SOCIAL PROCESS
IN HAWAII

Published by the
SOCIOLOGY CLUB
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII

VOLUME XIV
1950
Honolulu, Hawaii, U.S.A.
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University of Hawaii

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Since their discovery in 1778 by Captain James Cook, the Hawaiian Islands have been settled by and have become the home of various ethnic groups from different parts of the globe. This trend has continued, until today the Islands are the meeting place of at least a dozen different ethnic groups.

Previous editions of our journal have presented various aspects of the cultures which contribute to the cosmopolitan character of our Island world. Quite naturally, in our efforts to describe and analyze the mental processes operating in Hawaii, we have neglected to discuss some of the less prominent ethnic and social groups in the Islands. These too, however, play a part in the total life of the Territory and we have become increasingly aware of the lack of any literature on some of these groups.

Because of the feeling that a more searching account of certain of Hawaii's minority groups was needed, the fourteenth publication of Social Process in Hawaii has selected as its central theme for 1956, "Neglected Minority Groups in Hawaii." We would like to add hastily here that the publication will not contain exclusively studies of ethnic groups but will also consider neglected aspects of inter-racial relations in Hawaii.

This year, Stephen Mairas, one of our student contributors, in preparing his paper on "The Gypsies in Hawaii" took some striking pictures of his subjects. Feeling that these photos were too valuable to be overlooked, we decided to include several of these pictures in this issue to round out an article already alive with local color. It is our hope that these pictures may add to the readers' comprehension of one of our topics, and also that this new departure may establish a useful precedent for subsequent issues of Social Process in Hawaii.

Anyone working on a publication of this type will readily realize the immense amount of labor that is involved in order that the final deadline be met. The staff this year is indebted to our advisers, Dr. Andrew W. Lind and Dr. Bernard L. Bornstein, not only for their suggestions and contributions but also for their continued encouragement and guidance. We would also like to thank Dr. Clarence Glick, Peggy Saltama, Tamiko Tanamato, Henry Toyama, and Jane Kohatsu for their help and cooperation.

A HAOLE'S CHANGING CONCEPTIONS OF JAPANESE IN HAWAII

A Hypothetical Approach Using a Social Typology

CLARENCE E. GLICK

What were your first impressions of persons you have known for a long time? More than likely you try to recall your first contacts with present friends and acquaintances. If you realize that your first impressions of them were different from those you have now, but those early impressions have become so blurred and diffused by all the intervening associations that it is almost impossible to recapture their exact character. And one could hardly say exactly when and how later impressions modified earlier ones, although the changes might be traced by recalling various incidents that have occurred during the relationship. Perhaps the first impressions were affected by what one heard of the other person before actually meeting him; perhaps the first contacts occurred under particular circumstances that created attitudes which were modified when later contacts occurred under other circumstances; perhaps first impressions were reinforced and deepened by continuous association in one kind of situation. Sometimes one may be slightly acquainted with another for years without becoming an intimate friend or greatly modifying one's early attitude toward the other; in other cases much briefer but more intensive association leads to mutual insight and intimacy.

In the contacts and associations between people of different racial and cultural groups, "becoming acquainted" involves the very same process of constant readjustment of impressions of the "others." As in other human relationships, members of different groups may maintain over long periods only superficial acquaintance with each other, but, in contrast, representatives of certain racial groups may go through many phases in an increasingly intimate knowledge and appreciation of persons in other groups.

Hawaii has been a peculiarly fertile field for the growth of associations between members of different ethnic groups, but these associations have been of a great many different kinds. Not all members of any one group acquired identical attitudes toward other groups or have equally close relationships with members of the other groups. There has been much fluctuation in the relationships between the groups as wholes and between particular members of the different groups. Many persons of particular ethnic groups in Hawaii have never had more than superficial acquaintance with members of any other than their own. But the great variety of opportunities for contact in both formal and informal situations has meant that many persons of all racial groups have come to have increasingly personal relations with persons belonging to ethnic groups other than their own.

As persons have increasing contacts with members of other groups, their changing impressions of those groups seem to go through a certain sequence. One way to get away from formal and generalized descriptions of "race relations" might be to suggest a possible sequence of the changing conceptions of a "hypothetical typical Mainland Ralo" in his relationships with people of Japanese ancestry whom he meets for the first time after arrival in Hawaii.

It may easily be assumed that when he first arrives in Honolulu our Mr. H. T. Mainland-Ralo does not recognize many of those he sees and
meets as of Japanese ancestry. He sees that most of the people at the dock and on the streets are not Caucasians like himself, but these unidentified faces are to him all part of one large category that he thinks of as "the natives." He has seen occasional references in Mainland newspapers to the fact that in addition to whites and "native Hawaiians" there are a great many Japanese, Chinese, and mixed-bloods in Hawaii. So he's heard that there are Puerto Ricans, Portuguese, Koreans, and Filipinos and even a few other kinds of people here. Which among these many people, whom he now sees for the first time, are Japanese he can't be certain. But because he has heard more about the Hawaiians and Japanese than about any of the other groups, if he tries to classify anyone he sees he will probably think of him as belonging to one or the other of these two groups. Generally, his reactions toward all of the non-whites are dominated by, "They're not like me." As he shifts from this negative reaction based on their difference from himself he begins to use the more positive label, "Caucasian." As a convenient way of lumping together all the people of Japanese, Chinese, Korean, and Filipino ancestry who are called "white" or Hawaiians.

He learns soon after getting here, of course, that the terms "white" and "colored" which are in common use "back home" are not part of the vernacular in Hawaii. He has to learn how to pronounce "Hakai\" and get some idea of what it means. In doing so he is puzzled over the fact that his Honolulu informants tell him it is the local equivalent for "white" but not all of those whom he would think of as white are called Hakais. At the same time he is learning the distinction between Hakai\"s and mestizos. Perhaps he overhears some references to "个多 Haole" and realizes that he is one of them.

After circulating among social and business groups in Honolulu, mostly made up of "coast Haole" like himself, Mr. B. T. Mainland-Haole begins to acquire some stereotyped notions about the different kinds of "haole" and of other people in Hawaii. "Japanese" or "jap" becomes one of those stereotypes, along with "Chinese," "Filipino," "Porto Rican," "Portuguese," "Korean," and "Hakai\". Some of the groups he begins to get ideas about are those he didn't even know existed when he arrived. Initially based on second-hand information from Haole like himself, these stereotypes are very crude generalizations to the inter-racial world which surrounds him. While some have got the origin, physical appearance, dress, manner, occupant, characteristic mannerisms, etc, and habits, he begins to sort out the people he knows into very general categories. He has learned about these other groups, but he actually hasn't learned to know them as people and perhaps in even more socially diverse from him than the day he landed. Most of the second-hand ideas he has acquired carried with them prejudices and overtones of attitudes which he somewhat abhorred. Looking through these colored glasses he begins to see many things which fit into the stereotypes. If there are a multitude of other things to be observed, he is aware of them.

If Mr. Mainland-Haole's direct contacts with people of Japanese ancestry are infrequent or are formal and impersonal and if his contacts with other Haole consist to be largely among those who share the stereotype which he first acquired, his own stereotype becomes crystallized into a fixed set of ideas and attitudes about "jap" or "Japanese." Unfortunately, without specific, "real" data, he may come to think they hold expressness with complete self-confidence beliefs about their "peculiar" tastes, habits, mannerisms, ways of doing business, and "things you have to watch when you're dealing with them." If he has contacts with a particular person of Japanese ancestry who maintains some reserve and decorum in his manner, the stereotype remains intact. In time the mental picture may be filled in with a great many details about almost every aspect of life economic motives, sex practices, family life, religious beliefs, educational activities, and so on. On each of these points Mr. Mainland-Haole has a ready generalization, which is introduced with, "Well, you take these Japanese now . . ."

Obviously, while Mr. Mainland-Haole is developing these notions about the Japanese and other "out-groups," he is circulating in an "in-group" of his own. Unless he has introductions to the kamaaina Haole families his own group in limited to the "Welsh Haole" (not all of whom live "at the beach", of course). This group shares the rather smug feeling that they belong to the dominant racial group, even though they realize that there are social circles within Haole' society into which they have no entry. As long as he remains within this group he accepts the misconceptions of people of Japanese ancestry. Western society is relatively fixed. Many of Mr. Mainland-Haole's friends have been here for years and have joined families here without branching out from this restricted circle. Members of the group have come down from and gone back to the Mainland; some service personnel have been briefly a part of it; and many of them consider themselves kamaainai, but they still have not known in any personal way people of the non-Haole groups. When the Mainland Haole have dinner with their friends and acquaintances they never find any non-Haole among the guests.

But our Mr. Mainland-Haole accidentally comes to know a particular person of Japanese ancestry, Mr. Tanaka, with whom he has become associated in a business relationship. He finds that he has a good many things in common with Mr. Tanaka and in the course of time meets other members of the Tanaka family. This more intimate experience makes him realize that Mr. Tanaka has personal traits, attitudes, and motivations which do not correspond with Mr. Mainland-Haole's stereotypes, "the Japanese." But the stereotype is not questioned, it is not out of focus, it is Mr. Tanaka who is out of focus. For some reason, Mr. Tanaka is "different from the rest of the Japanese." He is in an "exception."

Through Mr. Tanaka, or through impression about Japanese people that Mr. Mainland-Haole has gotten from Mrs. Nakamura, her husband, the number of "exceptions" to the still active stereotype increases, and soon the "exceptions" are no longer dismissed as "exceptions." "Japanese," in the behavior of Mrs. Nakamura, who has worked for months for the Mainland-Haole family, has become the subject of many after-dinner conversations with other Haole. Gradually Mrs. Nakamura has become a mama-\-tan and Mr. Kimura, the yardman, has become papa-\-tan. Particular personal traits became associated in Mr. Mainland-Haole's mind with these particular kind of Japanese having some of these characteristics, and he makes tentative judgments about the Japanese domestic workers but with certain idiosyncrasies which please, amuse, and sometimes exasperate their employers.

Now Mr. Mainland-Haole is himself something of an "exception" in his own mind. He becomes interested in finding out more about the Japanese in Hawaii, because some of the things Mr. Tanaka tells him quite underlines the stereotype. He begins to look up information here and there as he chance upon it in the local newspapers, on the radio, or in lunchroom conversations. He seems to be drawn to the 100th and the 44th Battalions. The paper occasionally refers to the "AJ\'s" and which at first means nothing to him, finally he learns that this means "Americans of Japanese Ancestry." He knows that while many of the Japanese living in Hawaii were born in Japan most of the younger ones were
born in Hawai'i. In fact, he now remembers hearing Shadow say the term "Hawaiian-born Japanese." Someone tells him that although these young people of Japanese ancestry who were born in Hawai'i do not commonly refer to themselves as "Hawaiian-born Japanese," neither do they frequently call themselves "J'ai's."

The latter is a designation that seems to have originated among a class of Japanese who were born in California and other West Coast States. He is told that the term "J'ai's" became more prevalent during and after the war when young men of Japanese ancestry who had served in the 100th Battalion or other military units with Mainland-born Japanese returned to the islands, and its usage seems to be connected particularly with situations connected with their war-experience or citizenship.

After further questioning he finds that among young men and women of Japanese ancestry in Hawai'i the term which is being used most commonly to designate themselves is the word "Hapa." This sounds like a Japanese word, but in trying to find out what it means, Mr. Mainland-Hade goes involved in relating it to a number of other words, including "Hana," "Haa," and "Hanai." These terms seem to suggest differing legal status among Japanese in Hawai'i but in other respects appear to include references to generation, age, and degree of Americanization. Gradually "Hapa" comes to mean to him any Japanese in Hawai'i who was born in Japan and who therefore is legally an alien, since most Mainland-born Japanese have been ineligible for naturalization. "Hapa" also carries for him the connotation of being of the older or "inmigrated" generation and refers to someone who still has many of the Japanese ways brought from Japan. At first Mr. Mainland-Hade doesn't learn about those persons who were born in Japan but were brought to Hawai'i at a tender and impressionable age and who have become an Americanized as those of their own age-group who were born in Hawai'i. When he does learn about these people he doesn't know whether the term "Hapa" applies to them or not, they are "Hapa" in legal status but are unlike most "Hapa" and more like "Nisei" in their substitution of American ways for Japanese ways.

Mr. Mainland-Hade now concludes that "Nisei" is the equivalent among Japanese people in Hawai'i for the longer and more awkward term, "Hawaiian-born Japanese," which he had heard the local people use. He realizes that the Nisei, having been born in Hawai'i, is eligible to American citizenship and is in fact an American citizen. "Nisei" generally carries the impression of someone born in Hawai'i but at least not beyond middle age. The term Nisei seems to be more Americanized than his particular term. The Nisei also is the term used to denote the cultural differences between these types of Japanese. And what about these "Hanai" and "Ka-

Hapa?" His Japanese-speaking friends seem to use them to refer to others. They carry somewhat closer to its usage among Japanese-speaking people themselves. It now appears to mean literally "second generation," that is, the children of immigrant parents, while "Hanai" means "third generation," the children of Niseis and grandchildren of Issei. When he asks if there is a term for fourth generation he learns that the Issei did not start coming to Hawai'i long enough ago for many fourth generation children to have been born. He is told that the first syllables of these words - Issei, Nisei, and Hanai - simply indicate the age at which the child is over 10 years old. Following the same principle, when the fourth generation becomes numerous they may be known as "Tsubo" if Japanese words are still in common use in Hawai'i when that time comes.

But there are still the "Hibi" to be accounted for. This word, Mr. Mainland-Hade discovers, literally means "returned to America." Logically, he thinks, this should include any Issei who has paid a visit to the land of his birth, but it actually has a different meaning. He learns that "Hibi" is a term of the early 1900's compared favorably with Hawai'i as a place in the responsibilities of sons to their parents to account for the decision of some immigrants to send some of their children to live with and serve aged grandparents in Japan. If, after a number of years in Japan, these children, who otherwise would have been like the rest of the Nisei, return to Hawai'i they are set off from the Hawai'i-reared Nisei of their own age as "dif-
frent," "and American."

In getting all these terms straight, Mr. Mainland-Hade has been coming to the realization that there are many more differences among the Japanese than he had realized, and he is beginning to modify his easy gen-
eralizations. "In fact, they may wear American clothes and speak Eng-
lish, but underneath they're all still primarily Japanese." Now, in fact, he begins to wonder just what being Japanese means and just how Japanese these people in Hawai'i are. In the Honolulu Academy of Arts he sees Japanese prints, Japanese flower arrangements, Japanese religious objects, and in different sections of the city he observes many places of worship which he comes together as "Buddhist temples." Browsing through a book at the library by Lafcadio Hearn which describes Japanese culture, he reads it with considerable interest and finds more books on the same subject. He attends some lectures on the "Peoples and Institutions of Japan." From all this reading and listening he begins to realize that the Japanese civilization is amazingly complex and also that it has changed considerably since Laf-
cadio Hearn's time. Curiously enough, the more he learns about the Japan-
ese, the less frequently Mr. Mainland-Hade is saying, "Now these Japanese . . . ."

One of the things he has learned from the lectures on the Japanese family in the traditional family in Japan members had different roles according to their place in the family. The members carried out their roles - the patriarchal father (gongen), the subordinate and self-effacing yet dignified wife (maiko), the gentle aged mother (bokumin), the pious and virtuous daughter (go-joen). He has heard about the match-maker (kobimashita), the betrothal ceremony (yōkoso), the priestess (kōsho), the young bride (kono). Now he realizes that these roles must have been a part of the Japanese culture and also about the etiquette of social, the family or court, and about public con-
versation.

Now that he has learned so much about the Japanese background, he begins to wonder what the Tahua family is like. As the Tahua family is known for its tradition of the long-standing and close relationships of the family the Mainland-Hade thinks of it as being "Japnese" hardly seems to be Japanese at all. The Tahua's socialization patterns are attractive and in good taste, but it looks like the homes of most of Mr. Mainland-Hade's other friends. The Tahua children certainty don't seem to fit the picture of the quiet respectful daughter and son of the traditional Japanese patriarchal family -- they don't do how to their
parents; Mrs. Tanaka complains about the same things that Mrs. Mainland-Haole complains about in her kitchen; the boys are more absorbed in baseball than in judo and the girls would rather learn the hula than the ritual of the tea ceremony. When Mr. Mainland-Haole talks to Mr. Tanaka about all this, Mr. Tanaka reminds him that they are just one family and that he and his wife, both Chinese graduates, have raised wisely away from traditional Japanese patterns. In fact, Mr. Tanaka remarks that Mr. Mainland-Haole knows more about the Japanese culture than Mr. Tanaka himself knows. But when Mr. Mainland-Haole meets Mr. Tanaka’s parents and some of his more conservative Japanese friends, he learns that in many Japanese families in Hawaii much of the ancestral culture still persists. Although Mr. Tanaka and his family go to the Congregational Church, his parents still attend ceremonies at a Buddhist temple and some of the Tanaka children’s friends belong to the Young Buddhist Association, go to Japanese language school, and the boys take jujitsu lessons.

