SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII

Published by the
SOCIOLOGY CLUB
University of Hawaii

Race Relations In Hawaii

Changing Race Relations in Hawaii.................................................. Andrew W. Laird 1
The Nature of Race Prejudice.......................................................... Herbert Blumer 10
Race Relations Within A Business Firm in Honolulu...................... Evelyn Yama and Margaret Freeman 19
My Race Relations Experience at Work............................................ Robert Bean 25
The Americanization of My Mother................................................ Edna Oehira 30
Race Differences in Home Ownership in the Makiki Area............... Norman T. Westly 33
Residential Segregation in Honolulu................................................ Douglas S. Yamamura and Raymond Sakamoto 35
A Note on Hawaii’s Minorities Within Minorities.............................. Bernard L. Hamana 47
Some Observations Regarding Chinese-Japanese Marriages in Hawaii... Kunio Nagoishi and Charles Nishimura 57

VOLUME 18
1954
HONOLULU, HAWAII, U.S.A.
FOREWORD

In the summer of 1954, the campus of the University of Hawaii is the site for what promises to be a monumental conference on Race Relations in World Perspective. For a month, from June 28 to July 25, about forty distinguished scholars from thirty parts of the world where race relations are dynamic and from the universes where this problem is being studied, are meeting in daily sessions with the expectation of developing their common understandings of the problem and of reaching agreement about crucial research areas.

It is appropriate that such a conference be held in Hawaii, for here, in a narrowly confined island commonwealth has been brought together a unique conglomeration of different peoples. Hawaii is the stage on which the world's race relations problems can be seen in miniature perspective.

The student editors of Social Process are of the conviction that the occasion of this conference is an opportunity for presenting recent developments in interracial Hawaii to the scholars gathered together, as well as to its usual loyal body of readers.

We feel that we have gathered together a representative group of articles, more than half of them written by students, generally in connection with their course work, the others by our teachers, members of the Sociology Department, and one a republication of a significant article on race prejudice by Dr. Herbert Blumer while he was visiting professor at the University of Hawaii in 1939, in an issue of Social Process now out of print.

Dr. Andrew W. Linde's article summarizes his present views on the overall situation in Hawaii. Dr. Bernard Norman's article deals with the sub-groups recognized among the Filippino and Japanese. The article by Robert Bean tells of the experience of a person of Haole ancestry with the counter-prejudice mentioned by Dr. Blumer at the conclusion of his article.

Several of the articles deal with processes of accommodation and assimilation. Evelyn Yama and Margaret Freeman's with the increasing participation of Orientals in a Haole-dominated firm, Dr. Douglas Tanigawa and Raymond Nakamoto's with the gradual decline of residential and occupational segregation, Norman Westby's with changing patterns of residential segregation in a Honolulu neighborhood, Kioko Tugushi and Charles Hashimoto's with changing conceptions of inter-marriage, and Edna Ohno's, with the remarkable Americanization of her immigrant mother.

THE EDITOR

CHANGING RACE RELATIONS IN HAWAI
Andrew W. Linde

Like the Christian Gospel to St. Paul, Hawaii may be described as "all things to all men." To a visiting journalist after three months of observation, Hawaii seemed to be the one place in all the world in which "race antipathies have disappeared and race injustices are not in vogue."

To an American Admiral of several years' residence in Hawaii, it is a land of strong racial feelings in which the "dominant white race is cordially disliked by practically all the oriental races," and in which these sparks of dislike may be readily fanned into active race hatred. Another journalist, a naively well-informed writer, put it in terms of the theory of racial life of the Islands, concludes that "perhaps the most altruistic American policy" controls the Territory for its own selfish interests. And it may well reap the whirlwind with respect to "future race disturbances."

Finally, a nationally famous public relations expert summarized a recent summer's investigation of race relations in the Islands with the assertion that "Hawaii is possibly the most nearly democratic as any community in the world." Actually, it is neither speaking in riddles nor being sentimental to say that Hawaii is all of these things and none of them.

In simple fact, Hawaii is neither the racial paradise that some observers would make us feel, nor is it a racial hell as others contend, but probably it holds a little of both. As in the case of most matters of social experience, the perspective from which one observes determines to a large extent the investigator finds. The newly arrived visitor to Hawaii, depending upon his previous expectations and inclinations, may find either "the magic island" where America's ideals of racial equality are gloriously realized or the sorry disappointment of high hopes, but his reactions to the island scene are almost certain to change somewhat with longer experience and more extensive contacts. In any case, what really counts is not so much the formal facts, for example, of the presence or absence of laws or regulations governing race relations, or of the existence or absence of racially segregated areas, but the way in which the people of Hawaii have come to interpret these facts, nor it is possible in this case to say that the cold, analytical eye of science will reveal where the truth lies, since careful and dispassionate study yields evidence that Hawaii has many and changing facts.

The Setting for Race Relations in Hawaii

Geographic isolation was undoubtedly one important factor in Hawaii's unique racial experiences. Located more than two thousand miles from its nearest continental neighbor, these Islands were late in being discovered by the land-hungry nations of Europe, and this fact also militated against


3Carey McWilliams, Brothers Under the Skin.

Hawaii's being swallowed up so readily by the colonizing powers of the West. Captain Cook's discovery of the islands in 1778 was purely residential to European interests in the North American continent, and although he recognized the strategic significance of Hawaii as a way-station on the long land across the Pacific, eight years elapsed before another British ship even stopped at the Sandwich Islands, as Hawaii was then known. By virtue of its international size and its location near the center of the vast Pacific, Hawaii's people were spared the fate of areas more conveniently situated of early navigation by any one of the great empire builders of the West.

Hawaii's contacts with the Western world were initiated by an explorer whose immediate interest in the islands was chiefly in acquiring fresh supplied of water, meat, fruit, and vegetables in exchange for "nails and iron tools." Bad Captain Cook or any of the European and American explorers and traders who visited Hawaii during the first fifty years of Western contact been concerned about adding to the territorial dominions of their homelands, the history of race relations in these islands would have been quite different. The one serious breach in the friendly relations between Captain Cook and the natives of Hawaii, ending in the death of the famous explorer, was apparently a natural consequence of a series of minor demonstrations of armed force and high-handedness by the crews of the Discovery and the Resolution. But even this tragic incident did not result in reprisals by the British.

Subsequent visits from other British, American, Austrian, French, Russian, and Spanish exploring and trading vessels further confirmed the tradition of equatorial race relations already established by Captain Cook. An occasional act of violence, such as the killing of the four members of the crew of Captain Vancouver's supply ship in 1792, the wanton slaughter of more than a hundred defenseless natives by an American trading captain to retaliation for an attack upon his ship, or the temporary seizure of the islands by Lord Paulm in 1843, might threaten but could not destroy the amicable relations between the Polynesians and the foreign visitors.

During most of the period prior to 1850, the values governing the associations between Polynesians and Whites were those of the market place - of the free and impersonal exchange of goods and services, uninfluenced by considerations of kin color or cultural values. Each group had skills or goods which the others desired, and either group could afford to be discriminate or nonconsonant toward the other. The Westerner, if he wished to remain in the islands, had to define his identity and his values and, similarly the natives could not afford the incongruities whose goods or services they wished to enjoy. Moral and racial tolerance was in Hawaii, as elsewhere, a by-product of the market place.

A second set of values conducive to friendly relations between Western visitors and the natives was the missionary movement beginning in 1820 with the landing of the first contingent of seventeen New England Congregationalists. The missionaries and particularly their women were somewhat disposed to transfer to Hawaii their New England familial values adverse to interracial marriage and to insist upon the necessity of protecting themselves and their children from the contaminating influence of Hawaiian culture. On the other hand, the Christian faith they came to propagate in Hawaii assumed the inherent value of all men, as the sight of God, and a common claim to human treatment. Although the missionaries were relentless foes of "the impurity and the scorn of ages," which they found in native culture, they could hardly justify their life work without also insisting upon the potential merit of those whom they sought to convert.

Tore though they were by divided sentiments toward the natives, the Protestant missionaries in Hawaii during the greater part of the 19th century were strong supporters of the pattern of racial equality already established by the traders. Following the lead of William Richards, one of the early missionaries who in 1839 entered the employ of the King as an advisor on matters relating to the State, numerous Protestant missionaries occupied important posts in the cabinet and loyalty protected the interest of a native sovereignty against the encroachment of Western nations.

The Catholic and Mormon variants of the Christian missionary movement had only a slightly different effect upon island race relations. The Catholics were less intolerant than the Protestants in their condemnation of native customs, and they were also more favorably inclined toward inter-racial marriage, particularly when it involved persons of the Catholic faith. The Mormons, although possibly even more rationalist than the Protestants, gave special dignity to the Hawaiians as one of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel.

A third set of values, introduced to Hawaii during the middle of the nineteenth century in the form of plantation agriculture, threatened for a time to undermine the established practices of racial equality. The plantation in its course first and foremost an economic institution, designed to utilize more effectively vast sections of agricultural land on the frontier, but it also necessarily acquired a political character as a means of control over the limited supply of labor. Confronted with the problem of conducting a profitable, economic venture in a region of "open remunerated,"5 the planters of Hawaii found it necessary to import numerous non-white labor groups, and then to impose upon them various coercive controls, including a rigid system of occupational and residential segregation.

It was, in brief, through the plantations that the first clearly defined pattern of stratification by race was initiated in Hawaii. During most of the sixty-year-period prior to World War II when sugar and pineapple production dominated Hawaii's economic life, a fairly distinct barrier of racial separation secured the proprietary white from the large mass of non-white laborers on the plantations, and a further social gradation of the existing occupational pyramid also emerged. That the social hierarchy within the plantation community of Hawaii never attained the rapidity of a caste structure, as in many other plantation frontiers, is largely a consequence of the strong competition provided by the well established trading and commercial centers of Hawaii. Moreover, as the Hawaiian economy has shifted from one of open resources to one of essential resources, in which labor is relatively plentiful, the necessity of maintaining a rigid system of control through racial barriers has also tended to decline. Under the conditions of a glutted labor market which prevails today, the plantation can afford to relinquish the rigid controls over their workers, and to promote workers within the system on the basis of individual merit rather than of race.

Still another set of values affecting race relations in Hawaii was introduced by American political and economic activities beginning in the past seventy-five years. American commercial interests in the Islands, desirous of

---

5A term derived from H. J. Nieboer, Slavery as an Industrial System, referring to a region in which land and other natural resources essential for livelihoods are readily accessible to the entire population, and in which there is consequently little motivation for selling one's labor to someone else.
safeguarding their own investments, and of securing special advantages by incorporation within the American commonwealth, had agitated openly for Annexation as early as 1850. Like foreign nationals in Hawaii, they had also sought the intervention of foreign governments to influence their relations against the Hawaiian king and his court. By the end of the nineteenth century, although American and other foreign settlers, operating behind the scenes, had significantly influenced the policies of the Hawaiian king, it had not until 1893 that even the trappings of native control were finally abandoned. The actual transfer of sovereignty to the United States in 1898 was naturally resisted by many Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian, who regarded it as a public confession that the American constitutional guarantees of equality before the law had applied to all persons regardless of racial ancestry, with certain special economic advantages provided under the Organic Act to Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians.

The direct impact of the armed forces upon Hawaiian race relations began to be noticeable after 1920, at which time there were some 4,000 military personnel in the Islands. This element of the population, recruited chiefly from continental United States and industrialized with its racial ancestry in Hawaii, and during World War II there were times when the military completely outnumbered the adult civilian population of the Islands. Distinctions of race appropriate to the armed forces are readily converted to racial discrimination in a situation such as Hawaii's. During World War II, the newly arrived servicemen were prone to use such opprobrious terms toward any and all non-Caucasians, with the residual truculence of the latter to counter with "white trash," or "dandi blanco," or "dandi gallo." Moreover, in their search for feminine companionship, the enlisted men soon learned to cross racial lines, and thereby drew upon themselves the wrath of the Island-born males, especially of non-Caucasian ancestry.

A final set of influences affecting Hawaiian race relations emanates from the horde of tourists who descend upon the Islands in increasing num

Shifting Ethnic Frontiers

The composite effect of such varied factors upon race relations in Hawaii is naturally difficult to trace. Contrary to popular impressions, the island pattern of social organization is by no means a single race. The case intermingling of ethnic groups within certain portions of Honolulu is a far cry from the sharp segregation on the basis of race which still occurs on some of the remote plantations. Paradoxically, however, the city also comes closer to a pattern of residential segregation than any other area of the Territory. Despite the equatorial atmosphere which generally characterizes the commercial frontier, it is in Honolulu and in Hilo that we find the most striking persistence of old tradition and exclusiveness.

