Her daughter is allergic to eggs, so homemade bread protects her daughter. Like Chiaki and Naomi, Manami thinks of her daughter's safety in the food she provides as a mother. At Masako-san's baking lesson, almost every member claimed that they bake bread not for themselves but for their families. Families like to eat their homemade bread, which makes them happy. Even though the processes of bread baking are not easy, they are always thinking of their families first and devoting themselves to their families—this is the nature of being a "Japanese" wife and mother, which is the notion that is embedded into the hearts of all of my informants.

The other important aspect that should be addressed here is bread baking lessons as leisure and even as a healing for Japanese wives and mothers in San Diego. As a wives and mothers, Japanese women make their families' schedules the priority; however, all three Japanese bread baking lessons are held mostly during daytime and weekdays so they don't disturb their house management schedules. Japanese wives and mothers I interviewed in San Diego, therefore, can come and practice Japanese bread baking without worrying about a time conflict. It seems these women constantly think of their families, which they still do during class, but at least they enjoy being themselves during baking lessons by socializing with other Japanese women who are in similar circumstances, just like Kurotani observed in her research fields.

In Kawano Bread Baking Class, Ayumi began to offer lessons hoping her students would acquire baking techniques, but she also hoped her lessons would make a community for Japanese women, especially those with small children. From her desperate experience not being able to make friends easily when she first moved to San Diego, Ayumi wishes to help other Japanese women like she used to be. The students I met in her lessons were mostly mothers with small children who were looking for somebody with whom they can share their experiences of child rearing. Junko is an experienced mother raising children in the U.S. and was able to give some advice to Ayumi. Even though students met each other for the first time at Ayumi's lessons, they started to get to know each other, and, towards the end of the lessons, they became friends and arranged for future meetings. By building personal connections in lessons, the informants enjoy a moment of being themselves away from housework and child rearing, and even away from thinking of being far away from "home." In the San Diego Bread Baking Club, similar to Kawano Bread Baking Class, Japanese women who are mostly strangers take the same lesson together. Even though the lesson itself is already tough because it is professional-oriented, students still can enjoy small talk during lessons, and, especially after the lesson, they have a plenty of time to share meals and a talk with each other. Since most students are expatriate Japanese wives and mothers, they can share their experiences of living in a temporary place without worrying about the language and being shy about not knowing much about American lifestyles. Therefore, the San Diego Bread Baking Club can be considered a Japanese women's community where any Japanese woman living in San Diego can feel at ease. Masako-san's Baking Lessons are a little different from the other two because most of the time students have known each other for a long time; but because they know each other, they

can release stress better during lessons. They specifically mentioned this aspect of the lessons as a place to relax and socialize, which I showed in Chapter 5. Although the main purpose of the lessons is to bake bread for their families, my informants believe that the lessons are a place to be comfortable sharing experiences and information, especially about children. However, it is also true that lessons are not only for Japanese mothers but also for women with no children. Nahomi doesn't have any children, so she has struggled with sharing information about children, but she still thinks that they help her to release stress from housework, her job, and especially living abroad just by talking with her classmates during the lessons. Masako-san's Baking Class is a place where she can comfortably speak about anything in her native language, which helps her to release stress.

The notion of "good wives, wise mothers" represents self-sacrifice and devotion to a family, and Japanese married women have always attempted to do the best that they can for their families. Their main job is to do housework and raise children perfectly to support a family, which includes cooking safe and healthy food. In a foreign country, it is sometimes difficult to find the food Japanese people could get easily in their native country. In San Diego, bread is one of the foods that the Japanese cannot get easily, and so Japanese wives and mothers make an effort to learn the baking methods by attending lessons, which they think helps them to feed the best food to their families. Although theses baking lessons help Japanese wives and mothers to feel relaxed by mingling with other Japanese women who are in similar circumstances, bread baking is still an extension of the housework; that is, it is one of the jobs many Japanese women are expected to do in caring for their families. It is not an obligation, but they believe it is their responsibilities to protect the connection to Japan in both their families

and themselves. Japanese bread baking is, therefore, essential for many Japanese expatriate women no matter how long they have lived in the U.S. because it fulfills their jobs as “good wives, wise mothers.”