However, when Mr. Mainland-Haole talks to the people whom Mr. Tanaka considers more conservative and “old-fashioned,” he finds that even in their families traditional institutions and traditional social roles do not have the reality and vitality that they seemed, according to the books, to have in Japan. The Inse to whom he talked know what the traditional social roles are and many are still trying to carry them out, but they find that social roles function effectively only when others perform reciprocal and dovetailing roles. The Nisei, in an increasing degree, do not carry out the social roles expected of them by their parents or by older people in other institutions which the Inse have attempted to establish in Hawaii. Some social roles, such as that of the match-maker, are becoming greatly modified in Hawaii as Nisei demand the right to choose their own mates through the American dating and courtship system. While the match-maker may still carry out certain traditional negotiations between the elders of the two families regarding dowry and exchange of gifts, this may take place only after the young man and woman involved have decided for themselves whom they want to marry. In many marriages the match-maker is dispensed with altogether. Another change in the Japanese family which has caused much more personal conflict and injured feelings is the change in the role of the father (otokon), because of the increasing independence of Nisei sons and daughters. A perpetuation of the difference is that the young Nisei are from the young people they remember in Japan. He hears them deplore the fact that a young woman does not take the same proper and obedient, subservient daughter -- oyasumi -- is likely to become an object of ridicule among her same household. Mixed-Americanized Nisei acquaintances who regard her as quaint and over-dominated by her parents.

One of the firmest parts of Mr. Mainland-Haole’s early stereotyped ideas about the Japanese was that “they certainly stick together.” But as his circle of Japanese acquaintance grew at his temple and temple of the arts to which he was invited as such, or as he heard derogatory remarks about certain kinds of Japanese, in terms which he realizes are certainly not complimentary, though he isn’t quite sure what they mean.

In connection with the young people’s decisions about marriage, Mr. Mainland-Haole has run across certain divisions among the Japanese group. Apparently one of the reasons why the Inse parents are so concerned about exercising some control over their children’s marriages in that there are particular groups among the Japanese immigrants who do not want their children to marry each other. Mr. Mainland-Haole learns for the first time that there are two main groups among the immigrants -- the Nisei who came from Japan proper and the Okinawas who came from a group of islands southwest of Japan known as the Ryukyu Islands, from which one in Okinawa, well known in World War II. As he learns more about the Okinawas, whom he had at first assumed to be “just a kind of Japanese,” he finds that they have had a long history more associated with China than Japan before the Ryukyus were taken over by the Japanese in the Nineteenth century. Okinawa immigrants still speak a language which was distinct from Japanese, although they also used Japanese. Okinawans, he finds, had many distinctive cultural practices, such as the tattooing of married women, which set off the Okinawan immigrants from the Nisei, who rather looked down upon them. With attitudes of superiority toward the Okinawas, the Nisei generally opposed marriage of their children to children of Okinawan families and the Okinawans usually reciprocated with similar attitudes.

Mr. Mainland-Haole finds that Okinawan Nisei are still disturbed by their uncertain status which is due to the fact that they are generally treated by other people in Hawaii as if they were of Japanese ancestry, while at the same time they are being held at a distance by Nisei Japanese. Some Okinawan Nisei, after Japan became a defeated nation, seem to be developing a kind of Okinawan nationalism, trying to develop among their children a pride in being Okinawan rather than Nisei ancestry.

When Mr. Mainland-Haole asks Mr. Tanaka about one situation in which Inse parents opposed the marriage of their son to a Japanese girl, Mr. Tanaka looks embarrassed and says it is hard to explain. It isn’t because the girl is Okinawan. Finally, Mr. Mainland-Haole gathers that it has something to do with some member of the girl’s family having married someone in the Issei or Shukona family. Mr. Tanaka says that that sort of thing is not talked about much, and the Nisei and Okinawa pay little attention to it, although the Inse still consider it of some importance, in spite of the fact that this caste distinction among Nisei Japanese was officially abolished in Japan many years ago.

Mr. Mainland-Haole by this time has gotten on such frank terms with Mr. Tanaka that they can discuss almost any subject and Mr. Tanaka is frank about certain things. It seems to Mr. Mainland-Haole that the differences among the Japanese very freely. Occasionally, on picnics at the beach, Mr. Tanaka talks about some of the things that happened to the Japanese in Hawaii during the war years and seems to relive those events as if they had happened to him. There was the laity-commission, the victory club member, almost always an Inse, occasionally a Shukona, who was so sure Japan would win that he could not be convinced that Japan had actually been defeated; there was the infor- mer, who worked with the Okinawa intelligence officers in Hawaii, giving both true and false information which led to the internment of hundreds of Issei and Nisei; there were the kamikazes, the halo-bombers, and the kamikaze pilots, names given to those Nisei girls who associated, with different degrees of intimacy, with Rayfield’s officers and defense workers, in some of pictures from family members and friends; and there was the Robert, the Mainland-Haole Japanese whom the Hawaii-bred Japanese came suddenly into contact with in the Army and from whom they felt distinctly different. After the war, there appeared among the Japanese, as among the Hawaiians, the "young men" of the "тив." the "disillusioned" and the "35-20 man," whose most important characteristic was their opposition to an active military service during the war years. As Mr. Tanaka explains, most of these terms are already passing out of usage by 1950.
When Mr. Mainland-Haole listens to Mr. Tanaka talking and joking with other Japanese, he hears a good many phrases which seem to be applied to different people in the Japanese community and he jogs Mr. Tanaka down upon their meaning. Most of them seem to have something to do with how Americanized some of the Japanese regard each other. These terms range from the label “Jap-nise” applied to people who have hardly any American ways, all the way to “real Bilingual” which means that the person referred to are “as American as any Haole.” Between these two extremes there are many other terms. From Mr. Tanaka and other Nisei friends, Mr. Mainland-Haole finds out that there are actually dozens of terms used to designate a great variety of types of personalization among people of Japanese ancestry in Hawaii, some of them traditional types which have long been known and referred to in Japan, some of these types that seem to have appeared only in Hawaii and with different types among the Issei, Nisei, Sansei and Haole.

Mr. Mainland-Haole becomes familiar with the connotations of some of these terms so that when he hears his Nisei friends using them they give him an idea of the way the persons referred to are regarded by other members of the “Japanese community.” Of course, “the Japanese community,” after he gets to know a good many persons of Japanese ancestry, hardly seems to him to be a community at all, any more than the Haole make up a community, but when the Japanese in Hawaii are referred to as “Jap-nise,” “Japanese community,” seems to him the phrase used. In “Japanese community,” then, certain social types seem to have become defined in local usage and Mr. Mainland-Haole becomes interested in learning what these types are and sometimes, in his own contacts with persons of Japanese ancestry, he finds himself using them mentally to classify those he meets. Roughly listing them along a sort of scale from the least Americanized to the most Americanized, he finds there is a certain definite attitude that is associated with each label. Least assimilated is the “Jap-nise” generally an Issei, who is a strong and ardent defender of doing things in the traditional Japanese way. Next comes the “Jap-nise” Issei, usually an Issei or Kibei, who is somewhat of a “greenhorn” in Hawaii. He is referred to by the more Americanized Nisei, while the Jap-nise would point to him as a model of conduct. The “shonin,” the dignified Issei “Japanese lady” in Hawaii follows modified standards for an upper-class persons in Japan and is unconcerned about what Haole or other non-Japanese groups think about her. The second generation, jiko, the dignified teacher, priest, and doctor, respectively, are part of the upper-class among Issei Japanese in Hawaii, consisting of their superior economic position, but like the shonin, modifying their conduct somewhat from the standards that are set for them in Japan. They are somewhat more concerned than the shonin about what Haole think of them. While the shonin accord a certain amount of respect to any Issei, Nisei, or Kibei, and Issei, they are likely to make fun of the toochis, the son, and the oyobi, the dull, dour, but “good.”

The real leaders in the “Japanese community” of Hawaii are sometimes referred to as the push or pushy. They are likely to have been on more Western ways than the boyan or the mae and are more involved in community activities affecting the status or “face” of the Japanese in the larger, interracial community. They are more sensitive to what Haole, particularly Nisei leaders, think of them. In contrast to the pushy, the “oldtimers,” who are considered to be “true” Nisei, he is a wines person, a flat-tongued, he expresses his emotions or praise of another Issei much more verbally than would a well-bred Japanese and is therefore suspected and disliked. His more open expression of emotions marks him as an Issei who has been more influenced by Western ways of acting than most of his generation. Another Issei type who has had contacts with Haole but unpleasant and frustrating ones is the “Haole-hater.”

Mr. Mainland-Haole has seen references on the society pages of the daily English-language newspapers to women of the type his Nisei friends refer to as the “Jap-nise lady.” She seems to be the Nisei woman of upper socio-economic status who seeks recognition from Haole society by using those parts of her Japanese cultural background which are most admired by the Haole, such as flower arrangement and performing the tea ceremony.

Among the Nisei, Mr. Mainland-Haole learns, there are many types which seem to be products of different kinds of life in Hawaii. The ‘forbushin’ is the Nisei pool-bait bum, with little education and so not really as much Americanized through the public school system as other Nisei. He associates mostly with others of his kind. He is generally known no Haole intimately and doesn’t care to. A term which apparently originated among the Hawaiians, ‘hisso,’ a corruption of the word “brother,” has come to be used to refer to teen-agers and late adolescents of any racial extraction in Hawaii who have characteristics somewhat like those of the post-war on the mainland. Mr. Mainland-Haole had noticed all over Honolulu boys in two and three, sometimes larger groups, with long, heavily oiled, elaborately combed hair, known sometimes as “duck-tail” or “chicken-coop,” tight jeans and brilliant sport shirts, sometimes near short pants, sometimes at public playgrounds and parks or near the public beaches. He learns that a Nisei ‘hisso’ has broken away almost entirely from the social role of the son in the traditional Japanese family. The Hawaiian, uses an informal dialect as his natural way of talking, understands some Japanese but speaks less. Because there are few young Nisei in Hawaii on this same class and cultural level it is rare that he has any intimate contacts with Haole. What contacts he does have with them may be in the form of contacts with Haole military personnel who try and may succeed in dating the girl (local word for “sister”), the female equivalent of the ‘hisso.’

Among the young Nisei girls are the oboro-mai (women’s dance hops), teen-age high school products interested in modern dance music and dance steps, rolling skating, bowling, soccer, and some interest in the local haole (American) and ‘coo-coo’ which breaks away from parental constraints and plays a fun and frequently losing game with the young men and other teen friends. The haole-ness— the girl who has turned to singles and becomes Haole soldiers and other transplanted Haole who want female companionship. She gets a reputation among Nisei boys of being “louse” with the Haole men and stop dating her. During the war she was the airman, when she marries it
is likely to be to a Haole and if her husband leaves her, as is common, she
marries another Haole of the same type. Her companions are likely to be
other Nijie girls of the same kind as herself.

Mr. Mainland-Haole gradually comes to realize that most of his first
Nijie friends, such as the Tanaka’s, are themselves social types whom other
Japanese in Hawaii refer to as the “Bundled.” Generally a person
who has obtained a high school or college degree, the Bundled Nijie has
more or less deliberately acquired middle or upper-class Haole patterns of
speech, manners, interests, and habits. Mr. Mainland-Haole finds that
there are two different kinds of Bundled. One kind is the person to whom
Haole ways are obviously not second nature and are quite visibly “put on.”
Sometimes this person has been a bia-lah or obi-obi-obi and becomes
something of a sellout in the eyes of former companions. This social
pressure from former close associates makes the position of this type of
Bundled person peculiarly unstable as for a time he attempts to live a
dual life. He is laughed at, ridiculed, and sneered at by his former group
members when he tries to speak “standard English,” dresses more con-
servatively and in other ways shows that he is copying Haole ways. He may
give up the attempt and return to his former group whose members, of
course, as they get older, lose some of their youthful extreme manners,
although they don’t become actually “Bundled.”

If the “chase Bundled” persists in his efforts to adopt Haole ways,
he eventually finds that these ways become habitual and “natural.” Those
of this type who spend several years in undergraduate and professional
schools on the Mainland and additional years in post-graduate internships
find that Haole ways have become “second nature.” They feel relatively at
ease when associating with Haoles and some Nijie of this type bring Haole
ways back to Hawaii. They do not think of themselves as Nijie but they
have achieved as complete a degree of assimilation as is possible for per-
sons who are firmly members of a group which is still regarded as an
“out-group” by many of the dominant Haoles. Unless the Bundled Nijie
becomes embittered by rejections from Haoles whom he meets in business
and professional relationships and becomes a Haole-baiter like some of the
Isaai, he finds a social role and mode of life which characterizes the “real
Bundled” social type.

During the course of Mr. Mainland-Haole’s experiences, several im-
portant changes have occurred in his mental conception of the Japane-
se. First, he learned to distinguish, from other non-Haole groups in the
population. Second, he built up an elaborate stereotype which he applied
indiscriminately to all Japanese. Third, he began to recognize some per-
sons who were different from his stereotypes whom he considered “ex-
ceptional.” Fourth, the exceptions became so numerous that he had to
modify his general stereotype by making “sub-stereotypes.” Finally, these
stereotypes began to be inadequate and he adopted a new approach, attempt-
ning to learn more about the Japanese culture. Still, with that background
he came to realize that the Japanese in Hawaii, like other groups, have gone
through many changes. Seventh, he came to recognize more and more dif-
ferences within the Japanese groups. Eighth, he became aware of deviations
among personality patterns and social types recognized among the Japanese
themselves. Lastly, he came to know Japanese in Hawaii as individual hu-
man beings who share a national cultural background which give them group identification, but who have all the variations in personal-
ity of any large, literate population.

A Kibei is an American citizen who is reared in Japan and returns to
America as an adult. The story of Namie Yamamoto, a Kibei, will try to
show how the influences of a Japanese society on the personality and
behavior of her Americanization and her adjustment to life in Hawaii. Her story is one of the
many similar stories of Kibeis who have gone through a period in which
they have seen their role and status change in the Japanese community from
one of “model” to be looked upon as the best example of a Japanese
for the other or the second generation, to persons who are often for
“shirkers,” “cowards,” “sneakings,” “dissipations,” and “idiots” when it came to Japanese
customs and values being upheld or carried out.

A young man named Kazuo Yamamoto listened with curiosity to the
stories of Hawaii which were told by those who had worked there as sugar
laborers. Those veteran laborers told him of the money they had saved
and of the natural beauty of the islands. Loving adventure and money, Kazuo
Yamamoto, with several other young men, signed a contract agreeing to
go to Hawaii to work on one of the plantations.

Though he worked long and hard, he was not able to save enough
money to go back to Japan as a prosperous man. His struggles to make
money were increased by another responsibility -- marriage. Some older
Japanese people, who found satisfaction with prevailing conditions, planned
to make their home in Hawaii. They influenced Kazuo Yamamoto to marry
and make his home in Hawaii. They even chose Tama Hashi, who was visiting her married sister on Oahu. Tama’s
father was married to a sugar laborer.

This marriage started a family of four girls and a boy. When Mr.
and Mrs. Yamamoto had yet only two children, Mrs. Yamamoto with the two
children left Hawaii for Japan to visit her aged father. Seeing that her
father was lonely, she left the girl, the older of the two children, with her
father. Namie, the name of the child, was then about three years old. Mrs.
Yamamoto returned to Hawaii with only her son. As the years went by, the
Yamamoto family grew and their struggles to make a living increased.
While the family was struggling, the oldest child, Namie was growing up to
be a typical Japanese in contrast to her Americanized sisters and brother.
When she attended the American schools. The educational systems
Her alma mater, the University of Hawaii, distinguished between the educational values
Namie and her rest of the family, who were brought, later, many disagreements and open conflicts between Namie
and her siblings. While American education emphasized that anyone, rich or
poor can be the President of the United States, Japanese education probably
taught the opposite. Namie, for example, was supposed to express themselves freely
Namie’s American brother and sister, but she learned to express themselves freely
and to think intelligently and reasonably.

Namie’s sincerity for the emperor is ironical as can be seen by this
story told by Namie several years after her return to Hawaii.
"One day in school everyone was excited because there were rumors that the emperor
was going to pass by our school. When the emperor did pass everyone was
prepared. We all had our hands bowed very low until he passed.”
When one of her Americanized sisters heard this story, she asked cynically if it were not a great temptation to glance up to see the great "Son of God" since she may never have the opportunity of seeing the emperor again.

Her honest answer was, "Since I was a child, the answer is 'No.' I had no thought of looking up and the only admission to the harem before the Coto (His fear) is, in fact," she added, "If I did look up, the rest of the people would have been shocked and disappointed with me."

The hardships in Hawaii made it difficult for Hine, Yamamoto to send money or presents to her eldest child. The child was entirely dependent on her grandmother. When Hine was six years old her grandmother died and her grandmother's brother took over the guardianship. Her great uncle's only child was in Hawaii and his affection was lavished on Hine, and Hine's "Uncle" her called "Grandfather.

At the age of eighteen Hine was asked to return to Hawaii by her parents. Since Hine was educated in Japan, she desired to leave her "Grandfather." She promised herself that her forty to fifty years were only temporary, and she was determined to return to her "Grandfather" so soon as she had earned her return fare. When she arrived in Hawaii she found her family's financial condition very meager so she immediately went to work as a maid for twenty dollars a month. When she received her first paycheck of twenty dollars, she considered herself lucky. She was happy because she was independent and did not have any English.

Hoping and wishing every minute, every hour, every day, to return to Japan before her aged "Grandfather" died, she worked for five years. At the end of the fifth year she gave up her goal because her "Grandfather" died. She worked for her more years, a total of nine years, before she decided to leave home. Her parents disapproved of her plan, they could prevent her. They had been trying for many years to find a right husband for her but Hine had no intention of marrying.