The very definitions of race which have existed in Hawaii bespeak a flexible and shifting social situation. The initial distinction between the native Hawaiians and the European and American visor to the Islands was obvious from the outset on the basis of physical appearance and cul
ture. The natives applied the term haole, signifying stranger, to all for

In a similar manner, the other people recruited as workers for the plantations have been differentiated from the Hanis and have acquired separate racial designations, a hundred years ago, the racial terms used in the Hawaiian census reflected the widely varied peoples of a predomi

It is obvious that the shifting racial designations of Hawaii do not conform with the strict definitions evolved by the physical anthropologists. Race has been identified in Hawaii with national origin, language, food practices, religious type, and with the unchanging and practically transmitted physical hallmarks of race. The 100,000 individuals from some forty-five different provinces in Japan, al

On the other hand, the relatively small group of less than six thousand Porto Rican immigrants, with wide variations in physical appearance owing to different admixtures of Indian, Negro, and Spanish blood, have always been considered as a single racial unit. So also the 2,500 South Sea Islanders, recruited from a score of different island groups scattered throughout the Pacific and varying markedly from each other in appearance, language, and culture, were regarded commonly as a single racial group during the years that they remained in Hawaii.
### TABLE 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race and Ethnicity</th>
<th>1884</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>1950</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>85,576</td>
<td>205,913</td>
<td>499,589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiians</td>
<td>40,014</td>
<td>49,6</td>
<td>22,733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-Hawaiian</td>
<td>4,058</td>
<td>3,3</td>
<td>16,097</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian-Hawaiian</td>
<td>3,072</td>
<td>4,0</td>
<td>11,072</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Polynesians</td>
<td>952</td>
<td>1,3</td>
<td>2,122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>15,819</td>
<td>21,3</td>
<td>49,140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwegian</td>
<td>1,602</td>
<td>2,5</td>
<td>3,125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>0,5</td>
<td>3,377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>0,6</td>
<td>2,902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed Other Caucasians</td>
<td>5,840</td>
<td>6,3</td>
<td>19,708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>37,389</td>
<td>22,3</td>
<td>23,207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koreans</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipinos</td>
<td>4,530</td>
<td>6,0</td>
<td>7,001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>25,015</td>
<td>8,0</td>
<td>81,568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>10,022</td>
<td>5,2</td>
<td>9,451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Others</td>
<td>616</td>
<td>5,8</td>
<td>2,651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>85,576</td>
<td>205,913</td>
<td>499,589</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Present tendencies point clearly in the direction of a continuing decrease in the number of recognized racial groups in Hawaii. Each of the major races was further merged in the 1884 census, the only census in which the term "Hawaiian" was officially dropped.

The mounting number of persons of mixed racial ancestry in the population makes the continued use of the ordinary racial designations untenable, and those charged with the keeping of Hawaii's vital statistics are disposed to set up a new, single category, the "Caucasians," for the individual races of mixed blood which are emerging as the result of the general intermarriage. The 1950 census reveals that in addition to the 72,045 persons of mixed Hawaiian ancestry, there were 20,379 other racial hybrids in the population of the islands. The combined population of mixed racial ancestry constituted slightly less than one-fifth of the entire population of the Territory, but it is reasonable to expect that by the end of the present century nearly one-fifth of Hawaii's population will consist of racial hybrids.

---

**Notes:**
1. This does not include the racial hybrids born outside of Hawaii, such as the Filipino mestizos or mestizo of the Puerto Ricans, but who tend to be classified here as pure-bloods.
2. *Last 6 months of 1944 omitted*
One-third of the children born in Hawaii during the four-year-period, 1948-1950, were of mixed racial ancestry as compared with 22.4 per cent that have been involved in this process, with the smaller groups and those with larger groups and those with more inter-racial sex ratios. Allowing for the areas of Hawaii, it is in the commercial centers which have most facilitated the birth of mixed racial ancestry, and in which we find the highest proportions.

Another major consequence of the presence and interaction of the several social frontiers in Hawaii has been a series of important changes in the occupational spread of the recognized racial groups. Seventy years ago when the plantation industry was just beginning in Hawaii, nearly three quarters of all the workers in the Kingdom were classified as laborers and consisted largely of the recently recruited immigrant groups such as the Chinese, Portuguese, Japanese, and South Sea Islanders. The 1950 census, for example, reported that while these four racial groups constituted 85 per cent of the laborers, they made up less than 10 per cent of the up less than 1 per cent of the laborers, and nearly 70 per cent of the professional personnel in the Islands. The Chinese, on the other hand, made up less than 1 per cent of the laborers, and nearly 70 per cent of the professionals.

The marked improvement in the opportunities for the immigrant groups to participate in the preferred occupations has taken place during the past 50 years, with the gradual shift in Hawaii's economy from plantation agriculture to commercial and military sectors.

Although the Caucasians still enjoy a distinct advantage over the other ethnic groups in such fields as the professions and managerial and professional fields, the three most recently arrived Filipinos, also share in these fields. The three

### TABLE 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Occupational Group</th>
<th>All Races</th>
<th>Hawaiians</th>
<th>Caucasians</th>
<th>Filipinos</th>
<th>Japanese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professionals, Technical &amp; Kindred Workers</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers, Officials &amp; Proprietors</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical &amp; Sales Workers</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen and Foremen</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operators</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>19.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service workers incl. Private household workers</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7In 1940, the Filipinos were only one-half as well represented in these two occupational groups as they were in 1950.

Oriental groups, in order of their arrival in the Territory, have achieved positions at the upper levels of the occupational hierarchy, and even though the Filipinos have lagged far behind the other ethnic groups in the competitive struggle, it is noteworthy that they are represented in the preferred occupations, and that they will doubtless improve their status in the future. The population of pure or mixed Hawaiian ancestry, although over-represented in the professions as recently as 1930, has not kept pace with the Japanese and Chinese during the last two decades. The Hawaiians, on the other hand, have excelled in the skilled and semi-skilled vocations. The Chinese and Caucasians have been least represented as unskilled laborers, with the Filipinos quite naturally most highly represented.

**Summary**

Despite its relatively small size and geographical isolation, Hawaii presents a picture of surprising contrast in the nature of its inter-ethnic relations. The interested observer can find evidence of both racial equality and racial inequality, depending upon where he looks. The sharply divergent characteristics of the commercial, agricultural, plantation, military and tourist frontiers has created an inter-racial situation far greater complexity than is commonly assumed.

Race relations were initiated in Hawaii on the egalitarian basis inherent in trade, and this pattern was later re-enforced by the missionaries. It was not until considerably later that the sharply contrasted conceptions of race relations associated with the plantation and the military institutions were established with varying intensities in different parts of the Islands. The shifting and determinate influences of the tourists are now beginning to be of paramount importance in the Territory.

The net effect of the forces outlined in this paper is reflected partially in the increasing rates of miscegenation and in the widening range of occupational opportunities for even the latest immigrant arrivals. The analysis of the stresses upon the individuals caught in the various cross-currents of such a complex social system would take us far beyond the confines of this paper, but is part of the unfinished task of the social scientists in Hawaii.
When one views the recent and present relations between races in isolation, the temperance, and the apparent equality of opportunity of races which exists. That a chronic attitude over decades of time can be shown by those instances. For example, in the contacts of whites with other ethnic groups, especially in the context of persons with other ethnic groups, the majority of them are not as a rule and as a group. They believe majority are as a rule and as a group. The actual facts of race relations force us to appear in racial contacts; if present, it may disappear; or, although prejudice as an inherent and simple matter it must be viewed as a highly marked and differing character of race relations themselves. There are the many instances where members of divergent races may associate in the races between them. In other instances there may prevail rigid racial exclusion.

Between these extremes there may be other forms of association. For the history of any fairly prolonged association between any two group or the attitude of any group, in the attitudes which sustain variable nature of race relations should make it clear that racial prejudice commons and very few situations it must be recognized as merely one form of usually arises inside of a temporal sequence of relations. Even more important is the realization that racial prejudice is highly variable. Instead of always having the same form, nature, and intensity. A comparison of the frequency of racial prejudice shows that it may differ in manifestation. The prejudice of the American southerner towards the Negro is partly white, white towards his colored neighbors. The attitude of the white man towards the Negro has its roots in the Negro and form from the Negro's situation and that of the long history of prejudice. The Negro's situation is not the same. Ethical prejudice may be less in one, the increase or decrease of prejudice points to its variability. Thus, while present as a type phenomenon, recognition must be taken of its changeable and differing character.

The fact that prejudice is not a consistent accompaniment of race relations, that it is not an inherent and simple matter it must be viewed as a highly marked and differing character of race relations themselves. There are the many instances where members of divergent races may associate in the races between them. In other instances there may prevail rigid racial exclusion.

Between these extremes there may be other forms of association. Further, the history of any fairly prolonged association between any two group or the attitude of any group, in the attitudes which sustain variable nature of race relations should make it clear that racial prejudice commons and very few situations it must be recognized as merely one form of usually arises inside of a temporal sequence of relations. Even more important is the realization that racial prejudice is highly variable. Instead of always having the same form, nature, and intensity. A comparison of the frequency of racial prejudice shows that it may differ in manifestation. The prejudice of the American southerner towards the Negro is partly white, white towards his colored neighbors. The attitude of the white man towards the Negro has its roots in the Negro and form from the Negro's situation and that of the long history of prejudice. The Negro's situation is not the same. Ethical prejudice may be less in one, the increase or decrease of prejudice points to its variability. Thus, while present as a type phenomenon, recognition must be taken of its changeable and differing character.
a conceptualized object—are intimately interrelated. Generally we may say (a) that the content of the conceptualized object, and (b) that the conceptualized object becomes a framework inside of which collective experience may take first statement (a) that the content of the conceptualized object, and (b) that the conceptualized object will determine what classifications they build up. This gives to the conceptualized objects a somewhat arbitrary Jew which takes no recognition of the keen conceptual differences that Jew, German Jew, Russian Jew, or Polish Jew, or the American white Negro ancestry, whereas what the Frenchman means by the Negro is likely but the illustrations will suffice to show that the particular conceptualizations variation occurs to be due to the differences of group experience. Not only the way in which the conceptualized object determined by collective experience one. This should be self-evident. Southern whites with Negroes which was necessarily different from that developed by the whites in Brazil, where the line of experience was significantly different.

While the conceptualized object is formed, shaped, and colored by the experiences of the group, it is equally true that the conceptualized object explains the experiences of the group. So we come to is formed and that group is concerned in a certain way, the concept and the people will have in their association with members of that ethnic group, by their concept and conceptualizations of the ethnic group; accordingly, the largely colored by this frame of work. The conceptualization of which are members of another ethnic group is with a Negro and the conceptualization of which are members of that concept a basis of a pretty fixed concept formation. Let us suppose that a certain action, as interpreted to these actions as well.

The experience of the conceptualized object which is based in a certain degree of a race may largely with members of that race. Reasons will be given later to suggest that the conceptualized object may be unreliable. Here it is reflected merely to point out that collective experience that this mutual control may become so tight that they become essentially

The experiences of ethnic group A with ethnic group B built up an experience similar to the conceptualization which group A has of group B, this conceptualization will largely control the understanding of the experiences of the members' experiences in their relations with one another. The history of race prejudice is a history of the interaction between concept and experience. This

is what is involved, then, in the statement that race prejudice in a case of prejudice of one group against another group. It is time now to consider what is peculiar to the attitude of racial prejudice—what distinguishes it from other kinds of racial attitudes. The usual tendency is to regard this attitude as simple or ordinary, as if it were made up of a single feeling such as dislike or hatred. Such a view, however, is impossible and cannot be squared with facts. Admittedly, the child feeling of racial prejudice is usually a feeling of dislike or an impulse of aversion; but it is a mistake to regard such a feeling or impulse as the only or, even necessarily always the main one. Instead, racial prejudice is made up of a variety of feelings and impulses which in different situations enter into the attitude in differing combinations and differing proportions. Hatred, dislike, resentment, distrust, envy, fear, feelings of obligation, possessive impulses, secret curiosity, sexual interest, destructive impulses, guilt—these are some of the feelings and impulses which may enter into racial prejudice and which in their different combinations give it a differing character. Some of these feelings and impulses may be varied and easily identified; others are obscure, and still others may be present without their presence being realized. We are forced, I think, to realize that the attitude of racial prejudice is constituted and sustained by a variety of impulses and feelings, and that it is the peculiar combination of the peculiar nature of these impulses and feelings. In this way we can account for the differences in racial prejudice that have already been mentioned. The impulses and feelings that come to be embodied in a given instance of racial prejudice have been induced and shaped by the past and present experiences of the given ethnic group. From this point of view we can regard race prejudice as a medium for the expression of various feelings and impulses, some of which may be the consequence of experiences that have no reference to the group against which the prejudice is manifested.

The complexity of the constituent and sustaining elements of an attitude of racial prejudice makes it difficult to explore exhaustively the experiences and situations that give rise to racial prejudice. Yet, certain of the more important lines of origin can be pointed out. One of them, undoubtedly, is the general ethnocentrism of groups, showing itself in some overreaction to strange and peculiar ways of living, and in a feeling of the inherent superiority of one's own group. There seems to be little doubt that many actions of a strange and alien group may appear smooth and sometimes the group may be in the form of a favorable impression which may come to be built up into a collective attitude. Such an attitude because it springs from the perception of actions which seem to be offensive and occasionally disgusting may yet rooted in the antagonisms of people, is impossible and cannot be squared with facts. Admittedly, the child feeling of racial prejudice is usually a feeling of dislike or an impulse of aversion; but it is a mistake to regard such a feeling or impulse as the only or, even necessarily always the main one. Instead, racial prejudice is made up of a variety of feelings and impulses which in different situations enter into the attitude in differing combinations and differing proportions. Hatred, dislike, resentment, distrust, envy, fear, feelings of obligation, possessive impulses, secret curiosity, sexual interest, destructive impulses, guilt—these are some of the feelings and impulses which may enter into racial prejudice and which in their different combinations give it a differing character. Some of these feelings and impulses may be varied and easily identified; others are obscure, and still others may be present without their presence being realized. We are forced, I think, to realize that the attitude of racial prejudice is constituted and sustained by a variety of impulses and feelings, and that it is the peculiar combination of the peculiar nature of these impulses and feelings. In this way we can account for the differences in racial prejudice that have already been mentioned. The impulses and feelings that come to be embodied in a given instance of racial prejudice have been induced and shaped by the past and present experiences of the given ethnic group. From this point of view we can regard race prejudice as a medium for the expression of various feelings and impulses, some of which may be the consequence of experiences that have no reference to the group against which the prejudice is manifested.