CONCLUSION

Bread was native to Japan. After it was first introduction by the Europeans, the Japanese altered it so it became palatable to themselves; this process happened regularly over almost 500 years. In the late 1880s, Japanese people successfully created bread unique to Japan—"Japanese bread" at last. Made with familiar ingredients to the Japanese, *an-pan* was the first Japanese bread. *Shoku-pan* was created as a substitute for rice, so it has a texture that the Japanese look for rice. However, in fact, it took a while for bread to be spread widely among the general public because of their unfamiliarity with the bread eating customs. During the post-war period, finally, bread became gradually accessible to most Japanese, influenced by the Americans. Many variations have been created since then, and there are numerous kinds of Japanese bread available in contemporary Japan. In addition to original Japanese breads such as *an-pan* and *shoku-pan*, seasonal bread and visually pleasant bread are also popular among Japanese people nowadays.

Considering how long it took for wide-spread access to bread, Japanese bread is still thought of as a relatively new food to Japan. On the other hand, it has quickly become integral to Japanese life. Children first became familiar with bread through school lunches centered on bread and milk. With governmental encouragement to eat more Westernized meals centered on bread in order to consume a large quantity of wheat flour received from the U.S., not only children but also adults soon started to eat more bread. In contemporary Japan, Japanese people eat more bread than rice, especially for their breakfast. The consumption and expenditure on bread have also increased regardless of the decrease of the rice consumption. This fact, however, generated the fear that of losing the traditional Japanese food and

foodways (*washoku*), which is a diet centered on rice; this fear was accompanied by the simplification of Japanese food practice by reducing time to prepare and enjoy *ichijū sansai* meals at home together as a family. Then, at the registration for the UNESCO intangible cultural heritage in 2013, the preservation of *washoku* was emphasized in a presentation entitled "*Washoku* as the traditional dietary cultures of the Japanese."

Through my fieldwork research, on the other hand, I have seen the strong thoughts and feelings about Japanese bread among Japanese women. When the Japanese women I interviewed first moved to the U.S., they realized how much they missed Japanese bread. They longed for its soft, fluffy, and springy texture along with the countless variations of the bread. Most women were motivated to start learning to bake to fulfill their hunger for Japanese bread, but they gradually noticed that bread baking also became a part of their lives. There is only one Japanese-owned bakery in San Diego, though some Japanese breads are available at Japanese supermarkets as well. It is convenient just to purchase bread at those stores, but the Japanese women I interviewed decided to take their time to learn and bake bread not only for themselves but also for their families.

Necessity was an integral part of the bread baking at first, but now home baking is one of the methods for Japanese women to hand down Japanese food culture to their children and also for some Japanese women to introduce its culture to their non-Japanese spouses. In Japanese society, married women take it for granted that it is their responsibilities to devote time to housework, child rearing and education, and to support their husbands who work outside the home. The wives of Japanese expatriates, who were relocated to San Diego due to their husbands' work, are not exceptional. Japanese women who have foreign spouses do not

have much obligation for this kind of responsibility, but most women I interviewed have small children, and since they are not comfortable with speaking English outside of their home, they usually stay at home to take care of housework and children just like ordinary Japanese married women. The Japanese women I interviewed have already achieved their mission to perform as "Japanese women" when it comes to housework and child rearing, but through bread baking they also came to think of it as a part of their duty to preserve a connection to Japan in themselves and their families, especially their children, as an extension of the roles they have as "Japanese women."

Tomoko mentioned during our interview that bread baking (as food education) positively influences children, especially their appreciation and understanding of the importance of food and to enjoy homemade meals, which are some of the essential components claimed in the Japanese governmental guidance on *shokuiku*, or food education. The term *shokuiku* (*shoku* means food; *iku* means education) has been used since the Meiji period (1868-1912), but it became common after the enactment of the Basic Act on Food Education in 2005 (Ehara 2014, 242). As the Public Relations Office of the Government of Japan claims, *shokuiku* is to educate people to gain the ability to have a healthy life by acquiring knowledge of the meals by choosing the good balanced meals throughout life (Food Education 2016). Being presented this concept, people should be able to 1) maintain a healthy body and mind; 2) understand the importance of meals; 3) enjoy tasty meals with family and friends; 4) choose and cook proper meals; 5) develop an appreciation for food by understanding the processes of its production through having meals at home and school, particularly for children;

6) adults have the duty to pass on their knowledge and experiences on food to the next generation (Food Education 2016).