What was her relationship with her family besides conditions and disagreements? She was very devoted to her brother. She was his obedient servant. She believed that her brother was the most important member of the family because he was the only one to carry the family name. Most of the time she was indifferent to her sisters. There was no age difference between her and her youngest sister. The younger sisters looked down on her with fear and awe. Hine was a dominating type of a person who believed everything she says or does is correct since she is the eldest in the family. She will not tolerate any remarks opposing her from any of her sisters. Hine had no respect for one of her sisters, a college graduate, because of this sister's independent nature. Hina said that her sister should not have gone to college because of the family's financial difficulty. When her sister married a Sansei it was Hina who openly opposed it. Here, Yamamoto forever forgave her daughter but Hine is still trying to influence the rest of the family to condemn that sister.

Her attitude toward the war (World War II) is interesting. During the war her only brother joined the 44th combat team. Was she angry with his brother? No, she made every effort to make her life enjoyable in the army. She couldn't write good English, so she forced one of her sisters to write letters for her. She would say what she wanted to say in Japanese and depend on her sister for the translation. If her brother wanted some money to spend on a furlough, she would send as much as she could afford, and if it wasn't enough, she would persuade her parents to send the rest. She even felt that the family at home should do everything in their power to aid the war. She believed that social life should be limited until her brother came home. When the war ended in Europe she was really happy. No fighting in Europe meant that the combat troops were coming home, and her brother, who had been in Europe, came home in December. Years of anguish took place of happiness. She did not believe that Japan would surrender. A stubborn and dominant person like Hinya could not believe in surrender. (It would have been interesting to see how she would react if her brother were fighting in the Pacific area instead of in Italy.)

Knowing her past history one can understand her loyalty to Japan. Her formal education was in Japan. She did not attend any public schools here. Her fifteen years spent in Japan was one of happiness and contentment. She liked her life in Japan in comparison to the life she led in Hawaii. She had more friends in Japan while in Hawaii she had a difficult time making friends because she could not speak English. She wanted to go back but only lack of money prevented her from doing so. When the family financial condition improved and she could have begun to start earning for her boat fare, her hopes of returning were gone. Her reason for return was her "Grandfather" but now he was deceased. Right now, if given a chance to choose between staying in Hawaii with the family or going back to Japan, she will undoubtedly remain here. She admitted to her sisters that "Most likely the people of Japan (if awaiting her return) are only waiting for presents and money and their welcome will be superficial." Today, she only wants to go back to Japan to visit her Grandfather's and Great Uncle's grave.

Although Hinie decided at first not to marry, pressures from friends and relatives in saying, "You're not too young. It's about time a husband was found for you," finally made her relapse and consent to marriage.

She married another Kibei, who in keeping with his role, had an "investigation" of the Yamamoto family tree made by the hakamono. When asked why not have an "investigation" of his family made, too, he replied, "Our family is clean. Your family, we don't know, that's why."

In the marriage preparations American expectations seem to have entered in. Hina wanted a traditional temple wedding, a ten-hour reception, a full set, but she also wanted a small one in her house, an American wedding given instead of a wedding kimono, and desired a bedroom set rather than a tea set for them. Although Hina, because of being raised in her formative years in Japan was like a typical "Japanese-benkins," and because of being such, had numerous conflicts with her more Americanized sisters, she has been able to accommodate herself into the "American way of doing things."
HAWAII'S GYPSIES, 1949

STEPHENV. MURK

This report is based on extended conversations with Hawaii's newest immigrant group, the American Gypsy. It cannot claim to be a comprehensive treatment of the culture of Gypsies in general, or even of the small number of these people in Hawaii in 1949. The report is presented, rather, as an introductory study of a little known group.

The writer has not consciously attempted to de-glomorise the Gypsy. Yet, after months of acquaintance and literally hundreds of hours of interviews, the accumulated notes and impressions underscore the barren, empty lives he saw. This is a departure from the few journalistic articles that have been available up to this time. While all of the literature extant is valuable for its factual content, it suffers, in the opinion of this observer, from the overtones of romanticism.

Hawaii's Gypsies are not romantic. They are not mysterious. In spite of their age-old suspicion, they are not hard to get to know. They are poor, disillusioned, and acutely aware of themselves. They are sensitive to the fact that they are not socially accepted by the community. If their response, withdrawal and nonadmission, seems inadequate in that situation, it must be admitted that neither is it unique. Other groups have reacted similarly. The degree of Gypsy withdrawal and its extension through centuries the world over is more a measure of the suspicion with which the world has viewed them than it is an indication of their preference for isolation. The statement made by William James at the conclusion of an extended talk with this observer is indicative:

"You don't have to believe anything I said up to now but this you have to believe. This is God's truth I tell you: A Gypsy's life is a dog's life."

Establishing rapport was a problem never completely resolved. The fear that information given would be used against them was common.

1 The longer paper from which these notes are taken is in the Hawaii Social Research Laboratory, University of Hawaii, where it is available for reference. It was originally prepared in the spring of 1949 for a seminar in sociology. At the time, the future of the Gypsy in Hawaii seemed utterly hopeless because of the law which the 1949 session of the legislature had passed forbidding fortune-telling. The law went into effect July 1, 1949, and within a week after that date all Gypsies had left Hawaii. In December, 1949, the first one returned to Hawaii, and today they are again a part of Hawaii's population. The law, however, is still in the books and, therefore, is still one of several threats to the Gypsies of Hawaii. These notes were prepared at a time when the law was interpreted by the Gypsies as extending their exclusion from Hawaii. That the Gypsies returned to Hawaii after an absence of a few months supports the thesis that they have sunk roots here. Their return does not, however, mean that their position here is any more secure now than at the time the research was in progress.

2 All family names used in this report are fictitious ones supplied by the writer. Much of the information given is personal and the informant's right to secrecy will be respected.
Among the men, the suspicion that the writer was a member of the FBI was openly expressed. Tiny, doll-like Tockins expressed the fear most cogently, when she said:

I knew you was FBI. I know all the time by the way you take pictures of me. First, you take pictures from this side, and then you take pictures from this side, and then you tell me to stand up so you take pictures to slow how long I am.

The fact that these fears were broken down is a tribute to the Gypsies' individual and collective desire to be helpful, and to a lesser degree to their hope that the information would make them better understood in Hawaii.

The Structure of the Gypsy Family

The basic unit in the Gypsy community is the family. While this is true of other ethnic and racial groups, the primacy of the family unit among the Gypsies differs both in degree and in continuity. Control exercised over the family is rigid and purposed whether exercised through material or paternal authority. The role and importance of the individual is minimized in their community. Children, and even young adults of both sexes, are of distinctly minor importance in family councils.

Organizational, the Gypsy family differs from others in several ways and not the least interesting is the matter of dominance within the family. Overtly strongly patriarchal, there is, nevertheless, strong factual evidence that within the ethic, or broad kinship group, which comprises all of Hawaii's Gypsy population, control is the prerogative of a woman, although there was a reluctance among the female members questioned to concede that a woman could dominate the family, and by implication, her husband. Rose Brown, in commenting on the matter, said:

The man is boss in Gypsy family. The man is mean. The women? We afraid of the man, our husbands. We do what the man say.

No exception was found to exist among the women in this regard. Both single and married women were asked and agreement was general. Among them, the only reply which added subject for thought was that of Yelena Andrews, too Brown. Her mother, Savaia, is the woman who unquestionably dominates the entire ethic and so her attitude in particularly revealing. Yelena said:

Mia is boss in family. He tells what the whole family must do. When he say, "We go from here," we go. Everybody listen to the father.

But the mother is listened to the most because she has the heart. The children all love the mother the most. They live with her. When the son marries, he don't go to live alone but he brings the wife to come to live with him. If the mother and the wife don't get along good, the son agrees with his mother.

The father don't like this. He don't care much for family. He don't care to have the girl come to live with them. That's cause he don't have the heart like the mother has. You know what I mean?

The father don't care about family life like the mother. A family can have a hundred fathers but they [sic] is only one mother. She

anticipated my question by continuing in a half-embarrassed way.] That's a Gypsy saying... It's a joke. But sometimes a family does have more than one father because girl does not have to stay with her husband. If he treat her mean she can leave him and come home to her father. Then she can get married again.

That statement throws additional light on the subject by introducing the role played in the family relationship by the father. It is quite clearly a very conditional role. The authority residing in the hands of the father in the typical patriarchal family is based on the clearly defined place of that member in a relatively stable organization. In the Gypsy family, this stability is absent, for the nomadism which is rooted in generations of experience with the wider world, is still their usual pattern of behavior.

The Gypsy travels as a family. As a result of past treatment, he has a deep suspicion of civic authority. He finds, and here the cause-effect relationship becomes confused and colored by opinion, that he is unable to obtain employment in the larger community and resorts to a parasitic existence. When the exploitable sector of the local population has been exhausted, the Gypsy packs his few possessions and moves again. The continued rejection of the group is reflected in strong feelings of rejection and even in a counter-prejudice against all other groups. This is not surprising, but when it is added to other forms of reaction, it is a potent force. Thus, the local Gypsy population is typified by an extremely high degree of "self" appreciation. They are conscious of being "Gypsies," and they want to remain "Gypsies." Family controls are exercised for protective purposes, that is, to ensure the continuance of the customs and ways which they associate with themselves alone, and upon which they have come to feel their survival depends.

Kinship ties are stressed, even when the relationship is extremely distant. A premium is placed on belonging to a family, and the greater the wider the recognition of that family among Gypsies, the better. Acts which tend to weaken or disrupt the usual growth of the ethic are censured. Out-marriage is condemned as the most serious violation of "the Gypsy way." The severity with which this act is treated by the group is indicated by several statements by women who were asked to indicate whom they would prefer to marry if they could not marry a Gypsy; and also from one specific case in which a Gypsy girl married a local resident. This will be discussed later.

While the statements above indicate that the Gypsy family has a measure of stability, which might lend itself to the stability of the father, his situation is actually so ambivalent that the development of the patriarchal type of family is prevented. The following factors are involved:

1. The instability of the male to become the economic support of the family leads to the assumption of responsibility by the female.

2. The result of this has been the accumulation of economic control of family spending, including the male's, in the hands of women. 

3. Inheritance customs among the Gypsies emphasize the same tendency. The wealth of the family, which in the past was administered by the mother or wife, is in death passed to the eldest daughter.

4. The family is not organized to permit independence among its components. When the young marry, they live with the husband’s parents. The young husband, however, does not become the head of the family by virtue of the marriage. Not only does he become dependent upon his wife economically, but socially as well. That is, if his mother, his sisters, and his wife earn much money and accumulate plentiful jewelry, prestige accrues to him through them, and not otherwise.

5. The custom of bride “sale” is the foundation on which the entire family organization rests. This custom has profound implications culturally. It obviously places a premium on female children; it perpetuates the cycle of male beneficence, for the single male is an utterly dependent creature. He must turn to his family to “purchase” from his parents the girl he chooses.

6. The burdens of marital success and happiness are on the male. The female may leave her husband at any time, if she considers herself mistreated, and while the Gypsy kins, or council, may effect a reconciliation, it may also require the husband’s parents to pay the bride’s parents a sum equal to that paid for the bride when the marriage was first arranged.

These factors, and possibly others, color and influence the relations within the family. While the evidence points strongly to a female-dominated group, the emphatically stated opinions of the men and women questioned cannot be ignored. William Jones, most articulate male to take part in the discussion said:

Who is boss in our family? . . . You take this for the truth, The Gypsy family is no different from your family. They are married and you love your wife. You don’t tell her all the time what to do. You let her do what she wants to do; that’s the way to get along with a woman.

But if something gets you mad, you tell her: “From now on, we do this, or we do that,” and she does it because you wear the pants in the family. Well, it’s the same with us.

You take the Nigger people. They got married and you can hear the wife telling the husband what to do. She’ll say, “Honey boy, will you do this or that?” or, “Strange man, do this for me,” and you see the colored man get up and do what she asks him to do. But that don’t mean she is the boss of the house. When that same Nigger comes home drunk or fighting mad, then you can see who is the boss of the house.

That’s what I mean about us; we are the same way. We let the wrong run things, but that don’t mean what those writers say it means.

(There was a reference to Rusa’s suggestion, Fromm, Vol. 54, concerning the role of the male, which I had summarized for Jones.)

Regardless of the validity of either of these views, one fact remains: that is, that the family is the key to the Gypsy community. The factor which aids in the perpetuation of this pattern is the custom of association by willas.

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The Gypsy Families in Honolulu

The entire Gypsy population of Hawaii, as of March 15, 1949, was concentrated in the city of Honolulu, on the island of Oahu. The group totaled forty-two individuals, comprising three distinct families, all, however, related by some degree of kinship, by virtue of which they may be regarded as a unit.

The precariousness of attention of these Gypsies in off-shore United States has been intensified by the passage in the Territorial Legislature of an act which prohibits, “fortune telling” for commercial gain. At the time of the enactment, it looked like a death blow to Gypsy hopes of finding a home in Hawaii.

While it may sound incongruous to refer to “Gypsy hopes of finding a home”, the fact is that many of these people have been in Hawaii for years; many of them have married and have seriously considered settling here. The total number is small and their absence, if they are compelled to leave by the terms of the law, may not be noted by many, but sociologically their presence, their activities, and their attitudes are significant, if for no other reason than that this is one migrant group which settled in Hawaii because it wanted to do so. Its members were not urged to come, were not cared for paternalistically, and will not be returned to their point of origin at community or industry expense.

Chronologically, the Gypsies have been in Hawaii longer than most residents realize. Far from being a post-war phenomenon, the earliest verifiable arrival was in 1928. The family group that came to Hawaii then was small: about six individuals, including Kita Browne, her husband, Torsman, her parents, and two other children. Kita is the link between the present and past, for, except for two visits to the Mainland, she and her family have remained in Honolulu ever since 1928. While this is by no means a record for living in one city, it is a period of sufficient duration to indicate that under certain conditions, the Gypsies’ predilection for travel is curtailed.

Kita, at that time, was less than twenty, newly married, and considerably heavier than at present. The couple’s first child, Dotka, was born in Honolulu at a time that is not clearly fixed by the calendar. Kita then was approximately thirty by her recollection that Dotka came, the time of the big earthquake or the volcano, I don’t remember, now.” Photographs of Dotka made at the time of the interview show a husky, strong-armed young woman of about seventeen years. Because education for female children is, even today, not encouraged among them, it may not be surprising to note the indifference shown about dates. Kita was not alone in this regard; none of the elder matrons could say without equivocation how old they were.

Kita can no longer remember if there were any special reason for their coming to Hawaii in 1928. Her parents did not remain long that time, but Kita and her husband did. From that date to this, there seems to have been no period during which they have been no Gypsies in Hawaii. The number has fluctuated greatly, but Kita is positive there always were a few “here in Honolulu.” She and Torsman visited their family in Los Angeles a short time later, and it was during the return trip on the S.S. Lomond that Bandourik, their second child was born. The name is a concomitator of one, for translated from the Romanian, it means ‘storm’ and was chosen because of the rough weather experienced on that voyage.

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Katia and Terence have recently separated. She had in the meantime, become the mother, the youngest born late in April, 1949. This last birth was quite premature and caused the mother some inconvenience. She gave birth standing in the drugstore between two rooms of her home, and with a pair of scissors in the tie that bound her to the child.

There is no doubt that Gypsy life concerns about the Brown family. Its leading members are Saveta and Tanas, aunt and uncle of Terence, who arrived in 1846. They are, in other words, reference points to which their children, but beyond this, there is recognition of their status by the other Gypsy families, all related to the Brownes. The members of the Williams, Jones, and particularly the Johnson families show their realization of the special position of Saveta in her community. The Johnson family, because its dominant personality, Marinka, is key for the senior in age to Saveta, makes almost no effort to hide the resentment and envy.

The local evidence indicates that leadership is reflected almost directly on the basis of their accumulation of gold and jewelry. Saveta Brown is the undisputed leader in this regard. The photographs included here show her the possession of huge quantities of jewelry, made almost entirely of gold and gold coins. She was very conscious of her wealth and often asked the interviewer to come again to photograph her since she would "wear all my gold".

The Browns rent by far the nicest quarters of all the families. The home, located on Vineyard Street, is near "Doctor's Row" on the street leading to the medical center. Neighbors are close and representatives of the general population. Because Saveta and Tanas live in the home with two of their married children, the home is quite a busy center. Other family members come to visit and stay to talk for hours.

The Johnsons resent somewhat the fact that Saveta's home is the center of activity. Their own home is much less select, and because it is not located conveniently near the business section of Honorole, it is visited less often. At Easter time, the subject of the pachy, or holiday, was discussed with Saveta. She was looking forward to celebrating in grand style as she has the mother of nine additional children, she is the youngest in the family, and she stated that her home would be the site of the pachy and that all the Gypsies would come. When this was mentioned to Marinka Johnson and her two daughters-in-law, there was a slight moment of silence. It was broken by Marinka, who said, "We hold our own pachy. We ask them to come see us. If they come, we go see them."