21 It is clear that whether an individual generalizes his distasteful or threatening experiences into an attitude or prejudice against a group depends largely on the presence of conceptualized objects in his culture. As Americans we are likely to have some degree of ethnocentrism or "red-beard" people; he is very unlikely to develop an attitude of prejudice against the "Red-Headed" people, because in American culture there is no conceptualization of the "red-beard" which would encourage this.
of this to be seen in the frequency with which racial prejudice appears among expanding imperialistic peoples.

Yet, however important ethnocentrism may be as a factor in racial prejudice, it does not seem to be the decisive factor. Of more importance may be the displacement, or assimilation. This is suggested by the nature of the situation in which racial prejudice is usually most pronounced and has the following characteristics.

1) The two ethnic groups live together in some degree, the subordinate group is accepted to some extent, in the sense that it is tolerated. The relationship between the two groups may be one of more or less anomic, together inside of a common territory as parts of a unitary society. There are certain privileges and opportunities which the members of the subordinate ethnic group are reaped into an inferior status or, in frequent, to a certain place.

The same kind of experience with Negroes might easily lead him to the form of conceptualization which would equate permit and justify such an attitude of prejudice against a conceptualized group built up on the assumption that he permits his lower status and prejudice by the reinforcement which he gets from his fellows.

2) The dominant ethnic group has a fear that the subordinate group will not be kept to its place but threaten to claim the opportunities seized and felt as a threat to the status, security, and welfare of the dominant ethnic group.

It is in a social situation with these three features that racial prejudice is likely to develop. As theaying goes, so long as the subordinate group as an attack upon the dominant ethnic group. Some of the areas of exclusion have a particularly strong emotional charge in that entrance into such areas is a pressuring attack. Uncontrolled economic competition ranks high here, also entrance into the fact that the dominant ethnic group feels to come from an open-ended, the resulting aggression is more ubiquitous and more unstable. The fact that the threatening group of perception.

The greater the threat which is felt, the greater is likely to be the prejudice. The size of the subordinate ethnic group, its degree of militancy, its degree of claimantship, and the extent of its claims are factors which are likely to determine the extent of the threat. On the size of the dominant ethnic group, the degree of ethnocentrism, the degree of tribal solidarity, the rigidity of the idea of its own status, and the tightness of the lines of exclusion which it lays down are factors which increase the likelihood of its constraining actions as an attack upon it.

The foregoing discussion should make clear the general character of racial prejudice and the lines along which it is formed. If certain contacts are attended by feelings of ethnocentrism, and if the ethnic group in the dominant position feels that its common status in insecure and is under the threat of an attack by a subordinate ethnic group, prejudice seems to be the inevitable result. Ethnocentrism helps to set and sustain patterns of social exclusion. Failure to observe these patterns by the excluded group are felt as threats and attacks to tribal status, security, and welfare. Feelings of aversion, fear, and hostility—all or more or less in a state of suspense—seems to be the result.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the formation of racial prejudice is not an immediate or inevitable matter but that, instead, it is a product of collective experience, and is dispensed upon the extent to which this collective experience fits the conditions which have been specified. The initial conditions of ethnic contact may or may not be conducive to the development of racial prejudice; if the framework of ethnocentrism is not laid down along ethnic lines, racial prejudice is not likely to get started. (As in the case of the early expansion of Mohometanism which, while involving extensive ethnic contacts, was organized on the basis of religious ethnocentrism and gave rise to religious prejudices.) Further, the incidents of experience in the association between ethnic groups may or may not lead a dominant group to feel that it is being threatened.

When specific instances of racial prejudice are traced through it will usually be found that the prejudice has followed upon a series of experiences or incidents which are related by a dominant ethnic group and construct an all-or-nothing unremitting and attacks—usually as signs of a possibly more abiding and more threatening attack. The history of race prejudice could be written and (would have to be written) in terms of these incidents, especially the more exciting ones. For it in such incidents that the people, arouse feelings, and initiate that intercourse of experience that we can speak of metaphorically as a process of collective digestion. Such collective experiences yield the new meaning and content that become fused into the "conceptualized object" which the one ethnic group has made of the other. Since these collective experiences are an outgrowth of primitive and deep-seated feelings, it is not surprising that the conceptualized object becomes emotional, and fused, and that in acquiring such a form it exercises a coercive control over subsequent collective experience. A social situation that is threatened by a race of whites, especially of a critical nature, which make a dominant ethnic group (not that its position is being threatened, and its security threatened, cowardly conduces to unconscious racial prejudice. A very powerful complex of

---

It should be realized that an attitude of racial prejudice, once formed, is transmissible. It may be, in a general situation where it has not previously existed, or communicated to those whose own experiences have not given rise to it; in this way, racial prejudice may occur in situations which do not have the features which we have been discussing.
feelings and emotions may develop, under the influence of collective ex-
perience, and become fused into the conceptualized image of an ethnic

It is not surprising that the attitude of racial prejudice should be-
more intense and the conceptualized object more emotionally fortifying. It
visual's organism rebel at the thought of entering into certain kinds
other ethnic groups. Such antipathies tend to be in the nature of strong
enmities and fear of invasion. Indeed, although it might seem incre-
to the antipathy so that some of them become more important than anal-
ization in the thought of their women becoming the concubines of Negroes.
The analysis of racial prejudice which has been made should throw
light on the vicissitudes of behavior in which racial prejudice may act
mechanism. Since the attitude of prejudice in rooted in a primitive feeling
become highly symbolized of such a tribal position, it responds to a critical incident, it is not surprising that racial
and strongly felt attitudes may all play an en-
cluded in the nature of the attitude—especially the more unconscious
attitude may lead to a variety of isolated and feelings and impulses which
may yield expression at this time. (It is well to remember, as stated
bale of racial prejudice as a result of the collective experiences of the

Light is also thrown on the case in which racial prejudice may be-
cause a stage post mechanism. Mention has already been made of the fact
that the interchangeability of experience between members of an ethnic
group and the group toward which prejudice is developed. This makes
the development of myths and for the focusing on a given
attitude toward an ethnic group may come to be the carrier of feelings

It is appropriate to note that the conditions that give rise to prej-
dice may likewise give rise to prejudice in other kinds of groups. Many
whites are prejudiced against Negroes, for example, by the nature whites; their effect is to improve their economic and social position
themselves in discrimination and as a threat pressing
reality situation in such instances, as students have frequently noted, a
such group which is incurring prejudice, in not being
faced against people who are racially distinct and recognizable, the
chief reasons for the greater tenacity of race prejudice as against other

and impulses aroused in other areas of experience. This can be done with
special ease in the case of race prejudice, since the ethnic group is seen;
as an "enemy", as a more or less persistent trend to vilify security, or
and existence. At times of critical distress, disturbance, or calamity it is

Before ending the discussion, some attention may be given to the in-
triguing problem of the breaking down of racial prejudice. First of all, it
should be noted again that racial prejudice is not inevitable in ethnic con-
tracts. Racial prejudice may not even appear; or if it does appear, it may
not take root; or, if it does take root, it may not grow. All depends upon
the nature of the social situation and upon the incidents which occur; for
these will influence the collective experience of the group and the resulting
conceptualization of the racial object. In the association of races first all of it
is quite possible for people to classify one another on other bases than
that of ethnic makeup in making their important group differentiations. In
this event, the important group opposition may easily cut across ethnic
lines. This is to be seen historically in religious movements, in national-
isms. It may happen in the future, as it has at times in the past, that ethnic makeup
will be of little meaning in the important group classifications that people
make of one another, and consequently in the "tribal units" with which they
identify themselves.

Where racial prejudice already exists, its disappearance or mitigation
seems to turn on the condition that the subordinate ethnic group is no longer
or felt as a threat. This may be brought about in a number of ways. The
subordinate ethnic group may keep largely to an assigned status or to what
the dominant group regards as its proper places; hence it is no longer felt
as a threat. Or the subordinate group may retire into a segregated posi-
tion as a threat. Or the subordinate group may retire into a segregated posi-
tion as a threat. Or the subordinate group may retire into a segregated posi-
tion as a threat. Or the subordinate group may retire into a segregated posi-
tion as a threat. Or the subordinate group may retire into a segregated posi-
tion as a threat. Or the subordinate group may retire into a segregated posi-
tion as a threat. Or the subordinate group may retire into a segregated posi-
tion as a threat. Or the subordinate group may retire into a segregated posi-
tion as a threat. Or the subordinate group may retire into a segregated posi-
tion as a threat. Or the subordinate group may retire into a segregated posi-
tion as a threat. Or the subordinate group may retire into a segregated posi-

Modern intentional efforts to break down racial prejudice are usually
always along this third line, that is to try to change the ideas which peo-
ple of one race have toward another. We see this effort in the case of some
churches, some educational agencies, and some humanitarian groups and
individuals, all of whom try to point out the injustice and absurdity of a
prevaling form of racial prejudices. The importance of such efforts is not
to be minimized, but it is question whether they do have or can have much
Influence. Where racial prejudices are pronounced, or where "con-
ceptualized racial object" is strongly set. For the prejudice is certain to
be rooted in the antipathy; and there is no doubt that if it were likely even thou-
shall be shown that the conceptualization is false and unavailing. Efforts to
have members of different races appreciate their common human character

16
by entering into personal contact are likely to be more fruitful, for where people have an opportunity to identify themselves with one another and to share each other's personal experiences, a collective conceptualization is difficult to maintain. But even such efforts are limited in possibility and run counter again to antipathies, any profound change in antipathies in likely to come only as a result of a new body of collective experience built up either around new issues in which the ethnic factor in of no import, or based on a shift in the social scene (such as an extensive population change) in which races are brought into new forms of interdependency.

In closing this paper I wish merely to note that no discussion has been given in it to the topic of counter-prejudice—the defensive prejudice of the subordinate ethnic group against the dominant one. In many ways this counter-prejudice is more complicated, interesting and important than direct racial prejudice. It has been little studied.

RACE RELATIONS WITHIN A BUSINESS FIRM IN HONOLULU

Entire race and Margaret Freeman

Race relations in Hawaii are in a transitional stage. Pressures are being exerted in all areas: economic, political, cultural, academic, for change in the direction of greater participation by persons of all the diverse ethnic backgrounds living in Hawaii. The process of change in this particular period is noticeable in the economic life of the Territory, evident in the business world and manifestly bound up with such things as the labor movement and the growth in the number of people with a long period of formal education. As with all instances of social change, the tendencies toward innovation run against the "tradition-dominated" past, the comfortable status quo. Those pressing for the change have a greater vested interest in it, have greater awareness of the difficulties involved and the historically determined ways of dealing with the problem. To those on the other side, perfectly comfortable in the situation as it now stands, an air of complacency reigns supported by rationalizations in favor of prevailing policies.

A growing number of non-Hawaiians, aided by years of formal education and specific knowledge covering specialized phases of a particular business, feel ready to assume higher positions within the business structure. Frequently these positions are not forthcoming, and those aspiring toward these positions are victims of anxiety and tension. The anxiety and tension exist on two levels, the covert and the overt. That is, there is a feeling of being thwarted in their plans and aspirations, but this feeling is amorphous and ill-defined, thus covert. When the thwarted feeling becomes conscious and expressed, its recognition and identification make it easier to deal with.

This problem was studied in the context of a particular Honolulu business firm, which will not be identified by name. The feelings of tension and anxiety, in the firm studied, are mainly centered on the problem of promotion. The employment available to the non-Hawaiian is on the lower echelons, and seemingly offers no possibilities of advancement beyond a certain point. This is the focal point for the "group" and the prevailing discontent. Varying with the level of the position held by the person, differentials in wages, preferential hiring for certain positions, and uncomfortable work relationships add further to the area of anxiety. The central concern, however, verbalized not only by those in the specific situation, but also by those now in training, is the lack of promotion beyond a certain well-defined point in the hierarchical structure. In this dilemma, so real to those involved, that will be discussed first, providing as it does the mainstay of the entire problem of race relations in the particular Honolulu business firm studied.

A strong "we-group" feeling existed among the non-Hawaiians in this firm, who were held together by the fact that they all face the dilemma of non-promotion beyond a certain point in the organization. An employee declared:

"There exists a very peculiar situation here in that most of the big promotions in Hawaii have always imported people from the mainland to fill top managerial positions rather than using the local talent we have. I know that there are many capable local people who work honest jobs and do a good job but they just wouldn't give them the chance. This is the situation in this company. There are many others who, like me, have worked for years in the company and I, alone, have come to know all we can about the business. At one time, we looked forward to hav-
lay better positions but we learned soon enough that we were going to be advanced just so far and stop. In the last ten years, there has been a number of reorganized and each time, they have been filled by someone from the mainland. This is the chief reason why so many of the Orientals here feel that discrimination is practiced by the company.

Another non-Hispanic employee of the firm put it this way:

Company policies are pretty well set and you know for yourself how hard it is to ever change that. Up to the present time, I have observed that the company policy in selecting a department head has been to import someone from the mainland who they didn't know would be able to handle the job. I can think of four of people within the company right now who would be able to fill the job but they will never be given the chance. I can’t imagine that the day would come when I would see a non-Hispanic sitting in one of the offices here.

Attitudes of complete resignation and hopelessness about the situation were not uncommon among those interviewed.

Yes, as far as I'm concerned there is racial discrimination here. Many things which have happened in the past and which I have observed, have all pointed to this fact. I guess it's part of our life. I'm afraid, if the company should ever promote an Oriental to the position of department head, I'm sure that day would be sometime in the future. I certainly can't see that day happening in my life time.

At least the Orientals here continue to remain docile and compliant about this situation, they'll never get beyond a certain point. As far as I'm concerned, I've given up all hope in getting an Oriental officer. In my life time at least.

Those higher up in the status hierarchy took a more philosophical view as evidenced by their recognition of the organizational set-up of the company and the traditions that stemmed therefrom.