Japanese bread baking in San Diego among Japanese women clearly serves the function of *shokuiku*, as Tomoko states. Japanese bread and its baking through *shokuiku* are also useful to form Japanese identity. During lessons, students' children understand that it takes time to make good bread, so they patiently wait for their mothers to finish baking. After mothers finishing baking, all the students and their children get together and eat bread together around the dining table. Children appreciate the effort their mothers put in to baking bread for them as well as the happy moment of sharing good food together, not only with their mothers but also with other Japanese people. This happiness makes children happier, which allows children to have healthy body and mind. Mothers, on the other hand, enjoy themselves baking, and eating what they have been looking for, by attending lessons. They also find Tomoko's lessons a comfortable place to be Japanese by mingling with other Japanese women, which allows the students to reconfirm their roles as Japanese women. After the lessons, at home, students bake bread by using the dough they made during lessons and offer them to their families. They can again share bread with their families. By continuously going to Tomoko's lessons and learning new recipes, students are able to maintain this custom. These Japanese women's continuous effort and love in baking bread suggests their true figure as a Japanese wives and mothers, and, in the end, children are able to understand what is to be Japanese, eventually acquiring Japanese identity through their mothers' homemade bread and its baking processes. In addition, they learn the importance of homemade food, which is the ultimate goal of *shokuiku*.

Bread baking as *shokuiku* is visible not only in Tomoko's baking lessons but also both in Ayumi and Masako-san's lessons. As the mother of a small child, Ayumi attempts appeals to her students, who are or will be in the same situation, that understanding what they eat in a foreign country is important as a mother because of the unfamiliarity with the food around them. By baking bread at home, students are able to offer the best food they can. It is safe for their families because they know the ingredients and the baking processes. Homemade Japanese bread is a representation of love and effort for the family, which suggests an appreciation for their roles as wives and mothers who serve one of the proper Japanese meals and create opportunities to share such good food together as a family. This is what Japanese *shokuiku* should be, which is useful to preserve Japanese traditional food practice.

Masako, on the other hand, has been trying to discover herself not just as a Japanese wife and mother but as a Japanese woman who can achieve something in the U.S., a country far from Japan. It took some time, but Masako eventually found herself enjoying her life in San Diego by baking Japanese bread. Since holding her own bread baking lessons, she has supported her students by allowing them to enjoy being Japanese women during lessons not only through baking Japanese bread but also spending time with the members of the baking group, who are in the same position as themselves. Through baking lessons, Masako has fruitfully accomplished much as an instructor and more as a senior, who overcame the tough time moving to the U.S.; on the other hand, Masako has never forgotten herself as a Japanese wife and mother. She always remembers her role to serve the best food that she can cook, such as her family's favorite homemade bread to her family. Masako knows how much her family appreciates the time and thought she puts into baking bread. Likewise, her students have also

realized their families' gratitude for bread made with lots of effort and love, which also motivates them to bake more. Because baking is not something required as housework—but additional work on top of regular chores, students' family members appreciate the effort they put into baking the bread. Japanese bread and baking successfully shows a sense of belonging to the Japanese beyond *shokuiku*.

In the United States, far from their native country, the Japanese cannot easily obtain what they have lived with and what was ordinary in Japan. Because of this difficulty to be around something "Japanese," people may excessively look for something to feel Japanese or to maintain their identity as Japanese. However, this is not the only reason the Japanese women I interviewed in San Diego have started baking Japanese bread. Each woman has different goals, which I have described in Chapter 3, 4, and 5, but they are proud of the peculiarity of Japanese bread, which has a similar texture to rice—fluffy, soft, and springy, with beautiful presentation, and variations made with natural and seasonal food. These qualities are represented in traditional Japanese meals such as *kaiseki* or even *ichijū sansai*. Further, in the processes of baking, women attempt to hand down Japanese foodways as *shokuiku* to their families by fulfilling their roles as Japanese wives and mothers.

According to the guidelines of the *Washoku*—the Japanese traditional food culture registered at UNESCO intangible cultural heritage and created by the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries—*washoku* is not simply genres of cuisines, including *kaiseki* and *ichijū sansai*, but also "a social practice based on an essential spirit of the Japanese, 'respect for nature,' which contributes to healthy life and strengthens familial and community ties" (Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries 2013, 3). Japanese bread or *pan* is something

fairly new to Japanese people compared with other foods considered part of *washoku* cuisine, but, the performances of the Japanese women in San Diego attempting to produce Japanese bread for their families seems to correspond with the concept of *Washoku* as Japanese traditional food culture.