Saveta in an emancipated woman in her fifties who appears to be taller than she is. She is hard to understand because of a throat impediment as well as vocabulary difficulty. When she speaks, it sounds as though speech were being forced out against her will. Friendly and easy to know, however, she facilitated contacts with many of the other members of her family. Her relations with them were for other education that she could be a strong influence in the group even if she were not the wealthiest individual among them. She moves, speaks, and reacts more readily than they do and gives the impression of knowing how far she can exercise command in any situation.

Her husband, Tanas, on the other hand, seems to hold stones through reflected glory. He is quiet and unassuming. He assumes a backward role with an air of complete contentment. He speaks to the children and grand-

children soberly and non-imperiously. The children react indifferently. He defers to Saveta on matters of policy and influence. His daughter, Tania, for instance, turned to Saveta when she wanted to discuss the question of photographs and interviews. Tanas, on the other hand, spoke against a request. Saveta disagreed and gave her approval. When Tania transferred to the interviewing, Tanas, asked her comment, she concluded, "It's all right. She said I could go ahead." And it was all right, for after that even Tanas permitted photographs of himself to be taken. He is unemployed, though he trades as a fisher and repairman. He dresses quietly but well, and comes to see Saveta each day at her small place of business. Much of his time is spent in a small pool hall where he plays, and more frequently merely sits and talks. Though ostensibly a leading figure in the Gypsy community, Tanas plays a minor role in the family, for his economic dependence on Saveta is marked. (She doles money out to him to small amounts from her own earnings and thus forces him to keep out the air removed from her.) When he comes for money, she protests and questions him closely, but this may be chiefly for effect.

Wille Brown, their oldest son, is stout and bumbling. He plays the role of a bully toward his wife, Rose, a very handsome woman. They have been married six years and are children. Both feel a distress about this; and it has undoubtedly not made their adjustment to each other easier. Rose never saw her prospective husband until after all the arrangements had been completed, and though she says, "I wasn't married, I got used to the man," it is obvious that they are less well adjusted to each other than others in the group of young couples.

They have never used contraceptives and therefore are doubly con-

cerned about their childlessness. In the course of the discussion, Wille asked the interviewer how long he had been married and whether he and his wife have any children. Wille told that they are still childless after three years together. Wille and Rose looked at each other sympathetically. They seemed to find comfort in the statement.

There is about Rose, his wife, some of the aura that typifies the approach of a number of the women. Her face is strong, consuming. Strikingly beautiful, her appearance is compelling, her bearing proud. She shows traces of the personal pride that exists between the male and female in the Gypsy community. In this regard, her feeling extends beyond the personal. She recognizes the demands of male superiority in all out-

ward relations: her loyalty, dominating attitude, refusal to work. Wille, there is still the complete dependence by Wille on Rose for earning money. Rose was the only woman who protested against the customary-old custom of boldness of male selection. Her own experience she related rather bitterly, yet resignedly: "I didn't want to marry him but if my father fixed it up, I had to do it."

Despite her obviously satisfactory personal life, Rose is content with her role and name in the Gypsy community. She clothes the efforts and money available to some non-Gypsy women, but would not trade her way of life with others. When asked particularly what she thought of the marital picture standards of living and whether she would want to live like most young women her age, Rose said very indignantly:

"Huh, you think I like that way to live? That's not true, I see moving pictures every week but I don't like them. Sure, they show everybody rich but everybody is not rich."
I want to live like I do now but I would like more money. No, I would not give up the Gypsy ways no matter how much money I made. Work? Sure I would keep on working. You think I want to spend my whole day at home? Sit at home and wait for my husband to come home like American girls do? Not sit at home and do housework? Dishes?

No! I don’t call that a life.

Rose is one of the two Gypsies in the entire group that has managed to use the facilities of the welfare community to enrich her own life. For the rest of them, life consists of working, eating and sleeping — with an occasional motion picture to vary the monotony. Rose, in the few years in Hawaii, has enlarged the scope of her activity to include weekly visits to the beach. Monday afternoons, she and her sister-in-law, Annie, take off from work and go to Waikiki. Rose is well adjusted to Hawaii, likes the weather, and has made plans to remain.

Mance is the second one of Savita and Tanus Brown. He is married to Anste, the chief informant in this sector. They were married in 1941, in Harlem, New York, and have one child, Jimmie, whom they call “Kidie-Rude.” Anste is a friendly, talkative woman of no more than thirty, yet a paradox among Gypsy women. She has been an exception to so many age-old customs that one cannot but conclude that she is an emancipated Gypsy, the only one in Hawaii.

True, now that she and Mance have been married some years, life has settled very much into a set pattern with its own routine. Their main concern in the fact that they have only one child after almost eight years of marriage. Anste estimates that she should have three already and a fourth on the way. They have never used contraceptives, and never will. Living with her husband’s family, she is under constant pressure to raise a large family. She said, “We want to have children. If husband’s mother finds out we do anything... like you say... she makes trouble for us. She wants the girl to have children; it’s good for her old age. And the girl wants to have them, too. We worry if husband does anything to not have children. Young girls sometimes adopt another Gypsy woman’s children.”

Many weeks after the statement quoted above, Anste again spoke, of her own mother, about her childhood period. First she advanced the idea that she had reached her “change-a-life.” Later, she conceded that she was too young and added worriedly whether doctors in hospitals are “good.” She then related this personal experience:

I never told you this the last time you were talking to me, but I think the doctor in the hospital where my boy was born fixed me up so I can’t have no more kids. He did it by occupying inside me with a piece of iron. I remember the thing because I was coming out of the ether and I heard the three doctors talking. They thought that I was a “bad girl” and had no father for my baby. You see, my mother — when I was going to take me to the hospital to have my baby — took me to the big one, the Harlem Hospital.

She thought she would tell the doctors that her girl had no husband, she wanted to help me get good care. She thought if she told them that, and say “You take good care of her for her old Mother” that the doctors would understand. She didn’t think they would say, “Oh, this one is a bad girl, we must fix her up so she won’t have no more children.”
Mrs. Andrews was contacted more often than any of the other informants, and she along with Annie Brown supplied much of the information about marital customs, descriptions of wedding celebrations, and the Gypsy kris, or trial. These are among the most rigidly observed, as Yeola’s comment made during a talk about marriage, shows. “The Gypsy marriage is by custom. That will not change. We don’t go by love like the Americans do. The man’s father, he boys the girl. The girl don’t have anything to say about it and the boy don’t have anything to say about it.” 4

She, too, is unhappy about the manner in which the Gypsy female is discriminated against by exercise of ancient custom. This is most evident in the field of restrictions on certain actions.

The girl is brought up very strict in the Gypsy custom. There is no rights for the girl. She’s not like for the American girls. The Gypsy girls can’t go much to school. Old folks believe that it will be bad for the family if the girl learns anything. Many Gypsy girls never learn to read or write. Some learn a little. We travel a lot and that makes it hard to keep the kids in school. Once in a while a girl in a Gypsy family goes to school till she’s twelve or thirteen years. Old folks say that if a girl goes too long to school she might catch a boy. (Obviously, the reference is to an ‘outsider.’)

The Gypsy boy has it (sic) nice. He can go to school if he wants to. (Yeola did not know of any but she had heard that in New York there were some boys who had finished high school.) He can work outside and have fun. He drinks and plays around with the women; flirt all he wants to till he is about 17 or 18.

Then his father begins to think about his settling down. After he gets his girl and they marry, everything changes for him. No more fun. He got a boy, then. And worries. The wife . . . well, she’s like the American wife. She won’t let him go out nights with girls or get drunk. If he does, she will leave him and go back to her father.

During the course of the many months covered by these interviews, Yeola avoided very few questions. Questions which it was impossible to ask other informants were asked her. One of such a series of questions was on the subject of morality among their group and with the “outiders” with whom the women conducted business.

Yeola thought seriously about the question before saying:

The Gypsy is same as everybody else; no different. We know our husbands do many things they not supposed to do. By our custom, the men can do what they want to. After they marry, they supposed to stop. Some them do; some them don’t. Some Gypsy girls don’t care what the husbands do, but most of them do. Then they fight, and if the husband don’t do better, she leaves him.

And some of the Gypsy girls cheat on their husbands, too, but there isn’t much of that. The Gypsy girl is brought up very strict. If a girl flirts with a guy (outsider), that is one trouble that goes to the girl to be settled. The kris decides what to do to make the girl’s husband leave her alone. Sometimes they decide to send the girl to jail, or

4 In many cases, the youth may select the girl and point her out to his father.
If it is serious, they make the girl get married to the man. The reference to "jail" was not clear, but may refer to adolescents who are taken to custody for delinquent behavior.

What makes gypsies think that many of the Gypsy women cheat on their husbands is that they see them with different men. But that is not cheating if it happens after she leaves him. It is cheating if she goes with other man while she is still living with her husband. That you will not see a Gypsy girl do.

Gypsies are not the same as American men. Some of them trust, some do not trust their women. Some of them are jealous but not all. If they trust their wives, they do not jealous.

The rent paid by the Andrews group for their tiny bungalow "place" was $250 a month, at the time these interviews started. Not more than ten feet deep and eight feet across, the extremely low ceiling completed the illusion of boxiness. Later, the rent was reduced to $150 when Yasma protested that she would not be able to maintain payments at the higher figure. In spite of this, the renter figure, and she and Bob are content to remain in Hawaii.

We came here to see if it was easier to make a living. It was no good in the United States, and too hard to get a license to sell the rice. Here it is much better. In Los Angeles, the government makes it too tough on us. They charge us $500 for two or three months' license. That's too much. Sometimes for one month's license. And on top of that there is the high rent. Here it is much better for us. The rice license for fortune-telling is only $1.50 a year.

The rent she was paying was representative of the group. Amounts that sound fantastic were charged by rental agents who realized their clients could go nowhere else than the "body-tawk" section of Honolulu. Rents ranged from $80 to $150 a month for the tiny carpet-walled cabins.

Tony is the youngest child of the elder Brown. He is an extremely handsome youth with Greek features, the most rugged of a mustache, and the recollection which seems characteristic of the male Browns. He is ambitious and unemployable. He is restless to be "on the road" again. Three years is one place in too long, he believes, even though it is a place he has enjoyed being in. Tony has gone to school through the sixth grade, most of it in New York. If he felt the family would settle down, he would like to go back to "finish school," but doesn't think he ever will.

I go wherever the family goes. When they leave here, I will, too, but not till then. I would like to leave here now. I'd like to see the place in Texas where I was born, to see them. And New York! I bet I could find plenty girls there for myself. Here there are no girls for me. Yes, when I get married, I will be by Gypsy custom and to a Gypsy girl. (This is probably the reason he wants to remain in the family, for the youth must depend on his father to buy him the bride. Writing out for the daughter would simplify the ceremony, but it would further complicate his possibility of marrying, so he remains.)

This concludes the rapid treatment of the Brown family in Honolulu at this time. Mention can be made here, however, of the incident related to earlier in which a Gypsy girl married out of the group. This incident was uncovered accidentally while attempting to trace another such situation. Questions had been asked of a number of the members of the Brown family, since they were the original settlers here and might have been expected to remember. The questions met with complete ignorance. When the query was addressed to Roosa Jones, who is not a member of the Brown family, the information came tumbling out. After expressing surprise that the story was known to the questioner at all, she said:

Weil, you know about the Brown's being the first Gypsies in this place. They came about 1868, anyway, a long time ago. I forgot the names of the mother and the father, but they had two girls, Lena and Eta. Lena was married to a Gypsy but after they were a while, she left him. She went to live with a Portuguese man, Johnny Portins. (This is the real name supplied by the Brown.) That was about 1914. They were married some years and lived with the Gypsies till about 1924. They went to the coast then, and she left Johnny and married a Gypsy man. (No children were born of this union, Johnny has since remarried, but not a Gypsy.)

When this information was "latched" to Yasma and Annie by the interviewer, they readily admitted that it was true. They made no apologies for the fact that up to this time, they had steadfastly denied knowledge of such an event. Even though they concurred in the truth of the information, neither would add to it, nor even by supplying the names of the parents of Lena and Eta. There is no doubt in the mind of the questioner that they knew the names very well, for the man is unmistakably Yasma's brother and Yasma's uncle. No other of the Gypsies could or would mention the name of the parents of the girl who had broken the code of conduct, and thus raised the possibility of their rejection by the Gypsy community. Certainly they never returned to Hawaii.

Another out-marriage was uncovered by following the line supplied by a colleague, George Yamamoto, who recalled hearing of a local girl who had married a Gypsy. It was while on this trail that the other incident came to light. From the fact that in neither case was information volunteered about these infractions of tradition, one can conclude that even more intimate and revealing facts could be learned by an interviewer who knew more about the Gypsies to begin with. It is certainly true that in no case where this interviewer acted as he knew what he was talking about, did his informants refuse to talk.

The second out-marriage was confirmed by Annie Brown. It was between a Gypsy youth named Stillo, as well as she could recall, who was the brother of Poppa Johnson, the daughter-in-law of Marnaka. (Note that here again, information came freely about the members of another family, after Annie was informed that the interviewer, a member of her community, was interviewing a Gypsy.) Stillo, if this is his name, married a girl who was Portuguese-Chinese, her name unknown. This event took place around 1915. The marriage lasted several years and resulted in the birth of two children. The couple separated, however, and the mother returned to the Mainland. The father retained custody of the children.

These are the two known instances of out-marriage among Hawaii's Gypsies. Unfortunately, it is not possible to find much about them because of the remoteness of the events.

Numerically, the Johnson family make up a large part of Hawaii's Gypsy population. At the present time, this family group is represented by the elder Johnsons, three of their five children, and four grand-children. Of this group, Mary, called Marika by her daughter-in-law, is the spokes-

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The Role of "Gypsy Ways"

For historic reasons, the Gypsy people have developed a "sacred" consciousness that is most apparent. Without delving into the reasons, the observer must consider that the Gypsy ways are valid, and because they are valid, they do explain what to others is mysterious and unreasonnable. No other hypothesis make understandable the fact that the Gypsy normal, acceptable, and right.

To the observer, it becomes noticeable in many instances the Gypsy "way" is becoming suffused, or rounded, under the pressure of life in a non-Gypsy world. This is happening constantly, sometimes consciously and sometimes not. The mother, or when she is in the grandmother, in the authority or arbiter to whom the family turns to find "what may be done" in certain situations. (Thus, Raya, a recent arrival, mother of several grown children, was forbidden, under threat of physical punishment, to have her portrait made when she turned to her mother for permission.)

Invisibly, city life takes a toll of orthodoxy. For instance, a pattern of accommodation is becoming stronger. Children are sent to school; pregnant women give birth to their children in hospitals, although none of Hawaii's group has ever obtained prenatal care or advice; girls are permitted to wear "American" clothes until they finish school; some make do with items other than copper-smudging; and, quite importantly, city living is appealing to larger numbers of Gypsies and "camp Gypsies" are becoming rare.

In almost every aspect of daily life, the city Gypsy is forced to make concessions to the dominant culture. He sees silver at the table, he eats in restaurants; he changes his name to be "more Americanized." And, while these concessions are being made, many of the individual Gypsies are beginning in rebellion against the class of second-rate citizens, some of them seem clearly that "the Gypsy way" of dressing and of eating a living is desired by large numbers of people. Markton Johnson said modestly that she would quit "wearing these clothes anymore" if she could. William Jones very bitterly denounced the attitudes of non-Gypsies, attitudes which force the Gypsy into withdrawal reactions. He said:

The Gypsies' life is a dog's life. Look at my wife, Shirley, sick, bad teeth. You think we like to live this way? Think we like to wear these clothes? That's right?

I'd like her to dress like other women. Then we could go to cafes and clubs at night. Think I don't want to take my wife out to buy her a drink? Sure I do.

But how would you like it if you took your wife to a club to have a dance and you were the manager, go around to all the other tables and say, "They are Gypsies. Watch your purses."

I hate these clothes our women have to wear, and I know that we are not going to make things any better as long as we wear clothes that make us look different.

5 A younger brother of Rose Brown, in a letter to her, told her she should send her reply addressed to "Peter Brown" because "I change my name same as yours on 'count of registration'." (Probably the Army.)
My kids, three of them, I want them to have the best education. I am going to send them to school as long as I can. But what if something happens to me? They will have to come back to this kind of life, and it will be even harder for them than if they had never been out of it.

Romantic life? That is to make me laugh; we live a dog's life, Steve, you take it from me.

Annie Brown describes herself proudly as a Gypsy, yet makes a distinction in the way the term can be used. She said that she "gets along" with all her neighbors except when they call her children "bad names." When asked what she considered "bad names," she said, "Gypsy."

Gypsy is a bad name when they call my boy that. Why don't they call him by his name. He has a name. Jimmy. They can call him by that and not call him 'Gypsy'.

When she was reminded that she referred to herself as a Gypsy and that she seemed to have no objections to having the interviewer call her a Gypsy, she retorted:

Well, we are Gypsies. We call ourselves Rom. That's the kind of Gypsies we are. In America, we call ourselves 'Gypsies'. When people know us they should call us by our names like you do.

In spite of the effect of city contacts on some aspects of their lives, there are areas in which adaptation is hardly noticeable. The acculturation takes place in relatively minor fields and is not resisted very strenuously. In the important areas, those reflecting deep-seated and fundamental mores, change is slow and involuntary. Among such are marriage customs, courtship behavior, inter-family relations, and where large colonies exist, the methods of settlement of disputes.