The stockholders of this company are composed of the members of the Big Five and those connected with them. That’s one of the chief reasons why the directors are all Hispanics and the officers are Hispanics too. Below the level of department heads, the stuff is composed of all different racial groups.

The problem is of the pace it is because of the control. Because they are divided because it is in order to do. Because it is. Stock-oriented, it is also Hispanic-oriented in the higher brackets.

So, with the Hispanic control, it was perfectly natural that they import Orientals from the mainland to run the business. The same, all or whatever you call it, they gave up for this war that there was no local talent qualified to take on such a position. This created among the non-Hispanic employees a feeling of insecurity and a gradual lack of confidence in themselves and soon they retreated into their little circle. As more and more Hispanic people were imported with the same rationalization given by the company, the non-Hispanic had no incentive to expand and join further their own jobs and businesses. They had no scope.

Therefore, management was again able to point to this lack of confidence among the Orientals as further reason why they were not promoted. If the local boys were given any sort of induction or encouragement from the management that they could someday fill one of the top positions—that they should, therefore, acquire jobs in organizations such as the Rotary, Lions, Chamber of Commerce, etc., that they would go to courses at the university—they would respond and expand knowledge. But they weren’t given the encouragement. You see, the Chinese is not only according to race lines but also between the local and the mainland people. The whole thing was really a vicious circle. The best encouragement the local boys received, the more they retreated and the more basic management had for importing mainland personnel.

To the extent that there was awareness on the part of those interviewed of the fact that ownership and control of this “subsidiary firm” were vested to a large degree in the hands of local Hispanic investors and one of the dominant corporations there was expressed an almost sympathetic view toward the department heads and the officers, whose, jobs, they felt, would be jeopardized it ever an Oriental were promoted to an important managerial position. To a great extent, we found these attitudes colored by the island stereoptyped conceptions of the “Big Five” and the control they supposedly exercise over the island economy.

Many of the department heads, I’m sure, don’t really feel prejudicial against the Orientals but they’re all afraid of losing their positions. After all, they were handed their jobs on a silver platter and get $600 or $500 per sitting in their private office. Do you think they would ever risk taking the part of the Orientals and standing up for their rights? Of course not. I wouldn’t. And as long as the Big Five had control over the islands, things would never improve.

I think there is some feeling among the directors and the officers that there may be certain repercussions if they were to promote an Oriental for the position of department head. By that, I mean that the company is largely owned by the Hispanic interests and they might not like the idea of an Oriental dealing then want to do and what should be their business program.

The Hispanic in the higher echelons, on the other hand, steadily maintained that no differential in hiring and promotions existed. By them they realized that no Oriental holds a position higher than assistant pastor department heads, they rationalized the absence of Orientals in higher-bracket positions by referring to what is “best” for the company.

Actually, there is a very little discrimination here in the islands. If Orientals are not in the top positions in this company it is because they would be unable to meet or entertain mainland business contacts. Some places these people would not have their visitors and it would prove embarrassing for both the visitor and the host who is representing the company. There are some things the Orientals couldn’t do with the visitors and even more serious, the visitors may have prejudice against the racial background of the host and that would not help the company.

Another Hispanic expressed this feeling in another way:

20
We don't look at race at all. You may find people who,granule, but we don't even look at them by race because we don't have a real influx of people from different races. We don't see in our job any discrimination here...

Although the term 'discrimination' was not used by the interviewees, Haole who were interviewed employed the word, and one informant discussed a peripheral area of preferential hiring.

We have no discrimination here. We all get along fine. We are really one big family here. The only discrimination, if you can call it that, is against mulatto girls coming here to find employment. We are very reluctant about hiring them because they usually leave after five or six months of work when they get homesick or they marry. They usually spend weeks trying to persuade me that they are going to stay here for a long period of time. And I usually am really money here since they are usually sincere in their spell and really need the job and there is a good possibility of their staying for a longer period of time. This, of course, is always a problem, and although we don't discourage the hiring of military personnel or their relatives, since Juns has had a tendency in the past of losing good help, we do make an exception. We used to work for a married company before this came here and one managed to pick up loose ends within a week which is also one of the criteria of employment.

It is interesting to note in three interviews with Haole officials that the reason is that no discrimination exists. But that initial response is followed by statements about the jobs that the non-Haole do have. The interviewee here seems to be that no discrimination exists on the levels where Oriental/employee are allowed. Nationalism is also given as to why non-Haole are not at the top of the hierarchical structure. But these reasons, it is interesting to note, do imply discrimination. It is not "good business" to hire non-Haole, but the firm still practices a form of discrimination proper. They are not allowed in the same exclusive clubs that Haole officials belong to. This sort of answer sound like a siren to prevent questions being asked on the more controversial areas.

Wage differentials were not mentioned by any of the Haole interviewed. Regardless of whether there actually is a difference in wages paid to Haole and non-Haole, the latter seemed to feel that there was a difference and expressed these feelings to other members of their own groups. For example:

"Salaries are also based on whether you are an Oriental or Haole. Take two new employees coming to work on the same day on the same job—one is Haole and the other an Oriental—I know it is a fact. Of course, the company would never admit anything resembling this. But it is probably more common than people realize. There are promotions and salaries, though, I think our company treats us very equally. In our office hours, they never bother us and I think they treat us all alike."

Statements such as this, while made by the non-Haole only within their own groups, are part of the over-all covert feelings about their positions in the business and are a factor contributing to their anxiety about their jobs. Yet the overt expressions follow the theme of harmony widely publicized in writings about Hawaii, and are stated grandly at the outset by both the Haole and non-Haole.

One is almost inclined in this regard to see the truth in Stouigard's theory of a "dual pattern" of race relations existing in the islands. Hawaii's system of racial relations appears to be dual in nature; it contains a pattern of equality and friendship, and a pattern of inequality and prejudice. The former is a product of the historic relationship between white man and Hawaiian; that of inequality emerged around the economic, political, and social changes instituted by the plantation system during the latter part of the 19th century. Legally out of this system, with the interpretations of insular law, developed a tendency of races with white American in control.

The pattern of race equality is visible in the public relations of the various races and the correlated social etiquettes, in the legal freedom of racial intermarriage, in the absence of a code of segregation such as is found in the Southern United States, and in the local political traditions and institutions. The pattern of inequality is evident in the plantation system and the general economic and cultural predominance of the white population, in the social exclusion of the various races, and it is symbolically implicit in the persisting political status of the Islands as a Territory of the United States.

The intricate system is not apparent to the casual observer, and it is not clearly in the consciousness of many of the aborigines. Race consciousness and prejudice are not open and public in Hawaii, and they are partly neutralized or driven underground by a real measure of equality and friendship. But each racial group—more or less strongly—seeks to maintain a separate social life, to confine its members to intermarriage and to grant its members special favors. The controlling policy of the Hawaiian Americans is particularly important, for they not only possess overwhelming economic power, but also represent American civilization and symbolize the American influence over the Islands. The other racial groups are responding primarily to American cultural values. But here the dilemma arises. Americanization, or Americanization, proceeds successfully to the degree that no barriers of race impede the movement. The equality must be real and thorough-going. The feeling of many persons in Hawaii that the white American is favored here—due persons of differing visibility, particularly Orientals, workers, and so on—has, at least so far, created disillusionment and threw the individual back upon his own group. And then some Americans wonder why Americanization is not proceeding more swiftly? Thus the second generation Oriental, most often confused with the white attitude of two groups; their parents who may view with much concern their rapid Americanization and those Haole who urge Americanization and yet draw a subtle line beyond which their hospitality ceases. It is no wonder, then, that the social relationships are on a rather tense basis. To a newcomer in the company, or to someone not familiar with the Island pattern, all appears to be harmonious. For example, this interview statement was not unanimously heard as one started off on the interview:

We are really one big family here. The only discrimination is when you can call it that. Against Mulatto girls meeting employed workers. We play in the sun as much as our individual is advanced on his own merit and ability.

In regard to social contacts across racial lines, the following was the typical comment:

On the whole, our company socials are successful even if they cross race lines. Also the company emp. parties are successful and they too cross race lines. The group gather according to common interests and that is what makes the party a good party.

Yet getting together socially outside of the office in social relationships occurred in only a few situations. Such contacts across racial lines were largely on the basis of economic status—those of the same economic bracket seemed to have more in common on which to base their fraternisation than otherwise. In addition, the non-Haitian who move easily in their own social circles and in Haole groups are college graduates and those seemed to feel a greater security that was true of non-college graduates. As one Caucasian department head stated:

I would welcome anyone in my house. XY is an exceptionally fine person, I wouldn’t hesitate to recommend him for anything he asked me to. I’d not ashamed of anything he might do. He’s at home anywhere. Yes, I would especially make him welcome at my home. In fact, the times that he had been over, we had a really enjoyable time.

Among persons on the lower echelons, there was prevalent a feeling that to mix socially with the so-called “higher-ups” in the company was to carry favor and therefore, not in line with certain accepted patterns of behavior within the particular group. This feeling was best expressed by an Oriental, a relative newcomer to the company:

One big failing I’ve noticed about the Orientals, especially the Japanese, is their lack of appreciation. They are afraid of selling themselves to the company and the management especially. They are afraid of “breaks meeting”—of playing up to the top management, because they would be despised by their own smaller groups. They would rather be a part of their own little circles, instead of advancing further. I think it’s foolish because after all, if they don’t sell themselves, how do they expect to get recognized? They all believe that the only legitimate way of getting ahead is through their ability and nothing else. But if I may add, I am not too familiar with the office situation. I really think there is a bright future for really capable Oriental students in any field.

Thus even in this minor way, we can see the development of a healthier attitude toward the prevailing policies and practices. Such attitudes will probably grow as more newcomers enter this field with more education and wider social experience. The interviewers thus far give one a general impression that the prevailing policies are in line with the general business firm and the predominant Haole control. There is a pattern of over-all relationships, but the two main elements involved, the Haoles and the non-Haitians, each share certain feelings about their jobs and their place in the structure, each viewing the total situation through their own specially colored glasses.

The communication between these two elements takes place within a framework of unexpressed covert group feelings about the company and their co-workers, and particularly among the non-Haitians, who are in the subordinate position, a state of anxiety and tension prevails. The present company structure may appear, on the surface, to be stabilized, but this study suggests that it may be more in a condition of uneasy equilibrium. It study suggests that it may be more in a condition of uneasy equilibrium. It study suggests that it may be more in a condition of uneasy equilibrium. It study suggests that it may be more in a condition of uneasy equilibrium. It study suggests that it may be more in a condition of uneasy equilibrium.
MY RACE RELATIONS EXPERIENCE AT WORK

Robert Ben

To understand the following account, a little background is necessary. It begins about 1-1/2 years ago. I was looking for a job where I could make good money during the summer and then work part-time during the school year without too much disturbance or loss of time at work.

At the particular time, I had several job possibilities, but I hadn't found exactly what I was looking for. I was eating lunch in a cafe when a man joined me for a cup of coffee. He was vaguely familiar, but I couldn't quite place him. I soon found out that he was a friend of my father. After the customary inquiries, he asked me what I was doing and I replied that I was looking for a job. "Why don't you come to work for me?" he asked.

"What doing?" was my reply.

He informed me that he could use another man in his tire recapping plant. I told him that I knew nothing about tires and that I would want to work evenings when school started. He said that was all right, that my big problem would not be in a lack of knowledge about tires, but rather my ability to get along with the other employees.

On this, he elaborated somewhat as follows, that they were all Japanese boys and very closely knit together. For the most part, they had been working together for a long time. He stated that they had tried Hawaiian, Portuguese, and Haole boys before, but none of them had lasted very long. He didn't know why, as the boys all worked well together, and he said a Haole got along just fine with them.

He more or less threw the job at me as a challenge. I told him that I had worked at several places under similar circumstances, and hadn't experienced any great difficulty. He then went on to say that all the tire-recapping shops in town were the same, a closely knit Japanese group intercompany as well as intra-company.

"Well, how about it. Think you can handle it?" I asked him a couple of days to think it over and check on some other prospects. I'll let you know on Friday." This was agreeable and we parted. I couldn't see how I could refuse. The job wasn't too attractive, but the challenge was great.

Friday morning, I went back and accepted the job. We established a wage scale and an understanding of working hours at this time. It was agreed that I would work one day on the following day. Going to a new job for the first time is always nerve-wracking and this was no exception. The boss showed me through the recapping plant, explaining what was going on, and introducing me to the employees with whom I would come in contact. Everyone was very polite and accommodating. The Haole boss left with this remark to my new Japanese boss, "He's all yours, work hell out of him." The first day went off smoothly. I more or less just watched the simple task of painting rubber cement on the tires which were to be rebuilt. I could sense an air of strained tension and noticed a high percentage of the conversation was in Japanese. I wasn't included in any of the conversation.

4This is a section from a journal prepared for the course "Community Forces in Hawaii".

I knew that Monday would actually be the start of work. I was left coming three hours daily a day during the following week. Some conversation was struck up during this time. I eagerly answered all questions, but I didn't push the conversation. During this week, I had a lot of time to think while I was working. I was determining in my mind who would have to be hard to get acquainted with, also who resisted my intrusion and who I thought could be won over the easiest and how.

There were two men in the plant, two of them had supervisory titles; the rest just worked there but assumed different degrees of superiority. As stated before, these fellows were all of Japanese ancestry. Above these men in the company were all Haole house. These included the president of the company, who never came around and the general manager of the entire company of which we were just one department. The rapport between labor and management was very close, at least on the surface.

There was no excessive ordering around except when an outsider was being shown through the plant. At this time, I would receive all sorts of orders which amounted to the same thing I was already doing. I felt that this was done to show these people who was boss, that in this case, it was a Japanese boss and a Haole worker, instead of the opposite situation which is more common.