The lessons I observed in San Diego clearly demonstrate the social practice UNESCO describes above, and the goal of the bread making is aimed at nutrition and strengthening ties to both family and Japan. Therefore, Japanese bread and its baking process should be counted as *washoku*. However, many Japanese do not consider bread *washoku* even though it contains all the elements required. It seems UNESCO's definition could use updating to avoid the vague, nebulous language that lends itself to over-generalizations about Japanese culture and cuisine. Although not included in the language, the subtext implies that a sense of purity is also required. The UNESCO guidelines strongly suggest that rice-based dishes should be counted at *washoku* because of rice's close connection to Japan. Granted, bread came from Europe to Japan, but rice started in China. How long must a food meet all of UNESCO's requirements before the people of Japan consider it *washoku*? It appears five hundred years of history in Japan may be too short. Or is that food originating in other parts of Asia easily fits into ideas of *washoku*, but food origination from Europe is too foreign to be included? Regardless, recognition that these are not implied requirements of *washoku* might improve UNESCO's definition.

However, this subtext of purity is not limited to UNESCO's definition. Indeed, many of my informants who considered bread so integral to their lives in Japan may not even consider bread *washoku*. Could it be that a nation that once completely isolated itself from the rest of the world for over two hundred and fifty years has it ingrained in the culture that simply having

a sense of "otherness" to something is somehow disqualifying? If that otherness is perceived to be present, the food and the practice in producing it is more of a hybrid and not pure enough to be *washoku*. Perhaps the reason these requirements remain part of the subtext and not explicitly written is that such criteria are problematic and crumble under close scrutiny. Thus, the UNESCO guidelines likely remain vague to avoid this obvious conclusion, going so far as refusing to list the specific foods that fall under its definition. Without confirmation of which foods should and should not be considered *washoku,* the definition becomes meaningless. Ryo Kohsaka recently wrote about UNESCO definition, "Vague contexts are abbreviated into simpler terms that function to evoke emotional reactions on the one hand and cause confusion on the other hand" (2017, 70). While definitions are useful, what really guides determinations of what is *washoku* is a belief structure, and whether a food either feels *washoku* or not.

If this were the case, it's conceivable that someday bread may in fact be considered *washoku*. Attitudes change over time, and so could the opinions about what is *washoku* and what is not. The fact that such a change could occur without a change to UNESCO's definition would seem to indicate that what truly drives this classification is less what is written in the definition and more what is implied.

One food that could provide a model for *pan* is *tempura*. Like *pan*, *tempura* came to Japan through Portugal during almost the same period. However, many Japanese consider *tempura* to be a part of *washoku*. Also like *pan*, *tempura* went through several changes once it came to Japan in order to become more palatable to Japanese people. The Japanese added sugar, salt, and sake to the batter and switched from lard-based frying oil to plant-based oils such as sesame. The Japanese started using vast varieties of fillings in the *tempura* that the

Portuguese had not, including seafood and vegetables native to Japan (Japan Business Press 2017). These steps to hybridize *tempura* led to the dish quickly spreading across Japan and becoming quite popular, which it remains today.

Perhaps the fact that the dish did not remain nearly as popular in Portugal may have allowed the Japanese to feel greater ownership over *tempura* than bread. However, tempura might be considered *washoku* because the extensive hybridization of the food changed it so significantly that it became more Japanese than foreign to the people of Japan. Perhaps the hybridity of *tempura* was so thorough that, in a way, it was purified in the eyes of the Japanese. While the basis of the *tempura* had been imported from Europe, the changes they made to it felt as though the Japanese had created something completely new.

Last but not least, as I discussed in the "Introduction," many scholars in food studies tend to see staple foods as representations of the specific group identity. I have elaborated on this tradition by studying a non-staple food and observing its meaning to individuals. Through the intimate connection with, specifically, the Japanese women who bake Japanese bread in San Diego, I was able to interpret individuals' real voices, which made it possible to understand different perspectives on bread. I believe that my research on Japanese bread may contribute to studying ethnic identity through food and, further, to studying food as material culture in the field of folklore. As another goal for my study of the Japanese and Japanese bread, I hope that other scholars will expand it with a larger view. The topics I didn't cover in my dissertation—the preferences and desires of eating Japanese bread by other family members such as fathers and children, greater attention to professional side, bakers' creativity and their thoughts on baking and selling bread—would all make for good studies. The comparative perspectives could be

resolved by looking at larger Japanese communities such as Los Angeles, in the United States, and the Japanese diaspora in other countries, such as Peru and Brazil, where the largest Japanese communities are found outside of Japan.