In general, it appears that there is conflict within the group because of the contradictory nature of the desires found among the informants. That this is so should not be surprising, for the Gypsies are certainly a people in transition. The older members are conscious of change and resent it. The younger members are evidently marginal people that their conflicts do seem large. Unlike the younger members of other marginal groups, the Gypsy youth plays a less constructive role because of the minor role permitted the adolescent by the "Gypsy custom." For this reason, even while resisting the Gypsy mores, the young male or female finds it literally impossible to break the influence of the family in brides-

None of the young mates were reluctant to discuss courtship and marital customs. To summarize their views, only one of them felt that bride-asking was wrong. This was Rose, who resented the fact that she had had no choice in the selection of her husband. Among the rest, there was an apathy regarding the matter that indicated better than words the permeability of the custom. Annie Brown, who was emancipated in many matters, was a strict conformist in this. Her case is interesting and will be related in full.

Most of our girls have nothing to say about our boyfriends. We are not allowed to have any dates or even to go to the show. If a Gypsy girl goes out with a man, even a Gypsy man, she gets punished.
But Annie did have dates. She says she is the only girl she ever heard of who was allowed to go out with "her man." While in Harlem in 1941, she met Manchu Brown. She went out with him three times and was not punished. Note in her account all of the evidence of relative emancipation, while at the same time she was observing all of the fundamental folklore.

We were married in Harlem in 1941. Times was still bad and most Gypsies was still on relief. When Manchu told his father that he wanted to marry me, his father came to see my father to make the deal. At that time a wife could cost as much as $3,000 like my father wanted for me. He asked for only $1,000 from my man's father.

She hesitated though wondering whether to confide the rest of her story, then continued:

You write this down. Go ahead, write this down.

I cost $1,000, but my husband's father has only $300, I pay the rest. It was pointed out to her that she had actually purchased her freedom for her own father, to which she replied:

I know, but we can do that when we love the man we going to marry. Most girls don't do it because they don't know who they marry till it happens. But I know my man, I love him, so when his father can't pay more than the $300, I pay the rest.

Another concession to the times was made at their wedding. This was the suspension of the ban, or the money offering to the couple by all the invited guests and relations. Ordinarily, the bride's father starts a plate with a broken loaf of bread sprinkled with salt around the time of the gypsy. By custom, they cover the symbol of fertility with money and gold; the total of which is presented to the bride as an aid in starting their family. In 1941, because of widespread poverty among the group, this custom was ignored.

Still another ancient custom was broken in Annie's case.

By our way, the girl sleeps with her husband only after the third night of the wedding, solemnized after the fourth night. I think this is because the girl doesn't know the man she is marrying and it gives her time to get used to him. During the three days, the girl stays with the man's family and gets to know all about him from the stories of his mother. During this time, she also talks with the man's sisters and she gets to know them good. On the last day of the wedding, she sleeps with her husband.

But I didn't. I slept with my husband right from the first night because I wasn't afraid of him.

Annie, though emancipated in many ways, still experienced unquestionably the traditional test for chastity. Held at the climax of the third evening of the wedding period, the bride-to-be was examined by both her mother and the mother of the groom. Annie could think of no reason for her own mother's participation in the act. Judging from the bulk of her story, however, one can conjecture might be based on the relative freedom accorded Annie by her family. The possibility also exists that she was not always permitted to break the traditional "ways" but that she acted impulsively and independently. From this point of view, her parent may have witnessed the test for the purpose of "standing by" a daughter who might be judged hardly by another.

After the ceremony, Annie was brought back to the main ball in which the guests were waiting for the verdict. She was promised to her prospective husband and embraced him. Her father received from the two sums of the dinko, the bright silk money of youth, used by them in their part of the ceremony. The dinko was placed atop a short stick, and with this symbol at its head, he started the wedding procession. He led his daughter proudly, for she had been tested and found to be "a good girl." She had lived as a Gypsy and now was marrying as a Gypsy. The Roman way was being perpetuated. The influence of the gypsy world had once proved to be inadequate to break down tradition and custom. Another Gypsy family was being established and soon more Gypsy children would be born, and they would grow and live as Gypsettes. All this and more was contained in that ceremonial parade, at the head of which the dinko, that symbol of chastity, could now be flaunted.

After the parade in which all guests participated, victoriously responding to the triumph of tradition, the father stopped the procession. He took the dinko and placed it proudly on Annie's head. The young couple joined hands and the wedding ceremony was completed. From that time on, Annie was bound to the older group of women; she joined Manchu's mother and worked for her. From that day on, she was permitted to wear the dinko as her symbol of marriage, and in fact, was not permitted to appear on the street without it.

(One final note about Annie, and this tells more about her and the group than appears at first glance. After she had confided in great detail much that is in these pages, she picked up a rumor concerning the use that would be made of this information. She asked whether this material would be read by other people. When told that the material would one day appear in the University Library in some form, she said: "You know that part about the wedding? Where if you were to write that part about how I cost $300? Change that. Take it out. Make it $1,000, 'cause they think I am cheap when they read it. That's good — $1,000 is better.")

Besides these customs relating to courtship and marriage, those dealing with methods of settling disputes among families were still strongly entrenched. From days beyond the memory of either Savota or Mara, Gypsies have settled their disputes by one of two means. The first is within the family and is used in the majority of cases. Disobedience to the parents, the violation of some part of the code of behavior with gallo, these and other infractions which concern the members of a family are all brought to the attention of the parents. Decisions and punishments are made and executed thereby whichever parent is ascendant. Observation of the families in Honolulu lead to the conclusion that in all but one family, the Joneses, those prerogatives are exercised by the female.

In communities in which the number of families in large and disputes of more complex nature arise, another method of settlement is used. The kri or kri is a method of hearing complaints presented by a representative of an injured family against another family. Little used thus far in Hawaii, because of the close kinship ties existing among all families, most of the local informants said that they had an in or participated in a kri in Los Angeles. According to Yelma, whose opinions will be presented as

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typical, at the hearing or trial, the accused is represented by the oldest male in his family, and the individual bringing charges is represented by his or her father or brother.

In Los Angeles, where many Gypsies live, there is often a kri. We young people don’t often go. Most of our troubles start with young Gypsies, but it also exists between the old and us. They say that if we want to talk and make more trouble for them.

In old days, there was a leader of the Gypsies. Now, there is no more. Nice, when trouble comes, the people come and tell the kri. The kri is made up of all the Gypsies in the city or in the camp. They all, old men and women, listen to the whole story someone tells them and they decide who is right.

In answer to a question dealing with the types of offenses dealt with by the trial, Telma said:

Well, say a father sells his daughter. Say the girl don’t like to live with her husband and run away, come back to live with her father. Then the husband calls a kri to the part of the city where most Gypsies live. That night, the husband’s father and the girl’s father come to talk. Each one tells what happened.

The boy’s father tells how the girl was lazy and wouldn’t help with the work. The girl’s father tells how the husband used to beat her too much or that he was not a good husband.

The other Gypsies all listen. Then they talk it over and decide who is right and who is wrong. Then they decide the girl was too good. Then the kri says the girl must go back to her husband. If she won’t go, then the kri tells the girl’s father that he must pay back the money he got from the boy’s father when he sold her.

If the kri decides that the husband was too good, then they say the girl should go back to her husband, but the father, his father, must pay the girl’s father money as much as he paid for her before. This is a big thing, and the boy’s father won’t like it, but he will have to pay it. After that, though, the father will make sure that his son will treat the girl good or she might leave him again.

If the girl leaves her husband second time, the kri can do like the first time, or if they believe that the husband is wrong, they can send the girl home to her father. And the girl’s father don’t have to give back the money to the boy’s father.

There are two methods in which the community is controlled by the community and the family to keep the family organization intact. While monetary laws are a drastic sanction and are almost religiously observed, they are not always effective as a means of maintaining the integrity of the family. Broken families are not unusual; and when divorce is not recognized as necessary, the members consider themselves free to marry again at any time after the kri has approved the separation. There is also one case in these records of a married man who left his wife and children to escape with a younger and more attractive woman. The latter was, by her standards, not acting against Gypsy morals when she visited the home of Panasy, her lover. She went to see his wife to inform her that she was going to go with him and assured him that she, the older woman, would have no trouble getting another husband. This case, when taken to kri, was pressed by the father of the girl who accused the lover of dishonoring her daughter to avoid paying for her judgment. The kri is an age-old institution, for it is the tradition that there is such a realization that certain customs are more important than others. The Gypsies, under the impact of the outside world show an ability to “swing with the blow” that promises for them a lengthy, if uncertain future.

Conclusion

A summary statement about the Gypsies in Hawaii must be rather general. Though small, the group is made up of numerous individuals whose reactions to any particular situation are unpredictable. Further, even the most general statement about the group must be made in the light of the very troublesome predication with which it is faced in Hawaii.

The first, though not necessarily the most important, difficulty is that caused by the withdrawal of thousands of servicemen by the Federal government. This action has hit most acutely the earning power of the Gypsies, for as the notes indicate, very little of their income is earned from services to local residents of Hawaii. The fact that few, if any, of the Gypsies are able to contribute to the support of their families serves to intensify the impact of the government’s action on the Gypsy family. It is true that Gypsies have in the past and in other places been dependent upon transient populations for their support; and it is true that they have been sustained by the sudden or gradual emigration of the population. In Hawaii, this problem has suffered only in degree, for the number of servicemen and war industry workers who have departed has reached tens of thousands. In the islands, the most logical and expected reaction of the Gypsies to this movement has been delay. The mobility of the Gypsy, which in other places serves to effect a balance between the number of Gypsies and the available population of the area they are in, is severely limited.

The fact that there is only one metropolitan area forces the entire colony of Gypsies to remain in Honolulu, for this is the center to which servicemen and transient workers drift.

The second cause for concern facing the group is the uncertainty regarding their legal right to remain here. The passage by the Legislature of the act prohibiting the one activity by which the Gypsies have been able to earn their living has shaken their community.

As insight into the low degree of integration of these people into the wider community was revealed when the bill was before the Legislature. This is literally a voiceless group in local community affairs. The legislation against the Gypsies was bipartisan and more through the various channels of readings and committee smoothly and quietly. No publicity about the proposed bill was printed except in one daily afternoon newspaper. Brief statements were made in the floor debate, and the final readings of the bill in the legislative summary. No statements were made about the need for this legislation, and no letters appeared discussing the effects of it on the community.
Reaction to the news of the legislation has been varied. Some individuals were concerned from the first, others became worried only after they became convinced that the act was aimed at them. There was a period of disorganization noticeable particularly among the younger married couples. About the last week of April and the first two weeks of May, 1949, they seemed particularly distressed. For days at a time, Rose, Anile and Yelena did not come to their "places." Money was never more needed; savings had to be left to pay fines to the mainland for large families, yet the members who earned the money stayed home. When asked why they had stayed home so often during this period of three weeks, one of them said: "What's the use? I got a family, my husband, three children, and my old folks. How can I make enough to take us all back to Los Angeles? No use to try to work."

One of the older women said: "How are we going to go back? We can't. We got no money. If they don't want us here, they pass a law. But where are we going to get the money to go? Are they going to pay us back? We got no money."

A number of families began the exodus. The Jiaoses and the Williams left Hawaii for California. One branch of the Brown family, Kate, her mother and sister, and a number of children started for Alaska during May. By July 1st all had left except William Jiaos and his family. They left the following week.

In the last week of December, 1948, however, Zevith and Tamah Brown returned to Honolulu. They had decided that their future lay in Hawaii -- and law or no law, here they came. Within one month at least twelve other members of the clan were with them. The Gypsy was back in Hawaii.

Further observation of the group in Hawaii may now be possible. It is the opinion of this observer that the Gypsies provide an opportunity to study a distinctive people under extremely favorable conditions. The social process, which affects all groups at all times, has been particularly interesting in the case of the Gypsies in Hawaii. The small size of the group, their high visibility, and their willingness to cooperate in a study of this sort contributed to ideal conditions for observations.

There is, at this moment, nothing to be optimistic about regarding the future of the Gypsies in Hawaii. The year 1949 marks the period during which their banishment was temporarily brought about by legislative means. If the experience of other nations can teach us anything, it should teach that banishment is not the most effective method of dealing with them. Hawaii, which has been successful in the past in harmonizing the aspirations of varied national groups, has never before tried to find a solution by depriving any of them of their means of employment.

England, where the Gypsies have almost completely lost their identity, stands out as a land which has learned how to live with the Gypsy. The Gypsy there has been allowed to live in his own fashion; he has been free to move or to stay in the city. Where he has chosen to stay, special efforts have been made to give him training in skills that are useful to the community and profitable to the individual. These efforts have been repaid by the attainment of dignity and personal pride by those people which has accrued to the nation they proudly call theirs.

But the future of the Gypsy people in Hawaii rests also with the Gypsies themselves. In addition to pressures from the outside, they must face their own problem, a reluctance or inability to adopt the stable occupational and personal patterns of behavior of their fellow-citizens.

THE GYPSY FUTURE

This portrait of Besie, Pearl, and Rose shows more than the faces of Gypsy children. Shown by the dress and play habits, hinted at by the religious medals, and enforced by personal admission are evidences of the culture conflict which is molding the American Gypsy of the future.

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THE CAUCASIAN MINORITY
BERNHARD L. KROMANN

The present article deals with the group which is usually considered dominant in Hawaii, the Hasids. From the point of view of numbers however, they are not dominant, but a minority like every other group in Hawaii. Because of their economic, political, and social dominance they sometimes have to face a form of opposition from all the other groups combined, and acquire in this situation, hidden intensified numerical subordination, also the sociological role and psychological traits of a minority group. Furthermore, the Hasid population can itself be broken into several separate minority groups. The members of each, like persons from the non-Hasid ethnic groups, must find their natural place in the still evolving social structure of Hawaii.

To look at the Hasids in this unusual perspective gives us an opportunity to understand their behavior somewhat more realistically. That at least is the burden of this article. It is indeed just because Hasids tend to be generally regarded as a dominant group that they may have quite appropriately be considered a "neglected" minority group.

Before proceeding with our discussion, we may note how the usual emphasis on the dominance of the Hasids leads to false controversy and stands in the way of our understanding of the Island interracial scene. When a group is "dominant," the assumption is that it is "responsible" or "to blame" for a situation. For instance, the person who comes from the Mainland with no preparation for the local system of race relations and with previous experiences with persons of other races of an entirely different sort, is frequently bewildered and shocked by what he finds here, and consequently begins to criticize the racially "careless" attitude of local Hasids. Of the other hand, the newcomer may have expectations about Hawaii's racial harmony. When he runs into instances of discrimination, he tends to find the local Hasids "at fault." There result many long but wool arguments about whether the situation in Hawaii is "improving" or "deteriorating" and whether the prejudice which is found here is to be attributed to the nonmainland Hasid or to the recent Hasid or prejudice to the Orientals.

One concrete illustration of such a controversy must suffice. It occurred in the pages of the Honolulu Advertiser for January 29 and February 3, 1949. Frank Marshall Davis, a Negro journalist recently from the Mainland, had encountered in Honolulu a "growing anti-Semitism," "an increasing number of cafes, taverns and apartment buildings which ban Negroes," a "whispering campaign, intended to keep Honolulu, Koreana, Chins and Filipinos divided," "white supremacy." He attributed these troubles mainly to the Mainland Hasid, who, he claimed, imported them from the Mainland.

In the following section John E. Reitnauer took issue with Davis. As a result of his background of long residence in Hawaii, Dr. Reitnauer made three points: first, that whatever discriminatory practices existed in the part of the Hasid in Hawaii were largely traceable not to the Mainland, but to the plantation system; second, that the group which has mutual prejudice which are in no sense importations from the Mainland; and third, that "a good argument could be made for the thesis that Mainland hasid in Hawaii have been a liberalizing force as compared with Island-born Hasids, that they have mingled on a more equal footing with non-Hasids than have most of the people who were brought up in the Island Hasid tradition.

The third point is obviously on the same level as Davis': racial attitudes are to be explained largely in terms of a diffusion from an outside source. People are responsible for bringing them in. In this case, Mainland hasids have brought in attitudes favorable to closer interracial mingling. Such an analysis leaves out of account the dynamics of the past and present local situation which, in the present writer's contention, largely create the attitudes and typical forms of interracial behavior. Reitnauer's first point involves such a realistic appraisal. Under his second point comes some imported attitudes (e.g., those initially establishing Okinawan-Haiku relations), as well as attitudes produced in the local situation (e.g., resistance against the out-marriage of children).

It is the writer's feeling that in attempting to interpret the behavior of people in the local situation as exaggerated amount of attention has been turned to the societies and cultures from which the peoples came, and far too little to the genesis of behavior patterns out of the developing local situation. One of Romaine Adams' stories comes to mind. A Southern white man recently arrived in Honolulu was heard to remark, "Well, you may call them Kaukasian, but where I come from we call 'em niggers." However, within a year this same man had married a woman of Hawaiian ancestry.

Turning now to the Hasids, we will develop two important facets in their situation in Hawaii, both of which involve them in behavior characteristic, not of dominant, but of minority groups. These two important considerations are, first, relative isolation of numerical minority status, and second, status ambivalence, that is, the problem of fitting into Hawaii's complex social structure marked by ethnic diversity and a two-class somewhat caste-like society in process of changing to the three-class system characteristic of the Mainland.