I was always being bumped into with tires or rolls of rubber which were being moved along on overhead rills. I felt at this time that it was deliberately done to see if I would become belligerent. Actually I now know that I over-emphasized this angle greatly. It was only partially true; I was just in the wrong places at the wrong times and in the way.

I surprised them when things were bothering the boys. One, they thought that I was a coast Haole and two, that I was a stranger for the big Haole house. I found out later that they feared I was being groomed to run the shop. My first great asset was a great variety of pidgin English. This got me over the first hump and set the stage for the big break.

The Saturday night at the end of my first full week of employment was the fifteenth anniversary of the company. To celebrate this occasion, the company threw a big party at the Japanese beach. I mingled with the boys, and drank with them. At the table I could see chockfulls as well as the rest of them, much to their surprise. Also, the fact that I would eat any and all types of Japanese food with them. Through this I established the fact that I was a local boy. This constituted half of the battle in establishing good relations with the rest of the boys.

After dinner, we all got pleasantly drunk. The great equalizer had taken effect. We were no longer in the capacity of different racial groups, or as employer and employee. We were just good drinking friends or as they say "pilates."

Everyone expressed himself without any restraining inhibitions. Only one fellow became antagonistic. He sat down next to me and informed me, "I don't like you at all, old boy. Haole and never will, you think you're damn good and are always shouting us around."

After I could see that he was through, I answered him: "I'm sorry you feel that way, but he's okay with me, let's try and keep out of each other's way as much as possible. I think that there is enough room for both of us here in this company."
I offered him my hand. We shook hands, he got up and staggered off. Since this time, I have been friendly with him and met him at parties. If he still dislikes the Haole so violently, he has never shown it in my presence. I found out since then that he had wanted to transfer into the rubber cutting plant from another department and felt that I had robbed him of his opportunity to do so.

The following Monday morning, everyone had a lot to talk about, and we had something in common. I was thus included in many of the conversations. From this time on, a friendship developed between me and most of the fellows. I found that my assumptions of the first week were wrong in many cases. In fact, most of them. The ones I thought would be the most difficult to become acquainted with were the friendliest. I was soon put on the night shift in preparation for school to start. Only two men work this shift. Week after week went by without anything unusual happening. I don’t think more than ten words were spoken each night between myself and the other fellow. I was wondering if he felt self-conscious about his speech. I know that he had been raised in Japan, and I thought that perhaps his knowledge of the English language was limited.

Finally, one day one of the other fellows asked me how I liked working with the “Filipino. I found out that he just didn’t have anything to say. He was that way all the time, not only with me but with the other fellows. Also, I found that he had good command of the English language, but just wasn’t a conversationalist.

As I became better acquainted, I moved around the shop more, doing a variety of jobs. When the fellows found out that I had no great ambitions in the rubber cutting trade, but that it was just a temporary measure of earning a living, they became more relaxed. The idea that I was in competition with them disappeared. A more friendly attitude developed all the time.

About a year ago, a Filipino boy started work there. He knows his job well and works hard. He had the toughest and dirtiest job in the business and everyone was content to let him have it. When he first started, the boys informed me that Filipinos couldn’t be trusted and to be careful where I left my things, and that I had better start locking my locker. I told them I didn’t believe in that idea and would wait and see. After a while, I could see the ice breaking for him as it had done for me, and the fellows again relaxed.

One day after he had been there a while, I overheard a conversation between him and one of the Japanese boys. The part I heard went like this, with the Filipino boy speaking first. “He’s a pretty good Haole, you?” “The only good Haole is a dead one!” was the reply. I let them know that I had overheard the conversation, and that I thought the phrase applied to the Japanese. He said, no, that he had meant the “Portuguese,” not the regular Haole.

Whenever I had problems, I went to my immediate supervisor and he took it to the big boss. This was quite unexpected by them and helped in our relations. They expected me to go over their heads and deal Haole to Haole. Little things like this helped me become accepted as one of the workers.

In some areas, I became accepted, in others I was just tolerated, and in some cases not even that. In this respect, I think of the company softball team. They asked the men interested to sign up for the team. I did this, but was later informed that they thought it would be better to keep the team all Japanese players. They hoped it wouldn’t cause any hard feelings, but that that was the practice. It was okay with me and I watched the games as a spectator. They were glad to see me at the games, supporting them and we all had a good time. But for some unknown reason I just wouldn’t fit in on the team.

In the year and a half that I worked at this company, I arrived at the point where I was still referred to as Haole, but the descriptive adjectives attached had melted. The term “damned Haole” no longer had a bad connotation. This is not surprising to me, as I remember while attending a junior college on the Mainland, I associated with six local boys. Only one of them was of Japanese ancestry, and was always called “damned Buddhalhead.” He thought nothing of it either. Too many times, these harmful terms are misinterpreted and then they become harmful.

Working on this job, I made the following observations:

1. A lot of situations which are attributed to poor race relations are actually of a different nature.
2. People’s imaginations run away with them, and they imagine that they are being discriminated against.
3. The use of a foreign language by others creates a sense of insecurity and that you are being talked about.
4. As a whole the boys who served overseas in the armed forces have a more tolerant outlook on race relations.
5. They feel a big difference between a coast Haole and a local Haole.
6. A knowledge of polite English is most advantageous in certain situations.
7. Generally speaking, the fellows raised on the plantations are the least tolerant, the more anti-Haole. (Comment: They are the most ill-at-ease with Haole.)
8. You are accepted in some situations, but not in others.
9. In most cases, racial tolerance only goes so far. Tolerance, but not acceptance.
10. Hawaii wants racial acceptance, not just tolerance.
THE AMERICANIZATION OF MY MOTHER* 
Kila Nishio

In August of 1922, a little over thirty years ago, Mother came to Hau- wail from Okinawa. She had been living in Hawaii since 1914, after seven months before after her marriage in Honolulu, Dad took Mother with him to live on a

Big Island sugar plantation.

Ten days after Mother arrived in Hawaii, she went to work in the sugar cane fields. She did all kinds of work, including general irrigation of the fields, cutting grass (commonly referred to as hana), planting, picking and pulling (cutting cane slips). Her earnings at that time were $1.10 a day. They lived on Mother’s earnings alone and sent Dad’s earnings to his parents in Japan. In a few years, they managed to save $400, in spite of her appendicitis.

Despite the hard work, Mother kept right on working until a month before her first child was born in August, 1924. In November, 1925, a second daughter was born. But Mother did not stay at home for long. When she was six months old, Mother went back to work for six months, for she became of some family financial reverses.

By that time, they had moved to a house only a few feet away from the power house in which Dad worked. So Dad was able to help take care of the babies, at least feed them and change diapers were concerned. Whenever Dad worked in the power house at night, he would work in the private home of a friend every day of the week, he earned over $75 a month. Besides, he also added earnings from raising pigs and vegetables and selling them. They were able to save some money under the pig and vegetable system, which provided them with free housing and medical care. There were no water and light bills to pay either. All they paid was a five-dollar tax each year.

In May, 1927, a third daughter was born. Shortly after that, Mother decided to weave laulau hats, which were being sold for $2 a hat. She had already heard that it was a relatively good earning occupation. She started weaving hats and selling them to neighbors and friends. She earned $10 a month from weaving and selling hats.

Two years later in 1929, the first and only son was born. Six months later, Mother took sewing lessons for two months. After that, she started sewing for other people, combined to make and sell hats, and took care of four children.

In 1931, Mother had her fourth daughter. Despite having to care for five children, by 1933, Mother and Dad had saved enough so that in April of that year, they were able to go back to Japan, taking with them the two younger children and leaving the other three children at home.

They were gone for five months, during which time they built a house for Dad’s mother, a widow by then. Until Mother made this one and only trip back to Okinawa, she still had not considered making Hawaii her permanent home. She came to see how much better Hawaii was in comparison with Okinawa, she made up her mind to return to Hawaii permanently.

In October of 1933, the family moved to Camp 18, the power house where having been born there. As Dad had worked in the fields again. In September of that year, I was born. Now with six children to care for, and Dad’s earnings reduced to $40 a month, the family was living in a modest home. In 1936 and 1937, two more daughters were added to our already large family. When the new baby was three years old, Mother went back to work in the fields, but only for six months. She didn’t expect any more babies, but to her consternation, she had two more daughters in 1942 and 1943. That brought to a close her twenty-two-year child-bearing career. Our family thus had one boy and nine girls.

In the meantime, my eldest sister had quit school after the sixth grade to help the family. During World War II, both Mother and I helped laulau processing and selling them. We also raised chickens and sold them and their eggs. Since we were all well-trained to look after each other, we pulled through the difficult times with lots of family teamwork.

In 1946, Mother went back to work on the plantation and has been working steadily since. Her wages were now $200 a month, more than twice what she earned in Hawaii.

Mother traveled a long way to come to Hawaii, but she does not regret moving here. She loves Hawaii and America as much as any one born and raised here. It was not easy to feel at home in Hawaii first, away from her family and friends. But after a few years, she became a citizen of the new country and is now proud to be an American.

Mother met the challenge and did not remain narrow-minded. As a result, she is now proud to be an American. She has learned to be patient and understanding in her dealings with people of all races.

As far back as I can remember, Mother has always stressed the importance and necessity of education. Consequently, it was not surprising to us that during the Second World War, when adult education classes in English were conducted, Mother attended those classes two or three nights a week.
a week. It required a lot of hard work, but she didn’t mind it as long as
she was learning. She learned to read simple first and second grade books
so that she was able to help the two younger children in the primary grades.
She found writing much easier than speaking. Although she understands
quite a lot of English now, she still has difficulty speaking it. She told me
she has been shy about speaking English because she cannot speak good
English and would rather not speak poorly English. “When I learn to speak
English,” she said, “I want to speak it properly.” That explains why we
still speak Japanese at home.

Just recently, Mother took the greatest step thus far toward Ameri-
canization. She began attending classes which prepare Japanese aliens for
naturalization. She seems very enthusiastic about everything she has been
learning in these classes. She has been studying the important phases of
American history and government and finds that very interesting. As a re-

sult, she has taken much more interest in politics. Mother has indeed pro-
gressed in a great many ways toward becoming Americanized, and I am
very proud of her.

RACE DIFFERENCES IN HOME OWNERSHIP
IN THE MAKIKA AREA
Norman T. Smith

The object of this report is to show the rather recent movement of
Oriental into certain residential district in the city of Honolulu formerly
inhabited mainly by “whites.” The area specifically studied in this re-
port is the Makiki district. In order to show this movement, a tabulation
was made of Home Owners who received a Home Exemption from the Ter-
ritorial Tax Office in 1940 and of those who received an exemption in 1955.
In other words, apartment owners, store owners, and people who rented
homes were not counted.

This information was secured from the Real Property Division of the
Territorial Tax Office, more specifically from their Field Books on Zone
2, Section 4.

Certain plates or subdivisions of Section 4 were left out of this report
because the researcher felt they were not part of Makiki proper or per-
tinent.

The researcher had to determine what race the Home Owner belonged
to by looking at the Home Owner’s name, and there is therefore bound to
be some error in tabulation. The percentage of error was kept down,
however, with the assistance of the appraisers in the Real Property De-
partment.

The tabulation follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Number of Owners</th>
<th>Increase or Decrease</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>1940: 2 1950: 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>1940: 9 1950: 11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian</td>
<td>1940: 35 1950: 26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>1940: 73 1950: 170</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>1940: 84 1950: 60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>1940: 130 1950: 224</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>1940: 273 1950: 159</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1940: 598 1950: 672</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total Oriental   | 1940: 314 1950: 419 |
| Caucasians       | 1940: 275 1950: 159 |

It can be readily seen by the preceding figures that the number of
Oriental Home Owners has almost doubled, while the Caucasian group has
decreased by almost half. The ratio of Caucasians to Orientals in 1940
was 1.3 to 1. In 1950, the ratio was 1 to 2.6. The Portuguese group has also decreased. The Portuguese were counted separately in this report instead of including them in the Caucasian group, because of the ease in identifying their names and because of the tendency in the Hawaiian Islands to separate them from the Caucasians.

Within the Oriental group the Japanese and Chinese have increased the most. In fact they are the only ones who show any significant increase. The Koreans and Filipinos have increased very slightly.

Within Makiki, there are areas that are dominated by certain races. In 1940, Plate 7, 8, 23, 24, 30, 38, 37, 29, 39, 30 and 38 (the plots above Wider Avenue) were dominated by Caucasians. Plates 19, 20 and 21 (between Lunalilo and Wider from Punchbowl to Kamehameha) had about an even distribution between the Chinese and the Caucasians. The Chinese were the only other race that dominated certain areas. The Chinese dominated Plate 114 (the section just north of Thomas Square to Kamehameha). The other plots were quite mixed in 1940.

In 1950, Plate 7, 8, 26 and 27 were still controlled by Caucasians, but the other plots masks of Wider had been relinquished to Japanese and Chinese dominance or an even mixture. In most cases it was because Plate 26 and 27, near Roosevelt High School the loss of dominance was due to many new homes being built by Orientals on former "white" estates that had been subdivided.

At the present time, the two very large estates in Plate 26 (Kawainews Park) are being subdivided by Chinese "naka." In view of the current trend, the houses that are being built on this land will be bought up by Orientals. This will mean the loss of dominance in another plot by the Caucasians.

Plates 1 to 4, which had been dominated by Chinese in 1940, included many more Japanese in 1950 while the Chinese had decreased slightly. There was a decrease in some areas in this area, because of new stores of various kinds coming in. Plates 29 and 30 (just masks of Wider from Punchbowl to Kamehameha) changed in 1940, had shifted to a definite Japanese dominance. The other plots remained fairly well mixed.