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Arisa Shibagaki Peters

EDUCATION

2017 Ph.D. in Folklore: Department of Folklore and Ethnomusicology, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN

Dissertation: *Bread and Washoku: Unveiling Japanese Identity through the Necessity of Bread Baking*
Minor: Japanese

2007 M.A. in Popular Culture: Department of Popular Culture, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, OH

Thesis: *The Barbie Phenomenon in Japan*

2005 B.A. in English: Department of English Language and Literature, Kyoto Notre Dame University, Kyoto, Japan

2002-2003 Exchange Program in Communication Arts: Department of Communication Arts, Notre Dame of Maryland University, Baltimore, MD

SCHOLORSHIPS, FELLOWSHIPS AND AWARDS

2011-2013 Associate Instructor Fellowship: Indiana University, Bloomington, IN

2007 Recognition Award for the contribution to *NW OH Foodways Traditions: Cultural and Nutritional Values of Local Foods*

2002-2003 Japanese national government scholarship for short-term studying-abroad: Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology-Japan

First student from Kyoto Norte Dame University to receive this award

2002-2003 Scholarship for US sister colleges' exchange student program: Kyoto Notre Dame University, Kyoto, Japan

UNIVERSITY TEACHING POSITIONS

2014 Part-time Visiting Faculty: Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Rose-Hulman Institute of Technology, Terre Haute, IN

Taught Japanese 113 with Genki textbook once a day, four times a week

Office hours twice a week to answer students' questions
Created and prepared syllabus, lesson plans, schedules, quizzes, and tests

2011-2013 Associate Instructor: Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN

Taught drill sections of Japanese 101 and 102 with Genki textbook twice a day, three times a week
Taught drill sections of Japanese 301 with Tobira textbook twice a day, three times a week
Office hours once a week to answer students' questions

MUSEUM AND RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

2013 Research Internship: Mathers Museum of World Cultures, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN

Researched recently donated Native American baskets from over 20 tribes across the United States
Identified through pattern recognition and weave style identified the tribes the baskets originated for exhibition
Cataloged and inventoried additional donated artifacts to the museum

2007-2008 Research Internship: Wood County Historical Center & Museum, Bowling Green, OH

Research on Food and Culture for museum events
In charge of research on Asian foodways for the Smithsonian traveling exhibit "Key Ingredients: America by Food"
Guest spoke on traditional Japanese wedding food for the museum's Foodways Program Series
Performed multiple public cooking demonstrations on preparing traditional Japanese dishes

2006 Library Internship: Popular Culture Library, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, OH

Japanese Article Translation, Watanabe, Yōichi. *Armed Services Editions: A Reflection of the Reading Taste of Americans.* Tokyo: Waseda Commerce Club, 2001.

ADMINISTRATION EXPERIENCE

2016 Part-time Administrative Assistant: Consulate-General of Japan in Chicago, Chicago, IL

Managed Japanese residence reports through online Overseas Residential Registration system
Managed overseas voting system

2009-2010 Secretary to the CEO: Shonan Academy of Medical Welfare, Yokohama, Kanagawa, Japan

Translated various research documents for CEO, documents faculty wanted to use for class and transcripts for students applying to the universities abroad
Managed finances, marketing, and community outreach for CEO
Interpreter on trips to the United States with students and faculty where I was the sole English speaker for groups of 10-25 individuals.
Provided interpretive services on five field trips, each lasting roughly a week

PROFESSIONAL WRITING EXPERIENCE

2006-2007 Freelance Writer: Canada Japan Journal, Japan Advertising Ltd., Vancouver, BC, Canada
Wrote monthly articles on "Study Abroad" experiences in the Japanese language

PRESENTATIONS AND INVITED TALKS

2013 "Japanese Food and Culture: What is *Pan* (Japanese Bread)?" World Language Festival at Indiana University, Bloomington, IN (Mar. 23)

2013 "Kyoto dialect and *Bubuzuke* mythology." Guest Speaker for course Japanese Language and Society at Indiana University, Bloomington, IN (Feb. 5)

2007 "Sushi and Globalization." Guest Lecturer for course Food and Globalization at Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, OH (Nov. 8)

2007 "Sushi and Northwest Ohio Foodways." Fall Squash and Veggies Fest at the Pearl Street Farmer's Market, Bowling Green, OH (Sep. 15)

2007 "Japanese Wedding Food: *Hikigashi*." Invited Speaker at Wood County Historical Center & Museum, Bowling Green, OH (Jul. 28)

2007 "Sushi and Northwest Ohio Foodways." Wood Country Heritage Days, Bowling Green, OH (Jun 9, 10)

2007 "Sushi and Northwest Ohio Foodways." Key Ingredients: Grand Opening and Community Picnic, Bowling Green, OH (May 19)

2007 “Sushi and Northwest Ohio Foodways.” Foodways Culinary Expo, Bowling Green, OH (Apr. 22)

LANGUAGES

Japanese: Native
English: Fluent
French: Reading Proficiency