Hasidic Diversity

As was suggested above, the Hasid's minority position is intensified by their isolation, in origin a single group. The lack of fundamental unity among Hasids in something of which all local people are aware, and in which has been symbolized by the fact pointed out in earlier issues of Social Process that the Portuguese Hasid since 1946 have achieved official statistical recognition as Caucasians, are still not certain of their position as "Hasids." 2

In further elaboration of this point of Hasid diversity, the reader may be reminded of the many concepts which have gone into the local Hasid population. American, French and English missionaries; sailors and hench-

The detailed facts about the Caucausan sugar plantation workers are not widely known and warrant a brief summary. Some years ago the writer made a study of the Germans in Hawaii and found that in the period from 1881 to 1907 almost 1,500 Germans, including men, women, and children, were recruited for the labor force of Hawaii's plantations.

The Germans had been preceded by the Portuguese, the first contingent of whom arrived in 1875 and who continued to come down into the second decade of this century. The 1890 Census, which was the last to take separate notice of them, listed 7,568 Portugalian. They are by far the most important group of Caucausan immigrants of the peasant and laboring class. Most of the Portuguese came from the Madeiras, and Azores Islands, some from Portugal proper, some from the Portuguese settlement in Massachusetts in about 1897, and also about that time about five hundred were brought back from California, where they had migrated from Hawaii. Before the arrival of the first German workers a total of 615 Norwegians had been introduced in 1881, most of them probably going to Kauai plantations. Some of the ships bringing Germans in the 1890's also brought in some Galicians from what was then the Polish part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

After annexation in 1898 and the organization of the Territory of Hawaii in 1900, American law put a stop to the importation of contract labor. In 1907, the Gentlemen's Agreement made impossible the further importation of Japanese males. Thus, Hawaii's sugar industry was threatened with serious labor shortages. Once again, white labor was considered.

Kauai Plantation experimented with American farmers, introducing fifteen families from the Western states. Hooeis were erected especially for them. They were each given a garden plot and a "common" for their common use as pasture. They were assigned into the cane fields to be cared for by them. The arrangement was apparently mutually unsatisfactory. After about a year none of the families remained. According to Governor Carter "the white man can not and will not stand the work of tropical cane fields." 1

Some Italians were also introduced. Whether they came directly from Italy and whether they were several importations the writer has been unable to determine. There was some semblance of the actual immigration of Italy as a possible source in the late 1870's.2 The 1900 Census from fifty-eight foreign born Italians, three-fourths of whom were males. A few Italians were brought in from the sugar plantations of Louisiana. Probably soon after annexation.3 In 1907 some effort was made to bring in Italian immigrants from New York, but nothing materialized.4

Whether Hindus should be mentioned here depends on the definition of Caucausan. In view of the fact, however, that no trace of this group remains, it is surprising to note that Hawaii's Board of Immigration notes the importation of over four hundred in the period from 1905 to 1911, almost exclusively males.

The Russians too have left little trace, and yet in the period from 1905 to 1911 the Board of Immigration reports that a total of 2,056 Russians, many in family groups, were imported from Manchuria. They do not seem to have remained long in plantation work, but not all left immediately; for many took various skilled and unskilled non-plantation jobs in and around Honolulu.

These Russians had been preceded by a group of 110, all belonging to the Molokan sect, who were brought in from Los Angeles in 1906 and placed on lots of the Kualoa plantation. Disagreements quickly developed and they left, having been declared locally a failure.5

Seventeen Poles were introduced in 1913. They all went to Wailuku, where they had relatives.

The only other major Caucausan group to be mentioned in the Spanish.6 Just under eight thousand came in from 1907 through 1915. They seem, like the others, left in large numbers for the Mainland, so that by 1930, the Bureau of Vital Statistics estimated that the Spanish population, including Hawaiian-born, numbered only 1,248.7

It must not be assumed that for all these groups the migration away from Hawaii was complete. Germans, Norwegians, Russians, Spanish, Italians remained and have become merged, both with the wider Caucausan group and the wider population as a whole.

Isolation

If we consider the total number of persons classified in this wider Caucausan group, we find them achieving their highest proportion in the total island population on July 1, 1948, when they constituted by estimate 33.4 per cent of the civilian population of the Islands. According to the most recent estimate of the Bureau of Health Statistics, their proportion on January 1, 1950 was down to 26.8 per cent.9

At earlier dates the proportion of Caucausans was even smaller. In the 1910, 1920, and 1930 Censuses the Caucausians came consistently to just under or just over 20 per cent. In 1940 their percentage was 24.5. These percentages, however, included military population stationed in Hawaii, as the figures after 1940 do not.

The percentage of Caucausan school children has been very small. In 1945, when the last return by race of the school population are available, the percentage of Caucausans in the total public and private

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3 Hermann, op. cit.
5 Board of Immigration of Hawaii, Second Report to the Governor of the Territory of Hawaii for the Period from Dec. 31, 1896 to Feb. 28, 1900, p. 235.
6 See "Retsorspect" in Theses Annual for 1907.
7 See a report on the Puerto Rumas, see the article by Lee M. Brooks in Vol. XII of Social Census.
8 George F. Thomas, "Subjective Factors in the Migration of Spanish from Hawaii to California," (M.A. Thesis, Department of Economics, Leland Stanford University, no date, paper.)

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school population was only 5 per cent. Interestingly enough, the percentage of Caucasian children had shrunk over the years. In 1928, for instance, the Caucasian children made up 17 per cent of the total school population. This shrinking is due to the growth of a large second and third generation in the non-Caucasian immigrant groups.

In a very real sense, therefore, it is correct to speak of the Hindus as always having constituted a numerical minority in the Islands.

This numerical deficiency of the socially, economically, and political-ly dominant group, when combined with other factors, such as the non-contiguity of the Island territory to the U.S. Mainland and the expense and complications of travel to home territory and the climatic, cultural, linguis-tic, and racial uniqueness of the Islands, makes for the isolation to which earlier reference was made.

That the Hindus of Hawaii experience real malaise here is a thesis which may sound fantastic to those non-Hindu elements of the local popula-tion who have experienced the domination and super-ordination of Hindus. It may even seem strange to Hindus themselves. The fact is that many Hindus may not be completely aware of the extent to which they experience malaise.

There is room to present only a few bits of evidence about the existence of such malaise, merely enough to indicate the direction research might take in the substantiation of the thesis. We can go back to the early missionaries for some of the first evidence of malaise.

One of the most interesting accounts of the life of the early New Eng-land missionaries in Lucy Thornton's Life and Times (Ann Arbor, Michi-gan: S.C. Andrews, publisher, 1842; republished by the Friend, Honolulu, 1834). A member of the first company of missionaries, which arrived in 1833, she describes her life on a lonely mission station, where she, the only white woman, was often left alone when her missionary husband was traveling or teaching. She could not talk to the natives, who swarmed in, helped themselves to household goods, spoke in a language she could not understand, and upon one or two occasions she was terrified by intoxicated natives. On one such occasion, her husband was called. She wrote about this incident,

"As long as action was required, my strength, courage, and self-possession were equal to the emergency. But when I sat down in my own dwelling, safe beneath the protection of my husband, there was a wildly reaction, then came prostration, trembling and tears." [9]

One of the most painful aspects faced by the Congregational missionaries concerned the future of their own children. They early came to the con-


11 Ibid., p. 463.

12 Information given to a visiting class of University students in 1948.


...and the natives for two years, until the arrival of a deputation of English mission-aries; . . . from Tahiti. These men administered the Sandwich Islands mis-

naries not to let their children learn Hawaiian and to keep them entirely separate from the natives. They told of the previous results in Tahiti, through carelessness on this point . . . . From the time of this visit the children of the missionaries were kept by themselves, away from the then open indecencies; the Hawaiian language was taboo to them while they were young, and many were sent to the States."

The authors describe the resulting heart-rending separations of chil-
dren as young as five from their parents, until the establishment of Punahou School in 1861 finally eliminated the necessity of these leave-takings. They speak of a number of missionary men and women who broke or almost broke under such strains.

It is a telling fact that even today the fear of contamination persists on the part of Punahou School. It no longer concerns the Hawaiians, but the Orientals, and the fear is not one of "moral" contamination, but rather one of linguistic contamination. Some time in the 1880's a proposal to limit the number of Orientals to 10 per cent of any grade was set aside upon formality, though it seemed to have been the actual practice of the school thereafter. In 1916 the policy was given a certain recognition in the Federal survey of that year, during which it was described in a committee report adopted by the trustees as an "having worked well". [11] Two or three years ago this internal practice was modified by increasing the percentage of Orientals to 15 [12] and one may presumably look to further such in-
creases, and to the eventual elimination of such quotas.

Turning now to another period and sub-division of the Hindus, we may take a glance at the reaction of the German labor immigrants to their new surroundings. A large proportion of them went to Liliuokalani Plantation on the is-
land of Maui, where in the middle eighties they constituted almost exactly one-fourth of the total population. Most of these people had had little pre-
paration for life under such a combination of new conditions: the plantation system, the tropical climate, and the presence of peoples of other cultural and racial backgrounds. "With what trepidation," the writer wrote in his master's thesis twenty years ago, "at least a few of the immigrants must have come here can be seen by the fact that the relatives in Germany in-
quired upon the birth of the first children whether they had been born black." [13]

This lack of preparation led to some difficult experiences. For in-
stance, one woman reported that

One afternoon when I was alone at home soon after our arrival at Liloa, I saw a dark-skinned coming right toward our house. I was very much frightened, thinking that he wanted to do some harm. In terror I ran to the neighbor woman, who finally quelled my fears by explaining that the man was only the collector of dog tax." [14]
The new emissary's sense of strangeness and the feeling of not being accepted continues down to the present. A few years ago, one of the writer's students, a young Nisei woman, wrote of her childhood experiences upon first moving to the Islands with her parents. They took up residence on one of the outside island plantations. She described how on the Mainland one of her best friends had been a Chinese-white girl, for whose sake she had given up the friendship of a Methodist white girl. She then continued:

I have never regretted the loss of Romona's friendship nor have I heard of her since the time we no longer played together. I only remember her as someone who hurt a little girl who needed friends and thought she was too good to play with her. Verena and I played together until I was eight and would have continued in being playmates had not my parents and I left for the Hawaiian Islands. And when we did arrive in the Islands really became conscious of the fact that I was white.

Here in Hawaii it all came about. My first day at grammar school was very painful. I was eight at the time and in the third grade. I went to school dressed as the children in the movies dressed at that time. Skirt and socks, a little dress which was above my knees and pantsed to match which hung below my dress. The schoolchildren Japanese, Chinese, Hawaiians, Portuguese, and it seemed so many others whom nationality I could not name because they looked like the others and yet were differently all stared at me as if I were something out of a dream because my dress was different. I did not speak "proper English" and I was from the States, I was the only so-called "white" child in the classroom and I did not know the slightest idea what "Hula" meant. I was also called "pale faced" because of the way I was dressed. I was quite miserable. My teacher was Japanese and even though I had been Japanese people before I never had the experience of having one for a teacher. When the Japanese children in the classroom the majority were Japanese did not understand what she said in English she would talk to them in so they could understand, so they learned their daily lessons in that way and the rest of us were left out in the cold. The results were that I did not progress in my school work but having to fight my way home because some child took it upon himself or herself to give the D- or F a dirty looking.

I was taken out of this school and put into another which I attended until I graduated. From that time on and through high school and even now I am called the black and sometimes a few extra words which go before it.

During these years I have become very conscious of the different races and the differences. What started all was the treatment dealt me and so I was going to be a nurse. I was able to make friends with the different races, but they did not seem to want my friendship or to accept me as a friend. There always seemed to be problems towards me or their part. This made it difficult for me, so naturally I started to express part of the time. When I did ask the children if I could join in their play I was told to go somewhere [now time out of town] (the children used profane language). Perhaps they delighted in tormenting me because I was smaller than they and because I was funny. I have been told that they might have treated me better, some of them would ask me questions about the states and then I would tell them about the snow, the large buildings, the street cars, etc. they would call laughter to me and laugh in a mean way. But to make a long story short I grew to dislike some of the children whereas some of them turned out to be my friends.

The writer has heard of a number of families who moved back to the Mainland because of racial discriminations. In one case, a man in one of the plantation towns on a plantation found that the color of his ten girls, aged about nine, had been unable to make friends and felt quite unhappy here, although the younger ones were well adjusted.

Not only on the plantation, perhaps even more in the city of Honolulu have some Nisei experienced the sense of malaise. It is perhaps not so much those who have definite racial stratification coming from part of the Mainland characterized by racial heterogeneity, as those who are completely inexperienced in cross-racial contact, coming from small homogeneous communities, who have difficulties in adjustment to Hawaii. From a student at Radcliffe College of Chicago the writer last summer obtained the following account involving upper middle-class people in a small Illinois city:

An American-born Japanese girl was at her home today to apply for a position as a maid, so my mother had been ill for quite some time and needs help with the house. This evening when I came home from work my mother told me she turned the girl down because she felt Japanese people were very anxious and shy.

There is of course no way of telling how many Nisei coming to Hawaii have such potential fears.

Psychologically, the sensitive Nisei who come to Hawaii expecting to mingle with people of different races but who are soon told by the resident Nisei with whom he is first thrown into contact that he must confine his more intimate social life to his own, is also put in a difficult situation conducive to malaise.

The writer has been told that Army and Navy authorities have a persistent problem in seeing some officers and enlisted men who "hate" Hawaii and have to be transferred back to the Mainland because of their unhappiness.

The superficial diagnosis for these maladjusted persons frequently is that they could not stand the climate, but in connection with the climatic factor it is significant that a geographer, A. Greenfield, Price, in a comprehensive study of the acculturation of whites in the tropics comes to the conclusion that isolation rather than climate was involved. He noted that all colonial frontiers, regardless of climate, where whites have colonized tropical areas and oppressed the native population, this sort of maladjustedness tended to be absent. For persons to whom Hawaii is their native house, it may be difficult to understand that people from the Mainland can have such a sense of isolation. It is necessary for us to put ourselves imaginatively into the place

15. Hawaii Social Research Laboratory Files, UN Sr-77 III, pp. 11-12.
of people who are separated by over two thousand miles of water from the continent on which their loved ones live. On the Mainland they can travel easily and cheaply by coach or their own car over distances of many hundreds of miles. In illness and in death, for marriages and other happy occasions, class relatives can get in touch with each other. If the persons come from smaller communities, they are used to moral support, the friendly interest of neighborhood relations is established with difficulty. The local Hula population has sometimes been characterized as absent-minded except to people who come with "good introductions." If the Mainland Hula families move into a neighborhood having several non-Hula families, difficulties and anxiety on both sides may prevent the establishment of intimate relations. If in addition, the children of the neighborhood speak the local dialect, and the neighbors in various ways exhibit "strange" customs, the Mainland Hula family may have all their fears confirmed of being isolated in a strange land.

Thus, while with the increasing urbanization and Americanization of Hawaii's peoples and with the reduction in travel time, this sense of isolation and malaise is being reduced, it nevertheless, even today, in a factor which helps us to understand the behavior of immigrant Hulaes.

The Changing Class Structure

We may now proceed to our second point, namely the problem faced by the newly-arrived Hulae when he seeks to fit into the evolving local class structure.

This class structure has been described up to recently as a two-class system. One might, I suppose, trace this system back to a feudal system of ancient Hawaii, which was undermined by the abolition of the Kanoa System in 1819 and of feudal land ownership by the Great Mahele in the middle of the last century. The missionaries and traders who came to Hawaii became in many respects merged with the all or aristocracy. They soon participated at cabinet rank in a number of government and a number married into the Hawaiian chiefly class.

The new sugar industry received its first boost from the abolition of feudalism and the adoption of private land ownership in the middle of the last century and its second one a quarter of a century later by virtue of the Reciprocity Treaty. The direct consequences of these developments was the need to replace the depleted Hawaiian population by a flow of imported planter labor. This in turn created various problems of social control. As so often happens when several ethnic groups meet in a common territory, political conflicts were the first to appear. Plantations, Laid, Adams, Edgar Thompson, and other agriculturists have pointed out, assume some of the characteristics of ancient states. The management of Hawaii's plantations have been almost exclusively in the hands of Hulae. Immigrants of various ethnic derivation formed the working class, an indentured labor class, and the aristocratic class (i.e. they were under penal contracts). There was no middle class.

What happens to Hulae groups and individuals who enter this society, where, for long, the top class was largely Hulae and the bottom class largely non-Hulae?

37 Subjectively, most Americans seem to conceive of themselves as of the middle social class. In a Gallup Poll a few years ago, 6 per cent of the sample classified themselves as upper class, 8 as lower, and 88 per cent as middle class. However, 52 per cent admitted belonging to the lower middle class, the trade union class. (See William A. Lyon, What Our People Think (New York: Thomas Crowell Company, 1944), p. 159.)

In the answer to this question may lie the key to the understanding of much otherwise inexplicable Hula behavior.

The Hula groups such as the Germans and the Portuguese, who entered the social structure as workers at the bottom and remained for a long time retained lower class status. They were derived from the lower class on the Mainland where they lived in relative isolation and were not subject to upward mobility. They came with no expectations of a rapid rise. They did have other expectations, of independence, of landownership, etc., which were not always realized, but few of the worker Caucasians at the time they came, had aspirations towards the upper controlling class. They were at first not regarded as Hulae.