From the preceding information, five conclusions may be made: 1. The Oriental population in the Makiki area is rapidly growing. 2. Of the Oriental races, the Japanese are on the greatest increase. 3. The Caucasians are moving out of the area. 4. Many of the large estates are being sold and subdivided. 5. There seems to be a tendency for races to concentrate in certain plots.

The implications of these facts on urban life in Hawaii, and especially in the city of Honolulu, are still significant. The facts show that Honolulu is expanding rapidly in economic standing. They are moving out of the suburbs, the poorer districts, and the rural areas; and because of their increased wealth, they are able to buy better homes in other residential districts.

**Residential Segregation in Honolulu**

Douglas Y. Tomonaga, and Raymond Sasaki

Social scientists have long been concerned with the problem of the relations between races. An important indicator of these relationships is the tendency in the Hawaiian Islands to separate them from the Caucasians.

Within the Makiki area, there are areas that are dominated by certain races. In 1940, Plate 7, 8, 23, 24, 30, 38, 37, 29, 39, 30 and 38 (the plots above Wider Avenue) were dominated by Caucasians. Plates 19, 20 and 21 (between Lunalilo and Wider from Punchbowl to Kamehameha) had about an even distribution between the Chinese and the Caucasians. The Chinese were the only other race that dominated certain areas. The Chinese dominated Plate 114 (the section just north of Thomas Square to Kamehameha). The other plots were quite mixed in 1940.

In 1950, Plate 7, 8, 26 and 27 were still controlled by Caucasians, but the other plots masks of Wider had been relinquished to Japanese and Chinese dominance or an even mixture. In most cases it was because Plate 26 and 27, near Roosevelt High School the loss of dominance was due to many new homes being built by Orientals on former "white" estates that had been subdivided.

At the present time, the two very large estates in Plate 26 (Kawainews Park) are being subdivided by Chinese "naka." In view of the current trend, the houses that are being built on this land will be bought up by Orientals. This will mean the loss of dominance in another plot by the Caucasians.

Plates 1 to 4, which had been dominated by Chinese in 1940, included many more Japanese in 1950 while the Chinese had decreased slightly. There was a decrease in some areas in this area, because of new stores of various kinds coming in. Plates 29 and 30 (just masks of Wider from Punchbowl to Kamehameha) changed in 1940, had shifted to a definite Japanese dominance. The other plots remained fairly well mixed.

From the preceding information, five conclusions may be made: 1. The Oriental population in the Makiki area is rapidly growing. 2. Of the Oriental races, the Japanese are on the greatest increase. 3. The Caucasians are moving out of the area. 4. Many of the large estates are being sold and subdivided. 5. There seems to be a tendency for races to concentrate in certain plots.

The implications of these facts on urban life in Hawaii, and especially in the city of Honolulu, are still significant. The facts show that Honolulu is expanding rapidly in economic standing. They are moving out of the suburbs, the poorer districts, and the rural areas; and because of their increased wealth, they are able to buy better homes in other residential districts.

**Ecological Segregation in Honolulu**

Douglas Y. Tomonaga, and Raymond Sasaki

Social scientists have long been concerned with the problem of the relations between races. An important indicator of these relationships is the tendency in the Hawaiian Islands to separate them from the Caucasians. For purposes, the distribution of population in Honolulu by race and by home. The general trend is for economy. It is assumed that no segregation exists if place of residence by census tracts is not influenced by racial and occupational factors. That is, if there is no segregation, the members of all racial groups as well as all occupational groups will be
distributed randomly throughout the various census tracts of the city.\(^1\) It is also assumed that complete segregation exists if all the racial or occupational groups, considering the variables independently, are residentially isolated so that no member of one group resides in census tracts in which there are members of any other group. For example, the pattern of residence of Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians would be mutually exclusive, that is, each census tract would consist of 100 per cent Hawaiians or 100 per cent non-Hawaiians.

A number of writers have concerned themselves with the development of indices of segregation.\(^2\) For this preliminary effort, a simple ratio based on the proportion of a racial or an occupational group to the proportion of the total racial or occupational group in the entire city was utilized thus,

\[
\text{Index} = \frac{\% \text{ of a particular group in a census tract}}{\% \text{ of the group in the entire city}}
\]

A ratio of 100 indicates that there is no segregation in a particular census tract, while values under and over 100 indicate segregation in varying degrees. In order to indicate the general trends, the Chi-Square distribution, which measures the dispersion of values from the expected, was utilized. A perfectly non-segregated situation would be reflected by a Chi-Square value of 0.

The principal intent of this paper is to indicate in a preliminary fashion the shifting basis of ecological segregation from race to occupation. The basis utilized were taken from the United States Census-Bureau reports of the city of Honolulu for 1940 and 1950.\(^3\)

Occupational Position by Race in the Territory

In a competitively organized society such as ours, the residential location of individual families and groups tends to be determined by economic position. Theoretically, the amount of income, operating through occupational level, is the most important factor in the distribution of family units. Thus, it would be of some interest to indicate the relative occupational position.\(^4\)

\(^1\)For example, if the Hawaiian population constituted 12 per cent of the population of the city in 1950, then each census tract should have approximately this proportion of Hawaiians in the population. This is the expected number if no segregation exists; in this instance, 12 per cent of the population in the census tract.


\(^3\)Limitations in the census materials necessitated a mode of analysis which at best can only be suggestive. Among the limitations were the lack of data in the 1940 census of occupation by census tracts and race and occupation by census tracts. The 1950 census lacked information on race and occupation by census tracts.

\(^4\)For comparable information, see the relationship between race and occupation was available for Honolulu for 1940 and 1950.
### TABLE 1
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATION BY RACE, TERRITORY OF HAWAII, 1940-1950

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hawaiian</th>
<th>Caucasian</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Filipino</th>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>11.94</td>
<td>48.09</td>
<td>10.22</td>
<td>1.74</td>
<td>26.12</td>
<td>1.89</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers &amp; Owners</td>
<td>6.30</td>
<td>33.46</td>
<td>9.46</td>
<td>3.08</td>
<td>44.03</td>
<td>2.37</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical &amp; Sales</td>
<td>8.96</td>
<td>31.12</td>
<td>16.04</td>
<td>3.12</td>
<td>36.86</td>
<td>1.41</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>11.02</td>
<td>25.02</td>
<td>2.30</td>
<td>4.80</td>
<td>50.63</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-Skilled</td>
<td>16.74</td>
<td>19.90</td>
<td>7.27</td>
<td>12.70</td>
<td>35.30</td>
<td>6.09</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>9.09</td>
<td>14.77</td>
<td>7.01</td>
<td>21.02</td>
<td>39.76</td>
<td>3.89</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Occupations</td>
<td>10.22</td>
<td>14.77</td>
<td>7.01</td>
<td>21.02</td>
<td>39.76</td>
<td>3.89</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>10.36</td>
<td>47.12</td>
<td>10.16</td>
<td>2.39</td>
<td>37.99</td>
<td>2.95</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers &amp; Owners</td>
<td>7.09</td>
<td>26.77</td>
<td>10.55</td>
<td>4.56</td>
<td>46.80</td>
<td>2.21</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical &amp; Sales</td>
<td>9.66</td>
<td>25.40</td>
<td>12.48</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>49.26</td>
<td>2.14</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>11.97</td>
<td>20.98</td>
<td>5.99</td>
<td>7.26</td>
<td>50.41</td>
<td>3.37</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-Skilled</td>
<td>13.77</td>
<td>14.35</td>
<td>4.96</td>
<td>25.75</td>
<td>32.21</td>
<td>3.06</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>12.18</td>
<td>19.91</td>
<td>3.23</td>
<td>24.29</td>
<td>36.07</td>
<td>3.34</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Occupations</td>
<td>11.18</td>
<td>20.71</td>
<td>7.14</td>
<td>15.93</td>
<td>42.12</td>
<td>3.82</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 2
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RACE BY OCCUPATION, TERRITORY OF HAWAII, 1940-1950

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hawaiian</th>
<th>Caucasian</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Filipino</th>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>All Races</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>9.26</td>
<td>18.28</td>
<td>10.42</td>
<td>0.59</td>
<td>4.60</td>
<td>4.24</td>
<td>7.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers &amp; Owners</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>17.89</td>
<td>13.91</td>
<td>1.49</td>
<td>11.15</td>
<td>7.36</td>
<td>9.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>10.75</td>
<td>26.32</td>
<td>28.97</td>
<td>1.82</td>
<td>11.97</td>
<td>5.41</td>
<td>12.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>11.92</td>
<td>13.95</td>
<td>7.84</td>
<td>2.39</td>
<td>12.34</td>
<td>4.66</td>
<td>10.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-Skilled</td>
<td>20.50</td>
<td>13.25</td>
<td>15.18</td>
<td>8.15</td>
<td>12.00</td>
<td>16.04</td>
<td>15.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>40.47</td>
<td>16.56</td>
<td>25.56</td>
<td>25.65</td>
<td>48.05</td>
<td>56.27</td>
<td>47.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>99.99</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>99.99</td>
<td>99.99</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>99.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers &amp; Owners</td>
<td>9.97</td>
<td>15.30</td>
<td>18.22</td>
<td>3.19</td>
<td>12.24</td>
<td>8.27</td>
<td>11.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>10.74</td>
<td>20.52</td>
<td>33.06</td>
<td>4.59</td>
<td>22.21</td>
<td>13.81</td>
<td>16.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>16.64</td>
<td>15.78</td>
<td>13.02</td>
<td>7.15</td>
<td>18.65</td>
<td>17.82</td>
<td>15.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-Skilled</td>
<td>18.54</td>
<td>10.45</td>
<td>20.45</td>
<td>19.79</td>
<td>10.13</td>
<td>20.39</td>
<td>15.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>31.99</td>
<td>15.30</td>
<td>13.36</td>
<td>63.78</td>
<td>25.22</td>
<td>33.18</td>
<td>29.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>99.99</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 3: Chi-Square Distribution of Race and Occupation in the Territory of Hawaii, 1940-1950

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hawaiian</th>
<th>Caucasian</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Filipino</th>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>32.09</td>
<td>4,849.94</td>
<td>162.50</td>
<td>1,925.76</td>
<td>510.64</td>
<td>57.29</td>
<td>7,675.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>277.05</td>
<td>1,759.30</td>
<td>176.08</td>
<td>2,283.40</td>
<td>99.59</td>
<td>31.01</td>
<td>4,596.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28.89</td>
<td>1,517.21</td>
<td>164.86</td>
<td>2,953.42</td>
<td>6.07</td>
<td>138.06</td>
<td>7,023.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31.00</td>
<td>326.57</td>
<td>63.63</td>
<td>2,092.98</td>
<td>471.30</td>
<td>15.18</td>
<td>2,115.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>770.98</td>
<td>13.90</td>
<td>1.52</td>
<td>485.88</td>
<td>12.09</td>
<td>48.86</td>
<td>1,358.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>90.18</td>
<td>9,624.84</td>
<td>960.21</td>
<td>9,617.41</td>
<td>96.60</td>
<td>112.94</td>
<td>16,429.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,216.19</td>
<td>14,399.96</td>
<td>3,939.13</td>
<td>19,169.35</td>
<td>1,196.29</td>
<td>451.14</td>
<td>40,372.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9.92</td>
<td>5,357.35</td>
<td>209.55</td>
<td>1,491.00</td>
<td>718.92</td>
<td>50.05</td>
<td>8,476.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>274.46</td>
<td>275.79</td>
<td>208.18</td>
<td>1,484.40</td>
<td>93.48</td>
<td>32.52</td>
<td>2,160.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>68.05</td>
<td>435.51</td>
<td>1,259.45</td>
<td>2,060.72</td>
<td>363.68</td>
<td>65.03</td>
<td>5,098.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14.35</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>68.57</td>
<td>1,216.37</td>
<td>423.76</td>
<td>18.39</td>
<td>1,374.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>149.84</td>
<td>491.22</td>
<td>109.69</td>
<td>709.08</td>
<td>94.04</td>
<td>92.52</td>
<td>1,269.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17.30</td>
<td>272.79</td>
<td>1,031.06</td>
<td>10,716.82</td>
<td>425.46</td>
<td>27.10</td>
<td>14,172.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>513.70</td>
<td>9,314.80</td>
<td>3,033.31</td>
<td>18,940.49</td>
<td>2,077.31</td>
<td>288.42</td>
<td>25,951.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 4: Percentage Distribution of Race in Honolulu, 1940-1950

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hawaiian</th>
<th>Caucasian</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Filipino</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.14</td>
<td>9.10</td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>3.07</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>15.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.14</td>
<td>9.10</td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>3.07</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>15.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: The data presented in Tables 3 and 4 are based on the categorical framework for race and occupation distribution as outlined in the previous section. The percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number.*
### EXHIBIT 1

**Distribution of Census Tracts in Honolulu by Ratio of Observed to Expected for 1940 and 1950 by Race**

|            | 0-40 | 41-80 | 81-120 | 121-160 | 161-200 | 201-240 | 241-280 | 281-320 | 321-360 | 361-400 | 401-440 | 441-480 |
|------------|------|-------|--------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| **Hawaiian 1950** | 0.40 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **Filipino 1950** | 0.40 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **Japanese 1950** | 0.40 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **Chinese 1950** | 0.40 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **Caucasian 1950** | 0.40 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **Other 1950** | 0.40 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

|            | 0-40 | 41-80 | 81-120 | 121-160 | 161-200 | 201-240 | 241-280 | 281-320 | 321-360 | 361-400 | 401-440 | 441-480 |
|------------|------|-------|--------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| **Hawaiian 1940** | 0.40 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **Filipino 1940** | 0.40 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **Japanese 1940** | 0.40 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **Chinese 1940** | 0.40 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **Caucasian 1940** | 0.40 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **Other 1940** | 0.40 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

**Total** | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29
In order to measure more precisely the difference between the observed and the expected, Chi-Square values were computed for the distribution of races by census tracts for 1940 and 1950. An examination of Table 7 reveals that the Hawaiians, Chinese, and Others group tended to be relatively least segregated and moving in the direction of less segregation in 1950. The Caucasian and Filipinos group tended to be relatively most segregated and moving in the direction of greater segregation between 1940 and 1950. The increasing segregation of the Filipinos can be partly explained in terms of the tremendous movement of the Filipino laborers from the plantation areas of the Territory into Honolulu. This group generally occupied the lowest occupational positions and tended to congregate in homogeneous clusters residentially. An examination of the Caucasian distribution shows the most marked diminution to have occurred in census tracts 1 and 23. Census tract 1 is the area surrounding Pearl Harbor and Hickam Air Force Base and probably reflects the tremendous in-movement of defense workers and families of service personnel. Census tract 23 is the Waikiki district. The distortion in this area is partly due to the tremendous growth of the resort industry. The total Chi-Square value of 70,283.86 for 1940 and 67,184.87 for 1950, equivalent to contingency coefficients of .33 and .46 respectively, were obtained. These figures indicate that segregation by race has tended to decline from 1940 to 1950.

### Table 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1950</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian</td>
<td>5,489.26</td>
<td>3,543.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>34,685.97</td>
<td>30,322.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>8,513.35</td>
<td>7,067.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>7,955.54</td>
<td>11,646.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>16,290.99</td>
<td>12,640.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>7,668.95</td>
<td>2,055.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>70,283.86</td>
<td>67,184.87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8 summarizes the distribution of census tracts by ratios of observed to expected cross-tabulated by all races and all occupations for 1950. A casual examination of the table reveals the greater tendency of equal representation by occupation than by race. The fact, coupled with the greater dispersion of the ratios by race suggests the greater importance of race as a factor of segregation. Disregarding the extent of deviation from the expected, since a greater number of census tracts are located below the diagonal broken line than above, occupation would seem more important as a factor of segregation than race. Analysis of the distribution by Chi-Square reveals that for race by census tracts, Chi-Square equals 87,184.87, or a contingency coefficient of .46 and for occupation by census tracts, Chi-Square equals 9,955.94, or a contingency coefficient of .32. If this mode of analysis is agreed upon, the conclusion is that race as a basis of segregation still remains of greater importance than occupation.
Summary and Conclusion. The intent of this paper was to report in a preliminary fashion the shifting habits of residential segregation in Honolulu by census tracts. It has been shown that the correlation between race and occupation in the Territory has declined from 1940 to 1950. This suggests that occupational position by race is moving toward a more equitable distribution. Secondly, although variations in segregation exist, the correlation between race and residential location in Honolulu has declined from 1940 to 1950. Finally, after analyzing the relationship of race and occupation to residential location, the conclusion was that race still remains the more important factor in segregation. The lack of data concerning the extent to which segregation by occupation makes it impossible to suggest any trend for the future. However, it might be noted that since the correlation between race and occupation and race and place of residence has tended to decline in the ten-year period, the correlation between occupation and place of residence may rise in the future. It was proposed earlier that at the time of initial contact of an immigrant group in a multi-racial society, there tends to be a relatively high correlation between race and occupation. Under these conditions there would be no significant difference between the segregation ratio obtained by using either of the two variables. However, as the immigrant racial groups rise on the occupational scale, it is suggested that there is an initial lag in the movement of these groups from the areas where they first settled. This lag might be called the transitional period in which there would be the tendency for the correlation between race and place of residence to be higher than between occupation and place of residence. If this is correct, however, after this initial lag, it is expected that as members of the more recent immigrant racial groups rise on the occupational hierarchy, they will move into residential areas conforming to their social and economically with their expectations in these higher level occupations. This will result in the increasing importance of socio-economic level and the declining influence of race as a determinant of place of residence in Honolulu.

A NOTE ON HAWAII'S MINORITIES WITHIN MINORITIES
Bernard J. Flaherty

Statistical Recognition of Groups

Hawaii's population statistics have singled out certain minorities from the complex and heterogeneous total for special emphasis and have labeled these groups "races." At the present time, these are: Hawaiian, part Hawaiian, Caucasians, Puerto Rican, Chinese, Japanese, and Korean. This is a curious list involving "race" in the anthropological sense only in reference to the Caucasians. The other groups are all, with the exception of the part Hawaiian, essentially "nationalities." The part Hawaiians are neither a race nor a nationality but simply the mixed descendents of Hawaiians and all others.

This inconsistency in the statistics represents fairly realistically the sociology of race relations in Hawaii, where the groups which are statistically recognized are those which are sociologically rather than anthropologically recognizable. The fluidity of race relations is indicated by the fact that in the past decades, certain races have "disappeared," because in the first place they have become merged into wider groupings, e.g., German, Spanish, Portuguese, and all Caucasians as Caucasians, and Atlantic and Caribbean Hawaiians as part Hawaiian. These, in turn, being in process of becoming one or more simply Hawaiian, or because in the second place, they are too small, e.g., the Puerto Rican and Korean, who are now often listed with the still smaller Samoan and Negroids as Others. It is very possible that new groups, now forming through intermarriage, will become important enough for future separate treatment, for instance, the growing element of persons of Caucasian and Oriental mixture.

Such statistics can never reflect perfectly the complex situations and the dynamics processes. Indeed, the statistics become at least a minor force in the direction of checking the fluidity of race relations in Hawaii.

The Problem of the Sub-Groups

One aspect which the statistics have effectively hidden is that of the sub-groups within the statistically recognized groups. By not recognizing them the statistics have acted as a force in reducing the influence of these subgroups. A personal of student permits handed in to the writer during the last five years indicates, nevertheless, that these sub-groups are still important in the social life of the Territory.

The sub-groups to which allusion is here made involve categories imported from the homeland at the time of emigration. One such division has already been discussed in a previous issue of Social Process, namely, that between the Japanese and the "island" Japanese. The latter group is the one which the Office of Hawaiian Affairs classifies as Japanese. The difference between the two is that the islanders are those who arrived from Japan proper, that is the Makai or "inner" Japanese. It was pointed out in that article that the problem of the relations between Oihi- nans and Makai developed largely in Hawaii where the two groups were for the first time thrown together in large numbers.

The Chinese of Hawaii are divided into Hakka, about a fourth of the total, and Punti, about three-fourths of all, is fairly general knowledge. In this case, the two groups, coming from the same geographical area in different countries. The sense of difference tends to be lost in the third and fourth generation. Increasing intermarriage between the two groups and the process of Americanization have both operated towards this obliteration, which is, however, not yet complete.

Portuguese Sub-groups

Among the Portuguese, by far the largest number are derived from the two contract labor groups, those from Madeira and those from the Azores Islands. There seems to have been no serious problem involved in their intermarriage. A small earlier group of Portuguese sailors were Negroes. Because of their small number and the fact they were slaves, they have not maintained a separate identity. The Azores and Madeira groups to a small number of immigrants from Portugal proper, who were of the native Portuguese who have experienced serious difficulty at the hands of the Catholic Portuguese, but, by virtue of their special character, were subject to a more rapid process of assimilation.

Bacanos, Viscayans, and Tagalogs

Over 90 per cent of Hawaii's Filipinos are estimated to be Bacanos, peasants from northern Luzon. Most of the others are also peasants, coming from the Visayan Islands of the central part of the archipelago. A small number of Tagalogs from the Manila region preceded the Bacanos and Viscayans. The dialects of these three groups are mutually unintelligible. Little is known about the relationships among the three groups except that the rural Filipino.

We may now turn to the student journals to fill in our picture about the relationships among these groups of Filipinos.

An Bacano girl will introduce us to the situation:

A great number of the Filipinos in Hawaii represent the three sub-groups, namely the Bacanos, Tagalogs, and Viscayans.

In general, most of the Bacanos have migrated from northern Luzon and a section called Bacun Bar, the Tagalog from central and southern Luzon and the Visayan from Cebu, Negros, and Iloilo.

At—plantation most of the Filipinos are either Bacanos or Visayan or Viscayans. In the twenties and early thirties, the Bacanos and Viscayans always lived in separate villages. The breakdown of these groups also found the Visayan and practically refused to associate with the Bacanos. These separations were voluntarily set up by the groups themselves and not established by the management.

---

My mother said relating her experiences with the Bacanos and Tagalogs, said that intermarriage between the Bacano on one side and the Visayan and Tagalog on the other. The Bacanos regarded the other two as children, lazy and extravagant.

The Tagalogs were supposed to be mendicant and bought unnecessary articles. The Bacanos on the other hand thought of us as being too frank. The Tagalogs thought that they had little and were saved.

The over-all situation is also well described by this girl of Tagalog.

Villasen background:

In the Philippines, the Tagalog form the most important group (the national language is Tagalog), followed by the Viscayen, and then Bacanos. However, in Hawaii the reverse is true. Dr. and Mrs. Tagalog says that the Bacanos and Visayan called us "treadway, outlaws," because we never stayed on the sugar plantations very long. They preferred to earn money through labor, and it is suggested, dubious methods.

As I've said the tension that exists is primarily between the Bacanos and Visayan. The rivalry and hostility between the Bacano was quite keen until recently. It's been stated that this hostility developed during the early days when the immigrants and just come from the Philippines. The Tagalogs were the first to arrive but since they were discriminated against conditions on the plantations they moved to the coffee farms or went into commercial farming. The employers have decided to get the next group from the Biliran Islands, that is in Northern Luzon. The Bacano turned out to be much more realistic; they worked hard and saved their money. When the Bacanos talked to the workers to cut grades at 4 cents a line, the Visayan agreed to do so. However, some of the Bacanos would say, "We'll do it at 5 cents a line," and of course, the boss agreed. "Then all of us had to work like mules," said the Visayan. From then on, both sides tried to mind their own business to sleep peace.

When marriage was in question, Visayan parents disagreed strongly when a Visayan girl wanted to marry an Bacano. They claimed to divorce their children. However, there are many cases where an Bacano and a Visayan did get married and such a marriage was usually what the younger sons and girls called "have to." Either the girl was pregnant or the man had spent so much money on the girl that he had to refuse him; he would bring him to the girls and mother. The woman is highly prized and the Bacanos want to do anything to win that price at the encouragement him and also refuse him at the end in fact. There are the times when some of the elderly ones occur to immediately, when such a marriage occurs, it becomes the topic for gossip in the whole Filipino community.

Visayan there's a standing you frequently hear the Visy- yam say, "That's a blunder for you. Take Bacanos for pull kid." Actually, it's more of a coincidence that so far those involved in stable have been Bacanos. This is not to say that fruit of the Bacano, however, Depurety, many of the Tagalogs and Visya-
yans seem to think it's true.
At the local theater, you will still see segregation whenever Filipino movies are shown. The Dacoons will generally gather on one side of the theater and the Visayans and Tagalgos on the other side, each side gossiping about the other group. Then in the reserved middle section are the younger people, the sub-groups mix with the younger boys and girls from the other ethnic groups.

A Visayan girl describes attitudes towards Dacoons which she acquired in her home:

"I am a Visayan and ever since I can remember my parents have always warned me about the Dacoons. My parents consider the Dacoons as a little more primitive than the Visayans and as my sisters and I grew up they pointed out to us that the Dacoons were a little primitive. For instance, how the Dacoons prepare their food and smoke their men. I think my parents did a successful job because whenever I stand in any Visayan function I become critically aware of what is in the table. I come from a small town where most of the Filipinos are Dacoon bachelors and every Thursday and Sunday my parents come home and we have a feast. Naturally, we were all invited, but my sisters and I were reluctant about attending the feast because we did not trust the food. I think the Dacoons seem that and we Dacoons always make it a point to see that my father was the chief cook. Even then, we hesitated until my father gave us a specific detailed explanation about the food, for we know that the Dacoons would not feel that we were celebrating unless god meat or dog meat was part of the menu. It has been known in some cases goat and dog meat have been mixed with rice and served at a party. It was also frightening to know that some men actually fell asleep during the feast."

How the mutual dislike affects dating practices is told by an Dacoon boy:

"There seems to be some feeling of resentment between the Dacoons and the Visayans of the Filipino race. Being brought up in a community where only Dacoons were living (I am an Dacoon), I was aware of this feeling until I came across it in high school. A good friend of mine asked me, "Are you Dacoon or Visayan?" I answered, "Dacoon, why?" He then told me his story which went something like this: "I have once in Visayan, I was eating a Visayan girl and really liked this girl. She lived near me and we got along very well. However, her par- ents found out I was Dacoon and asked me not to come around and see her again. I felt really bad about it and couldn't get over it. Then I thought I should do what is good for us Dacoons. I guess. Other way was a good student, well behaved and was very interested in personality. I didn't see any other cause of rejection by the parents."

Romantic about the two groups spread through my community. The Visayans accused Dacoons of being all kinds of "buzzards and rabinds" for food, and of being uncivil in general. Naturally the Dacoons in our community are proud of their dialect.
difference to us, but some of the parents are still finely about the idea of liaisons and Vahana boys and girls getting together.

The Ela

Through these student journals, it had at last been possible for us to accumulate a little information about the painful subject of the Japanese Ela caste. The existence of the Ela immigrant in Hawaii has of course been known, but the subject brings up too much embarrassment that it is difficult to discuss objectively, and the fact is that many Nisei are completely unaware of this group. Yet, the attitudes toward the outcaste group among enough first and early second generation Japanese to influence behavior particularly in regard to marriage. It is largely for this fact that it is brought into this article.