Because of their relatively small numbers and the part played by the First World War in Hawaii, the Germans have all but disappeared. Some, particularly those who intermarried with persons of other races, are still lower class. A few, by marriage into the upper-class Hula groups, have achieved upper-class status. Most are now disappearing in the emerging urban middle class. The Portuguese are somewhat more slowly following a similar evolution.

Hulae coming directly from the Mainland have left a predominantly middle-class society? to enter a society in various stages of transition from two to three classes. Where have they fit in?

Three possibilities are open to them if they are middle-class people, as probably most of them are. They enter the upper class; they join the lower class; or they stay in their middle class in a society in which the middle class is in process of formation.

Up until a generation ago, the tendency had been for almost all Mainlanders to enter the upper class. In many cases they came to occupy higher positions in key firms. In these they were inevitably thrown first into business relations, then into social contact with members of the upper class. They tended to identify themselves with this class, and to the extent that they had middle-class origins, they were self-conscious in their new class position. Their attitude towards people of the lower class or toward Orientals entering the new middle class lacked the natural assumption of superiority by local Hulaes as well as the correlative "aristocratic gracelessness" of some of the established local Hulae families. As has been frequently noted, many of the immigrant families were paternalistic.

Their attitude has been to take a personal interest in the educational process of the "Americanized" students from the working class. Their biases are class more clearly than race biases. A prominent woman of this class remarked to the writer some years ago, "You know, we have always accepted
The middle-class Haléole from the Mainland is seen as an upper-class society in Hawaii society and is somewhat out of place. He tends to take on some of the characteristics of up-country people, of the hikers-up-with-the-joiners: aggressive, middleclass, self-advertising, conspicuous consumption. This sort of behavior of course also characterizes local Haléoles working their way up from a lower to a higher class position (and incidentally also local non-Haléoles moving upward in the social scale). Among such people, he is often in the form of race prejudice, make their appearance.

The social distance between these two classes and the lower class was increased by the obvious racial classifications, and marked racial prejudice was no doubt frequently found in this middle class.

In the late 1930's and during the 1940's the successful entry of many Orientals into the middle class can be easily documented. Among various symbols of this process are the following:

1. Many Orientals bought real estate and took up residence in areas in the past exclusively occupied by Haléoles, areas such as Mānoa, Pacific Heights, and Downe's Tract.

2. The enrollment in the standard schools, which were taught in the schools of the white population, and whose students thus benefited from the public school system, increased significantly. In 1948, for example, 57.7% of the children were enrolled in public schools, but by 1950, the proportion had increased to 66.7%. This represented a significant increase in access to education for children of non-Haléole origin.

The rise of a middle class composed of both Haléole and local non-Haléole elements raises intriguing questions about the direction which race relations will take in the future. It is in the writer's opinion that the future will be determined by the policies and actions of the new middle class, which is composed of Haléoles and non-Haléoles alike. The new middle class will have to address the issues of race and ethnicity in a way that is different from the past.

part of the Mainland derived middle-class neighborhoods one now frequent-
lly sees groups of children playing who are ethnically varied. Adults re-
cently from the Mainland are able quickly to establish friendships with local
people. In P.T.A. and similar community organizations effective commit-
tee work involves cooperation between persons from several races.

The maturation of the middle class in Honolulu and its increasing in-
fluence over the whole society means that the colonial or frontier or plan-
tation era in Hawaii is about to pass into history. Hawaii’s admission to the
union as a forty-ninth or fiftieth state will be the symbol that Hawaii’s
social structure has attained the characteristics of American society. It
will augur the disappearance of minorities, Oriental, Hawaiian, and Haole.

THE OKINAWAN-NAICHI RELATIONSHIP

HARRY TOTAMA and KTCÖNE HÉDA

Little is anything known about Okinawan-NAICHI relationship in
Hawaii by those who are outside of the Japanese group. Although many have
touched on this subject, the comments have been incidental. This article is
an exploratory study into the in-group out-group relationship existing be-
tween the NAICHI and the Okinawan groups in Hawaii. It is based on student
papers in the Hawaii Social Research Laboratory.

NAICHI has been written of the Japanese from the main islands of Japan
- - Honshu, Kyushu, Shikoku, and Hokkaido. They are usually referred to
collectively as NAICHI (insiders) or Yamato no kita (men of Yamato). Little
need be said here of them.

The “Okinawas” in Hawaii come from the islands of Okinawa (Oki-
navo Gumi) which is part of the Ryukyu Archipelago (Ryukyu Islets) stretch-
ing in a south-westerly direction from the southern tip of the Japanese
mainland to the island of Formosa, which forms the anchor to this chain.
The distance between the southern tip of the Japanese mainland to the island
of Formosa is approximately seven hundred miles. The islands of Okinawa
are approximately 215 miles from the southern tip of the Japanese main-
land. The Okinawa Gumi is composed of a major island, Okinawa, and
several smaller islands surrounding it. Perhaps the best known of these
island islands is lio Shima, where Ernest Pyle, the “GI’s war correspondent”
was killed and temporarily buried.

The majority of the Okinawas in Hawaii came from the southern tip
of the main island, principally from Naha, the seat of the provincial govern-
ment, and the surrounding districts of Onna, Tomigusuku, Kanozoka,
Ishinomaki, Shuri, Okinawa, Higashi, and Yonaguni. However, almost all the districts of Okinawa have
representatives in Hawaii. Historically, Okinawans long enjoyed an independ-
ent status. Culturally, the Okinawans are closer to the Chinese than are the
NAICHI. Most of Okinawa’s early commercial and cultural intercourse was
carried on with China. At some date, still uncertain by historians, the Oki-
navan began to pay dual allegiance to China and to the feudal domain of
the Satsuma clan on the island of Kyushu, the southernmost of the main
islands of Japan. There are some indications that contrary to the policy of
Japan proper of keeping Western nations out, Okinawa maintained limited
commercial relations with Western countries. The relations between
Okinawa and China and Japan, were thus: 1.) primarily of trade with China;
2.) primarily for protection from other would-be invaders and conquerors
with Satsuma. These conditions held true until approximately seventy years
ago, at which time Japan began to establish its program of National Unity
and incorporated the Okinawa Islands into the Empire.

The relationship between the Okinawans and the NAICHI in Hawaii
is somewhat like that between the Irish and the English: one group feeling
superior to the other, and the other having a defensive pride. The situation
is also comparable to the Jewish-Gentile relationship in that there are very
seldom manifest dangerous, overt feelings, the attitudes being mainly
covert. When an Okinawan is first asked about the relationship, he will say

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that there is nothing of consequence in it. However, as the personal relationship becomes closer between the two persons a "story" is unraveled in which at one time or another, the person was or is still emotionally involved in this "problem." On the other hand, among children the mutual attitudes are more openly expressed in the form of "taunts." But feelings between the two groups usually remain at the covert level and are not made public, and one finds Okinawans and Nihon people doing many things in common, until it begins to appear that intermarriage between individuals of the two groups is imminent. At that time, attitudes very often become expressed in overt acts of rejection and resentment on both sides.

The Okinawan-Nihon relationship in Hawaii has been clearly "de- fined" by the two groups involved. In Japan there seems to be little if any clear "definition of the situation." Nevertheless, student papers seem to bring out the feeling that the prejudice against Okinawans was brought over from Japan:

Okinawan student: Discrimination of the Okinawan people is actually an old prejudice which the first generation Nihon brought with them from the mainland of Japan.

Nihon student: ... Japan was first made up of the mainland only, but later included the island of Okinawa. There was found an aboriginal type of people entirely different from the Japanese. They were made subject of Japan and were given equal status to the Japanese.

The Japanese population never welcomed the Okinawans wholeheartedly. They regarded them as inferior since they were not pure Japanese and believed them to be uncivilized due to their queer and vulgar culture. They refused to take the Okinawans as equal to them and this attitude was passed from generation to generation and so it reached the Hawaiian Islands.

Contrast these statements with:

Okinawan student who had been in the American Army of occupation in Japan: When I introduced myself an "American Okinawan name" to a group of Japanese students there seemed to be no reaction of the sort one would expect of a Nihon in Hawaii. In Hawaii, if I mentioned my name to a group of friends (Nihon) they would without exception know that I was an Okinawan. However, they would not say anything about it.

One of the important differences between these two reactions seems to be the relative few Okinawans in Japan. However, when I came across several Japanese students who had been Okinawan or served in the Japanese Army on the island and I mentioned my name, they would say, "You are an Okinawan, aren't you?" I would say, "Yes," but perhaps because I was an American G.I., they usually hesitated in commenting on my being such (Okinawan).

Nihon student: My mother told me when I asked her about whether she knew about Okinawans before coming to Hawaii, "In Japan I did not see any Okinawans and did not know about them so when I came to Hawaii, All that I learned about Okinawans was from books.

"On the boat we met some Okinawan women who wore their old just think honestly and not like us. You know, the women are dark, well, they put on cologne (face powder) and they really looked funny. When they were asked in the ships' deck for inspection and to give their names, they came in clothes fit only for housework. The man (proprietor) told the women to get their bearsne. We had a laugh over that.

My mother seems to have picked up a few details about Okinawans which have some credence among the Nihon. "You know, Okinawans seem to be more year (primitively) than the Japanese. Look at their facial features. They look like Filipinos of Hilo. Some of their children with all the serving around seem very primitively and look like the Filipinos also. Even their dress seems strange. Some Okinawans are very fair and look like Nihon. These people are said to come from the province of Izena. Seven Spanish sailors were said to have been single-warped there and in time their blood became a part of all the people there."

Other students who have gone to Japan and have come back have commented on the relative lack of prejudice towards Okinawans in Japan itself. Perhaps this lack of prejudice in Japan towards Okinawans can be traced to these factors: 1) The relatively few Okinawans in Japan proper (it was estimated) compared to the greater number of Okinawans in Hawaii.

2) The Okinawan visitors from Hawaii and the Okinawans in the Japanese urban centers were primarily there to study or travel and usually enjoyed better social status. They had enough Japanese "status" to pass as Nihon or to be accepted on an equal plane. By the same token, the prejudice and discrimination in inter-race relationships is manifested in Hawaii because:

1) The greater number of Okinawans in relation to the rest of the Japanese population in the 100,000 old Japanese in Hawaii, 10 or 15 per cent probably are Okinawans or of Okinawan parentage. 2) The closer contacts in Hawaii, making their cultural prejudices of each other's behavior especially evident in the "gossip around the backyard fence" among those of their own group and individuals of the other group. 3) The Nihon and the Okinawan who have come to Hawaii are predominantly in the economically lower class in the old country, and therefore many of their ways are regarded "crude" and "backward." The Nihon have a culture of which they are proud, while the Okinawans, on the other hand, have until recently suffered from inferiority owing to their "aboriginal" cultural practices and institutions. The Okinawans in Hawaii have had the double problem of adjusting to Nihon culture as well as to American culture, with all of the maladjustments and disorganization attendant upon this transition.

Thus, although there seems to be little if any animosity toward Okinawans in Japan, Okinawans have been predominantly undercut somewhat among Japanese and these feelings may have been transferred to Hawaii. Some Okinawan students recall their parents telling them stories about Nihon "treacherous" who "made their life" in Okinawa off the residents. En- forced use of the Japanese language and culture by the Okinawans seemed to have aroused resentment among Nihon. This may account for the animosity against things Nihon and even in their own culture. This may have occurred in some areas and in others for some students bring out the fact that their parents did not have any grudges against the Nihon in Okinawa.

In Hawaii the situation can be somewhat more clearly and precisely defined as the necessity by both Nihon and Okinawan students reveal. The student papers reflect the reciprocal stereotypes in the two groups with regard to each other.
Okinawan student: The Okinawan is categorized as "tough, rough, and his speech gutural." During my childhood, I remember hearing Naichi children taunting Okinawans with a rhyme, "Okinawan ken, buta kun ken," implying that the latter ain pig slop. The Okinawans retorted, "Naichi, Naichi, chi ga cut [The Naichi has no blood, a pun involving two meanings of the word Naichi]." Among the young Okinawans, such phrases as "The Naichi think they're better than us," and "They take us cheap," were common.

Okinawan student: During my younger years when I was in grammar school, the Naichi children used to poke fun at the Okinawan children. Whenever there was any disagreement between the Naichi and the Okinawans, the Naichi children usually came up with this pejorative phrase, "Okinawan ken, buta kun kun [Okinawans eat pigs]." The "tuna kuu" is adopted from the Hawaiian meaning "eat." Obviously the phrase had a "degrading" meaning I did not catch. Nevertheless, we felt "bisected" when the phrase was hurled at us.

Okinawan student: One day, when I was in the sixth grade, I was very embarrassed by one of my bosom friends (Naichi). He had somehow heard that I was an Okinawan and when I told him, he could hardly believe it. I still recall that incident very clearly.

"Hey, Sambo, somebody say you Okinawan, 'as right'?

"Who said so?"

"We—all, somebody, 'As right or what?'"

"Yeah."

"You, goes Christ, you no stay lie, huh?"

"No."

"But you no look Okinawan, yet."

"No can help, huh."

"Ah, 'as all right. You go right anyway."

This indicated that the Naichi children knew the difference between themselves and us, whatever the difference may be. I do not know whether the parents led the Naichi children to believe such a "false idea."

The boy had told his friend, "You no look Okinawan." What is the "Okinawan look?" Many Naichis say that they can spot an Okinawan by his "hairiness, curly or wavy hair, big round eyes, short stature and dark complexion in comparison with the Naichi. The Naichi are less hairy, fair, and have small eyes." Here the "definition" or preconception is in terms of physical traits.

But these definitions for both groups are quite unreliable in that individuals in each group are from time to time mistaken about the other.

Okinawan student: I am an Okinawan. But the peculiar thing is that I am commonly mistaken for a Naichi. My Naichi friends accepted me and included me in their games and parties. While they teased and called the other Okinawan children, I would stand by helpless and bewildered. I couldn't understand why my Okinawan friends would be abused, called names like "tuna Okinawa, ‘pig,'" and so forth and be excluded from the kids' parties. Nobody ever called me names or did physical harm because my parents came from Okinawa.

Then one day, I asked Yu-chan, my Naichi friend, why I wasn't treated like an Okinawan. "Oh, you don't look like Okinawa, you don't sound like Okinawa," was the answer. This puzzled me more. Did the Okinawans have a definite physical stamp on their faces? If they did, why didn't I have it, too? Why did many people think our family was a Naichi family?

Doris is a close friend of mine, the detestable Okinawans. All through high school I tried to convince her that I actually was an Okinawan. But each time she would shout her disaffection and remark, "Don't kid me... I know you're not one of those — you don't look like those anyhow." To this day she does not believe I am an Okinawan.

Naichi student: Right in my home, I have an older sister who is very fair, not hairy, slant-eyed, and her appearance as a whole leads anyone to think that she is a Naichi. On the other hand, my younger sister in dark, more hairy, has big round eyes and her general appearance is that of a typical Okinawan. My best friend at the University looks like an Okinawan, and it was some time before I found out that she was really Naichi.

Naichi student: I have come across people who are often mistaken for Okinawans. They are thought to be Okinawans because they have some physical likeness to them. The Naichi jin who are thus considered do not like it and feel that they have been insulted.

Naichi student: When I was still in grammar school, we used to say bad things about the Okinawans without realizing what we were saying. I used to tease a girl whom I did not like that she was an Okinawan when I knew very well that she was a Naichi person. I offended her very much. We also have to be mistaken by other racial groups as being Okinawan. I was offended when a Naichi asked me if I were Okinawan.

It is commonly thought that the family name provides positive proof of Okinawan origin. As might be expected, however, under conditions such as these, some Okinawans change their surnames to those of the Naichi. Moreover, some of the same names are found in both groups, thus frequently creating situations of embarrassment and "stain" to the participants.

Naichi student: A friend of mine fumed with anger one evening when he read in the paper about an Okinawan family changing their last name to a Naichi name that corresponded with his. I knew of a person whose last name was — — and he is quite fair since there are Okinawans who have the same surname.

Over and above the conception of Naichi and Okinawans in terms of physical traits, 'perceptible' cultural differences in language, manners and certain other traits help to perpetuate the sense of difference and the consequent discriminatory treatment.
Student papers bring out the fact that there is an Okinawan "accent" which Naichi people judge as "uncultured" and even "obscenities" to the ears.

Naichi student: The first generation Okinawans' usage of the standard Japanese is very strange to the Naichi. The Okinawans people always seem to put their accent on the wrong syllables. One of the most evident pronunciations I have noticed was the way the Okinawan people said "kun" (the dishe that go with the staple food of rice.) The Naichi may know with the accent on the last syllable, but the Okinawans say the word by prolonging the last syllable.

Listed below are a few examples of the difference in language between the Naichi and the Okinawans:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Naichi</th>
<th>Okinawan</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bota</td>
<td>uwa</td>
<td>pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko</td>
<td>kwa</td>
<td>cool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ima</td>
<td>tag</td>
<td>dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otane (amii)</td>
<td>jing</td>
<td>money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shi</td>
<td>wakasus</td>
<td>hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samui (tair)</td>
<td>hiss</td>
<td>cold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yami</td>
<td>nagamasu</td>
<td>long</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The difficulty of communicating between the two groups leads to the judgment that the minority group which deviates from the norms of the dominant group are "uncultured and uncultured in their language." A Naichi student paper reveals this very well:

I remember once when my sister came home from an Okinawan party, she remarked, "You know, until tonight I never knew the Okinawans were really different from us. But they are. The taxi driver gave a speech in Okinawan and it seemed so queer. Then he had entertainment ---- such wild dancing. I never saw such things in all my life." Here she was referring to their culture and my sister learned for the first time that there existed a distinct culture different from that of the Naichi.

An Okinawan student also says:

When an Okinawan parent encountered a Naichi, I noticed that except for the educated and those who had in some way become well-acquainted with Naichi culture, he converted in poor Japanese and limited knowledge of Okinawan. Because most parents speak "uncultured" Japanese, the children of these Okinawans are limited in speaking the language, and generally find it difficult to converse with people of the older Naichi group. One young Okinawan girl related the following incident to show us this language difficulty. She had bought some provisions from a clerks of a Naichi-owned store. The bill was totaled and she found that she had short-changed the clerks a nickel. The next day, she went to return it, but she found the clerks wife who spoke only Japanese. The Okinawan girl began to explain by saying, "Kone (yesterday) . . ." followed by "ah, ah . . ." She could explain no further in Japanese and before an amused group of Okinawans, she finally said in English, half-apologetically and half-exasperatedly, "I owe you five cents."

1 Editor's note: The words lists above are just one student's conception of difference in language between the two groups and we would like to make it clear that we do not hold the translation as necessarily accurate.
"One of the most interesting customs of the old Okinawan people was their custom of tattooing a woman's hand as soon as matrimony was expected or entered into. Blue blocks of about one square inch in size were tattooed on the woman's hands and arms. If the woman belonged to a very high class, she had a lot of blue tattooing on her hands and arms, but if the woman belonged to a very low class, she had very little tattooing on her hands."

How do the Naiuchi look at the tattoos of the Okinawan woman? Some students say, "The Okinawans are primitive or instinctive in tattooing their hands like primitive races to the South."

As far back as I can remember, I have heard that the Okinawas are an inferior group. Many queer things were made up about them, especially when we were children. Children are an imaginative group but perhaps their imaginations only carry out the thoughts and desires of older people. I recall very clearly how we used to blacken the backs of our papers with the ends of burnt sticks that we "borrowed" from mother's old-fashioned stove. Little did we know then that their hands were tattooed as a symbol of marriage. We had the queer notion that these women were born with such marks to distinguish them from others. Much fun was made by those whose turn it was to be Okinawan for one day, for that meant being ordered by the others.

How do an Okinawan feel about this mother having tattoo marks?

Some Naiuchi people just stare at the Okinawan women when they meet them on the street or in the bus. Therefore, there are quite a few Okinawan children who hesitate to go along with their mothers. My mother has tattoo marks on her hands, too, of which I am not ashamed. These tattoo marks are a means of beauty to her and her friends.

The Naiuchi woman had their teeth painted black before. That was a custom which once made them commonplace.

Aog-raisang was practiced in Okinawa and it provided a means of occupational adjustment here for a considerable number of Okinawans immigrating who established their pig-bred near plantation camps. As a result, Naiuchi children have colored piglets. The most famous of the pigs "pig hee" and "pig hoo" are Okinawan "baka kyo", which was mentioned in an earlier context.

The Naiuchi children learned this phrase and sometimes sang it in ring-song fashion as the Okinawan was or his son collected the "baka kyo" or "pig loop" from the houses. The Naiuchi child regarded pig-raisang as an idle work fit for only Okinawans who were dirty and nasty as they passed by hailing the pigs for the pigs. Perhaps the disparagement of Okinawans for pig-raising may be traced to the fact that in Japan, the pigs do the raising and especially the killing of about 20,000.

Restaurant and related business in Iwaki seem to have a majority of the Okinawans connected with them. In this relationship, competition between members of the two groups makes for ambitious feelings on the part of the Naiuchi of respect and ease and resentment against the Okinawans for being "smart in business." The idea of "let them take an inch and they'll take a mile" prevails in many Naiuchi circles. The Okinawans feel this too as evidenced by this Okinawan student's comment:

There is a general attitude among the Naiuchi that the Okinawans is somewhat like a Jew in being shrewd in business. They think of the Okinawans as people who are willing to take any kind of a job. As an example, I have heard that the Naiuchi considered working in a restaurant or at an "eating business" as a job that would place them in a servant's status, so that the Okinawans usually took the jobs and learned the trade or business from the inside. As a consequence, among the Japanese restaurant owners today, one will see the majority will be Okinawans.

A Naiuchi student provides some corroborative evidence:

"Okinawa people smart in business. Boy, they steal (pick their pockets) and take money (steal) success. There was an Okinawan lady who lived next to us. She was rich, instead of giving the slop to the pig, she raised ducks and gave the slop to them. That stuck up the whole neighborhood."

A Naiuchi food caterer told me that she would not admit even one Okinawan into her group because she did not like that the Okinawan lady would learn fast and bring in other Okinawans, and drive her out of the job.

When talking to a Naiuchi lady, I found out a few things about how Okinawans did things in the restaurant business. "The Okinawans have driven the Naiuchi out of the restaurant business because they have all the food from the Okinawan farmers." A Naiuchi friend said, "Naiuchi people are more group feeling like Okinawans. Naiuchi only care for themselves." Yeah, Okinawans smart boy.

One naturally wonders what the effect of these stereotypes may be upon both Okinawans and Naiuchi -- the extent of emotional involvement among both groups and the consequent relations between the two groups.

When first asked as to his attitudes, a Naiuchi states that he has no prejudice against Okinawans and that everybody ought to be treated equal in Savaii. The Okinawans, on the other hand, will state that the situation doesn't bother him or that it isn't too bad nowadays, but as one goes deeper into attitudes of people toward Okinawans, then personal experiences involving prejudicial treatment are brought out. One of the first things mentioned in the marked feelings of inferiority and "shame". These attitudes seem to be learned very early in an Okinawan's experience as shown by the recollections.

Okinawan student: As a child, I always felt the ways of the Naiuchi superior. Our whole pattern of manners and speech was from them. My parents conversed with each other in their native dialect but sent their children to Japanese school to learn the Naiuchi language. In language school, the teachers and important school officials were Naiuchi. Children of Naiuchi ancestors couldn't speak in Naiuchi. If Naiuchi students had visited them more orderly and showed a higher standard of living than ours, I considered what the Naiuchi said tender than what we had.

I early became aware that Okinawans were considered on a lower scale (socially) than the Naiuchi and felt Okinawan ways inferior and crude. This feeling went so far as to include Okinawan music. When another played native music on the phonograph, the rest of the family
One day, I met a girl. Thinking that she was a Japan-born girl, I told her my true name, a typical Okinawan name, instead of the Niiichi-sounding one. I gave her the same story about my being Hawaiian-Japanese. She invited me to her home, so I went. When introduced to the father, I gave him my name.

He said, "You're an Okinawan, eh?"

I was lost. But he explained that he knew about the Okinawans and Niiichis in Hawaii because he had lived here before the war, and had relatives married to Okinawans in Hawaii. After that, I did not feel "shame", either at that home or in Japan, or when I came back to Hawaii.

Nowadays, I no longer feel "shame" when I go into a Niiichi house and I can tell the old folks what I feel like and have fun.

When someone told two Okinawan boys a story in which a Niiichi said something "stupid" about Okinawans, he asked them how they would react. Both of them said, "We sure wouldn't like the idea of having someone talk "stupid" about us, I for one, would give the guy a licking.

The following statement by an Okinawan student reveals a sense of resentment for their prejudicial attitudes and behavior.

...
that stokes the heart. Prejudice without knowledge is displayed by the Natchi towards the Okinawan in varying degrees.

The relatively larger number of papers written by Okinawan students about this "problem" may be an indication of their being more emotionally involved than the Natchi students. Reports taken from few Natchi student papers tend to show the more or less "uncensored" acceptance of this prejudice as a part of a typical Natchi's attitudes in Hawaii.

Natchi student: We ourselves avoid relations with Okinawan boys and girls, especially going steady with one of them. If there is a rumor that a friend of ours is going out with an Okinawan boy or girl, we tend to disapprove of it for reasons unknown. We laugh at the way they talk, clap, and dance, saying that they are queer and funny. Actually their ways are no more queer and funny than many dialects, songs, and dances of other parts of Japan. We do not stop to think how funny our parents' culture might seem to other people.

The assumption that the Natchi are the superior group is shown in this student's viewpoint:

The present generation of Okinawans are much more educated than their elders. They realize that trade is to win the friendship and admiration of the Natchi. This is not an easy task, for the tendency to dislike all Okinawans is deeply rooted in the minds of the Natchi. The children "inherit" this dislike for Okinawans from their parents and I'm sure that most of the children do not have any idea why they should hate these people. Yet, when you mention an Okinawan name they would immediately whisper, "He is an Okinawan!"

A good example of a more "traumatic" form of learning the "definition" is shown in this Natchi student's excerpt:

I first realized this feeling of cool cordiality and suspense restrain towards them (Okinawans) when I was eight years old. Lonely, in our isolated town, I early struck an acquaintance with our neighbor's little girl. We played together and walked to school and back together. My inclinations led to the intimacy between Clara and me -- a resentment which I did not understand.

An incident occurred the evening (for showing her recent observation). Walking home from school one day, we had reached the bend in the road from where I could see my home, when Clara suddenly stopped and began whispering something to her companion. On my inquiry what they were talking about, I was immediately pushed down into a patch of hilly woods on the roadside. I heard this trivial incident as a joke for I did believe nothing malicious of my friend but I saw my mother walking at the foot of the hill. She had apparently seen what had just transpired and had been pursued by it. She finally reached our gate, mother was already in hot pursuit of the frightened girl. Gently reproaching and scolding, she proceeded a spectacle that I had never been expected of her. I was overwhelmed by her surmises reception of what I took to be an act of thoughtlessness. A few minutes later, I found myself tearfully and sobbing listening to a tirade against all Okinawans in general, delivered by my usually calm and taciturn mother. All the recentment that she had harbored against them for so long was strongly expressed. "They are an alien people, Their practices are unclean. Do you want to associate with people who wash their children's diapers and bath their babies in the kitchen sink?" I knew this to be true of our neighbors and I knew not how to answer her. "They raise pigs and chickens and unceremoniously ferret their vegetables with their puppies. They seldom bathe. They are like animals. I forbid you to associate with them in the future."

New Definitions Emerging

The stereotyped definitions of Okinawan and Natchi -- of inferiority and superiority -- and the consequent social distances between the two groups are still very much in evidence as indicated by the student papers. But there are also indications of new attitudes and definitions emerging. In the transitional period, one finds a continuum of groups and individuals from those who "stick to their kind", to those who associate freely with members of the other group. Some Okinawans identify themselves as Okinawa-first, while others tend to identify themselves as Japanese-first and Okinawan-second.

Ambivalent attitudes within individuals of both groups quite naturally tend to develop under these conditions.

Okinawan student: But I believe there must be covert conflicts within an individual whether to marry inside or outside-marry, because I feel this conflict within me. Really I see no wrong in marrying out and sometimes I see more persons in the other group and meditate, and perhaps they are all right. But on the other hand, if and when my emotion gets the better of me, I cannot help but feel uneasy, gloomy, lonely, and even tense at the thought of marrying a Natchi. In the final analysis, I figure that I cannot marry a native outside of my own whole group to any sense I feel. It always comes back to me that my parents used to tell me the same thing. "If possible, marry an Okinawan;" Okinawan identity seems to us necessary and have stronger and friendlier ties. It would be better in the long run.

Natchi student: Deep within me is an immutable conviction that I will never take a step toward any acquaintanceship with an Okinawan. The fear of being rejected is too strong a pressure on me. It is a shame and very that I was exposed to such an unreasonnable prejudice, but it is even more painful to have to confess my weakness.

Okinawan student: The greatest surprise I received was very recently. I had thought that everyone had overthrown the false idea of superiority and inferiority in the Japanese group -- I thought that the idea was not Okinawan or Natchi anymore but we Minori or Misawan.

There are several other boys living at this boarding house. I am the only Okinawan but nobody was conscious of it. We got along very well and didn't show any dislike or enmity, we never really thought to inquire whether we were like or that, as long as we got along satisfactorily. One day we were talking about nothing in particular, when S. started to say something out too nice about the Okinawans, and asking that I would say. The rest of the boys became quiet all of a sudden and looked at me with "funny" looks on their faces, not knowing how to save the situation. Realizing that if S. said whatever else he was about to say, this particular boarding house was going to be awfully uncomfortable for everyone, I interrupted him.
saying jokingly, "I'm an Okinawan, can't you recognize one?" 2 I immediately stopped saying whatever he was going to say about Okinawans and asked if I was joking. He tried to get out of the embarrassing position he was in and helped him by keeping a straight face and changing the subject casually. The rest of the boys knew somehow that I was an Okinawan and felt awkward but I laughed it off. The rest of the boys have never respect for me as a "gay who can take it." Nevertheless, I was very hurt to think that in this day a grown-up could harbor such thoughts and think that some people were "naturally" inferior.

The following statement by a Naičhi student of a discussion with his mother about his Okinawan fiancée, reveals the shifting and equivocal attitudes toward intermarriage:

Mother: It is hard for me to give up my prejudice towards an Okinawan. I know that I ought to treat everyone on an equal plane, whether they be Okinawans, Etna, Waynese, or Filipinos. But you must understand that we old folk have had to face a lot of resentment and prejudice from other races from Japan proper who considered themselves better than us and marriage with their families would lead only to complications and quarrels. Okinawans are a little further removed from the Hitachi.

Son: But do you actually feel any resentment against Mi-chan for being an Okinawan?

Mother: I would not say that . . .

Son: Then put it this way, how do the neighbors think of a marriage between an Okinawan and a Naičhi? Would they gossip and object to such an idea?

Mother: If you ask that, yes.

Son: Then would you not say that of yourself in that you would feel "shame" in front of them?

Mother: Yes

A typical expression of the new definition is shown in this excerpt:

I am an Okinawan, I am an normal as any other human being, mentally and physically. My parents are alive and speak Japanese and their native dialect, Okinawan. I speak English, Japanese, and very little Okinawan, although I understand most everything in the latter. Ever since I can remember, my parents have told us never to marry a "Yamato-ko-ato" or "Naičhi." Later, someone gave me the following explanation, "Long ago, Okinawans were Hypana Islanders" were an accepted part of the Naičhi. These people call themselves Japanese, they do not consider us as real Japanese, they say we were conquered. Therefore, we are low-class and inferior." I was frequently told, "Don't associate with Naičhi; they will always take advantage of you, etc.

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Does this mean that all my friends are Okinawans? Certainly not. I have not had very few Okinawan pals; my best friends are Naičhi. What does this imply? Why, simply that problem of adjustment depends largely on the personality make-up. What do I care what nationality, predilection, etc., my pals come from, as long as they have desirable personal qualities.

I have never had too much trouble with the Naičhi-Okinawan relationship. I usually laugh things off. However, I know some young people (both Naičhi and Okinawans) who have a difficult time adjusting to the situation. They are so conscious of their background it is pathetic. If they should realize how narrow-minded their attitudes are, they would lead happier lives.

Another Okinawan student also has something to the same view in spite of being Okinawans, we had to be included in the Naičhi's play group. This was due to the fact that if we were separated from the group, we would be too small for any amount of fun for either group. Even if we were Okinawans, the Naičhi knew that we were just as good playmates as any other boys and this was very important in breaking down the barriers between them and us. I think at present, the Naičhi's feeling of superiority over the Okinawans has almost completely disappeared. Of course, the cosmopolitan atmosphere of Hawaii is largely responsible for educating the Japanese in breaking down the barriers that have existed between the two groups as well as with other groups.

Students have commented that since the late war, they have observed little in the way of children learning stereotypes about Okinawans as their older brothers and sisters had learned them. However, some students comment that there still are expressions on the part of the younger children about being an Okinawan or a Naičhi. Although the old definition is passing away in this area of the play group, one still finds the old definition expressed in regard to intermarriages between the two groups. Judging from the society pages of the local papers and social statistics reports in the papers, more and more such intermarriages seem to be occurring.

What can one expect of this Okinawan-Naičhi relationship in the future? It seems that the old definition of inferiority-superiority is passing away. In its stead, equalitarian contacts are being stressed. This new definition has been fostered by the public school, the churches, and by political sentiments. Old attitudes will tend to become increasingly suspect and will be more difficult to justify. On a crucial question such as intermarriage, one can expect to find some measure of opposition. Until such a time as inter-racial or non-racial acceptance is an accepted part of the Naičhi and the Okinawan groups as well as other groups in Hawaii, social movements within the Okinawan groups like the Naičhi akkaaka2 still tend to arise to meet the needs of the group.

To summarize, in the closer contacts in Hawaii and in the competition for a higher social status and a better economic position here, the in-group out-group relationship between the Naičhi and the Okinawans has been intensified to a degree not found in Japan proper. Most of the feelings have been relatively covert. The first definition of this relationship that developed in Hawaii has gradually been changing to one involving the equalitarian point of view. However, in the new generation, the most intense feelings have arisen, which in turn will tend to pass away with the older generation and their chauvinistic attitudes.

2 A social organization of second generation Okinawans in Honolulu focusing major attention in the cultural and educational improvement of their group.