Before the legal abolition during the Meiji era of this distinction, the Ela was a group assigned to ghettos in the suburbs of towns and cities, and on the outskirts of villages. As one student explained:

"Things are strange as prejudice cannot be completely abolished at once. I’ll bring, this caste system has challenged. The Ela cannot be distinguished by physical characteristics or names, or anything. Nevertheless, there still remains this idea here in Hawaii. The Ela are what they are because of the nature of their occupation long ago. They handled animal matter, considered filthy long ago.

Another student gives additional information about these mental tasks:

The Ela’s were the butchers, bakers, abattoirs, browners. They were the cremators and sometimes guarded the bakers. They went through the villages filling ‘genie’ or wooden dogs.

Apparantly, the origin of the Ela is lost in mystery. A plausible explanation is that the introduction of Buddhism brought to Japan ideas of the transmigrating souls and the consequent neglects of animal life. All occupations associated with death and with the killing of animals became ‘Kupa,’ and people associated with these occupations ‘unblessed.’ Such people were eventually forced to become an outcast, maintained by marriage and residential restrictions.

The complete ignorance which many young persons of Japanese ancestry have about the Ela is amazing:

I am of Japanese ancestry but not until this semester did I discover that there were outcasts in Japan. I frequently saw them in reading for the course. My parents have never told me anything about them. I vaguely remember hearing the word ‘Choridar’ mentioned.

After questioning a few people, I find that actually very few people know about them. Many people simply know that it’s had to call someone a ‘Chorikas.’ Sometimes they are called ‘Four-fingers.’

The reason why people do not know about them is because the people in Japan were not supposed to associate with them. Therefore, they actually had very little opportunity to really know or understand them.

(Actually differential treatment is no longer allowed by Japanese law, presumably some of the ignorance is due to the parents’ realizing that the distinction is not sanctioned by law and as a consequence not telling their children.)

I never knew anything about the Ela before this year but it was interesting to find that there were outcaste people in Japan. My brother told me that when Japanese people were first going into business they did not go into the shoe business even on the retail side because people with this name dealt with hides and leather with the Ela. However, there are now quite a few stores operated by Japanese in Honolulu and they are in no way associated with the Ela.

By no means, all students had to wait until their college sociology course to learn about the Ela. A few learned about them through some dramatic event in their home community. For instance:

I was never aware of the antagonistic relationship these existed between the Ela and Nisei groups when I was young. In fact, I never quite knew what the Nisei group was or whether it ever existed. However, one experience brought this relationship between the Ela and Nisei groups to the fore and thereafter it has forever lingered in my memory.

There was talk in our town that a certain Nisei girl was going to have a baby from a boy who was a Choridar. The girl being a Nisei was afraid to bring this subject before her parents, knowing how much they would object. However, at an opportune moment she told her parents and immediately they both flew up. Her mother was especially hurt and cried as her daughter for getting into such a trouble. Now when the boy came to call on the girl, her sister threw slipper into his face. Not knowing what to do, he asked her what justfied such a drastic welcome. The girl’s mother then said nothing, ‘You Choridar! How dare you mark my daughter. I’ll never let you marry her and I’ll even have it to court to stop this marriage!”

The poor boy was stunned for a minute. Never before in all his 18 odd years of life had he heard of a term so ‘Choridar.” He took steps wondering and went back home to his mother to inquire whether he was a Choridar and what the term meant. His mother refused to confirm or deny whether he was a Choridar or not. Through outside sources he found out the meaning and antagonism this term evoked. He did not know what to say and my father had come from the same section of Japan as his parents. Therefore, when he came to call on my father. This was when the whole thing became clear and something explained. Dad answered my question about this whole situation. He told me that in the section of Japan where he came from this boy’s family was known to be from the Ela group. How being a Nisei, the Ela looked upon him. He told me that this boy’s mother, whenever she came to his house in Japan, could not enter his house but had to say whatever she wanted from the outside. The Ela had to really humble themselves before a Nisei just because of the mental joke they had. However, in Hawaii, I remember this boy’s mother coming into our house on my Dad why he permitted this. He answered, “Well, we have never been as Hawaii and not like that here.”

Well, when this boy came to our house he immediately summoned father and asked abruptly, ‘Is it true that I am a
Churibho? My mother refused to tell me but I’ve got to find out.”

Dad did not answer the last one way or another but said that he should have a talk with his family. Dad did not wish to consult himself and he is the center of complaisance, I was quite distressed at the fact that this boy’s mother did not tell him the truth about herself.

A few days later we heard that the girl was sent to Honolulu and everything between the boy and her was through. This girl resonated in Honolulu long enough to have her baby but she gave her baby away. After a few months she returned again to Iao.

Today the girl is married to a Nāiaki boy whose parents objected violently to the marriage because of her past escapades. The Kāiai boy is married to a Nāiaki girl and both couples seem to be very happily married and they both live in the same area. My sister knows the boy who is married to the girl with the past and because of this, she revealed, his mother-in-law is extremely nice to him.

The entire social situation is that all must have ceased both families much sooner and cried. Many people’s sympathies were with the Kāiai because of the manner in which he was treated. However, many Nāiaki people felt that the usual girl’s mother took justifiable. It seems almost impossible in which this boy was treated. This lad was conditioned by every manner of the girl’s family—accepted and inwardly at until he could take no more. I never before realized how much this relationship between Kāiai and Nāiaki families could mean to one family.

In some predominantly Japanese communities the children grow up quite aware of the distinction. They learn to use such terms as “Four Finger” and “Churibho,” in their neighborhood parlance. (Four finger may be a pun on the word for death; a group that is socially “dead.” Churibho seems to be a dialectical term applicable to the Eha. It is not used among educated urban people.)

That the Japanese immigrants in Hawaii kept alive the isolation distinction was suggested above in the incident regarding the prohibition of a marriage to an Eha. Apparently, even the pattern of residential segregation has been continued here and there in Hawaii. Certainly, traditional views about the Ehas are firmly held in some circles.

In one particular case, a Churibho girl married an ordinary Nāiaki Japanese boy. After several months of marriage, the boy’s family found out the low caste of the girl and proceeded to break the marriage. The couple did not go against the case and proceeded with the divorce. After the divorce was granted the girl’s parents arranged another marriage for her and she marry a Japanese boy. This particular family is on very friendly terms with my family. We played with their children when we were younger, and we did not see anything wrong with our association with these children. However, I could sense that my mother would not consider it good to marry a Churibho.

Mother stated that during those days, the parents of a group-of-beardsmen-to-be-wound through the trouble of checking up the family background of the one their son or daughter was to marry.

I was not the first in the family to have been reprimanded for over-familiarity with an Eha family. My aunt had waited to marry James’ older brother but when he was a Churibho, they were not permitted to fulfill their intentions. After the word of heartbreak was passed somewhat, each, realizing the futility of pursuing a lost love in the face of rigid family control over marriages married mates of second choice, but definitely each in his class.

My family wasn’t alone in condemning James’ family. Other Japanese families were equally opposed to any close social contact with Ehas. Eventually, as a result of such strong feeling against them, all four of his sisters married Indian men because they could not find suitors among the Japanese who would also their races out and marry them. These girls were well qualified to be wives, but to the Japanese society the fact that they were “Churibho” over-shadowed everything else. It was very unfair for them to be looked down upon because of their grandfather’s occupation in Japan.

At another time my friend told me of an incident which opened her eyes to the Ehas. She used to say, “Mother scolded me for making slipsppers out of real silk in the YWCA arts and crafts class. She said much badly worked belonged to the Ehas and that people might mistake me for one of them if I continued to make slippers. She made me promise I would not do such things again.”

As is true of all such distinctions among immigrant groups, they tend to time to disappear. The generations now coming to maturity recognize that the Eha distinction is out of place, and their comments indicate that this distinction will probably be forgotten. In the meantime the very discrimination Ehas have experienced last a great success among the males and leads, as was seen in the preceding excerpt, to ostracism among the females.

Today there are many prominent men and women of this class. Nevertheless, they are conscious because they live here. This is due to the fact that although no one knows where they came, people from their home villages will visit with people here and their backgrounds are discovered. Then they are banished and cannot escape. Here in Hawaii, the younger generation do not consider that important and do not have prejudices against them. However, when it comes to marriage, their families will not agree. It is one of the reasons why families look into the backgrounds of their future sons or daughters-in-law.

As for me I have no feelings of prejudice against them because I have not been exposed to this situation before. However, one of my girl friends was talking one of an encounter in her fresh year at the university. An unknown girl came up to her and told her not to associate with a certain girl because the latter was a “churibho.”
What is most confounding to me here is that there are no characteristics that distinguish the Elus from the ordinary Japanese. Unlike the Okinawans, they eat the same foods, dress in the same manner, speak the dialect of their district. In Hawaii, where there is no law about occupations for different classes of people, the Elus have sought jobs other than those they had in Japan. Now that occupation is not a distinguishing feature, the Elus are not noticeable. My mother believes that the only way we have of knowing who is and who is not, is by finding out from the people of a district, the names of the Elus.

Today I feel that although the barrier still exists, assimilation is not so new and blatant. My contention is that people are becoming more broad-minded and not as sensitive as they used to be. Any prejudice should cease because there's no all equal or human being? Who is to say that one group is better than another? These questions will have a long while to answer and only time can tell what the future holds for the Elu group. Will they someday be completely accepted by the Hawaiians without any reservations? Time will tell.

Conclusion

The writer, who spent four years in Kwangtung Province, China, is aware of the deep and long-enduring cleavage between the Puniu and Hana. The virtual elimination of the cleavage within three and four generations of life in American Hawaii suggests a fluidity in the dynamics of inter-ethnic relations in Hawaii which almost completely reverses the rigidity in the patterns of the pre-industrial relatively stable peasant world. The materials presented in this article on the Filipino sub-groups and on the Japanese Elus confirm this picture of fluidity in Hawaii's system of race relations.

SOME OBSERVATIONS REGARDING HAWAII-JAPANESE MARRIAGES IN HAWAII

Kato N. Tsurumi and Charles Nakashima

This article is based upon a study made by us in late 1952. We interviewed several persons, mostly of Japanese ancestry like ourselves, regarding their attitudes and experiences relating to marriages between Hilo (Caucasian) man and local-born Japanese women. Seven of the persons interviewed were women of Japanese ancestry who themselves were married to Hilo men. Others interviewed included two of the Hilo husbands, a step-father, siblings, and friends of these seven women. All but one (2-7) had already completed a college education, and one was a student at the University of Hawaii. They cannot be regarded as a representative sample of women of Japanese ancestry who are married to Hilo men in Hawaii. All at the time of the study were living in Honolulu. Their educational level would undoubtedly average well above the median educational attainment of this category of persons in the Islands. It may be taken for granted that they deviate from "representativeness" in several other important respects. The reader should regard the present study as exploratory in character, and as useful primarily in suggesting the kinds of reactions and experiences to be found among a somewhat better-than-average educated segment of young women of Japanese ancestry married to Hilo men in Honolulu. All interview materials quoted are from persons of Japanese ancestry unless otherwise stated.

As Romanos Adams pointed out several years ago in his important study of intermarriage in Hawaii: "Public sentiment is not opposed to inter-racial marriage in Hawaii. However, he went on to add: "True, there is much personal and family sentiment adverse thereto, and such sentiment may prove in social life of groups of considerable size and importance, but it is the part of discretion to confine the expression of such sentiment to the small intimate group." In all but one of the seven Hilo-Japanese couples involved in this study there was some form of opposition to the marriage that was expressed by one or more members of the wife's family. Below are some of the comments on the nature and intensity of this opposition.

My father was dead at the time of my marriage. My mother naturally objected as all parents did during those days (the couple was married in 1946). She felt I had disgraced the family name by getting married to a Hilo soldier. (Q-1)

My mother was angry with my sister for marrying a Hilo. You know the "haka-neho," and they are like you marry anybody. My mother was "haka-neho" because the figure everybody was going back, short of [Q-2]

My parents were strongly against my marriage. Especially my father. He had always been somewhat of a leader among the Japanese in the community, and he had diagnosed the family by marrying a soldier. My mother objected I think because she thought we could not adjust to each other's ways. (Q-3)

My parents knew that I had been going with (like a man who became my husband), but they didn’t expect me to marry him. When I told my father I was planning to marry him, he was quite upset. He felt our family name had been disgraced enough because my sister had married a Hānai and my older brother had married a mixed-breed. I knew my mother was hurt, but she didn’t say anything. (Q-3)

My father was very mad when (Q-3) got married. In fact, he kicked her out of the house. I don’t blame the mother very much, but she used to tell me, “Never marry a Hānai man and disgrace your parents.” ( Friend of Q-3)

My family all approved except for my brother. Since my father is dead he took the role as head of the family. He wanted to come down from (another island) to stop me from marrying, but I guess someone talked him out of it. (Q-4)

Mother objected when she found out that I was going with a Hānai boy. She was prejudiced because my older sister married a soldier during the war and the marriage didn’t work out. (Q-5)

It seems though the parents regret having been so harsh. The mother used to say her all the time. Later the father got angry with her running around with this Hānai guy and said to get me and don’t come back again, so she packed and took off. (Friend of Q-7)

But this private and family sentiment against intermarriage, as these and many other instances indicate, is often too weak to block the consummation of the marriage. During the present period of change of attitude and action, however, even though a good many people will assume the risk as valved in running counter to such sentiment, the majority may be greatly influenced by it. On the whole, one refers to the expectations of the small intimate group to which he belongs even if it is unable to impose any serious penalty for lack of conformity. While such attitudes may not be given free public expression, and while they are not consonant with the discussions that are taking place in the general social ritual, they may be fairly recognized and widely accepted within the family circle, the social set, or even within the bounds of one racial group.2

The Japanese in Hawaii, of course, have no monopoly on this expression within the family circle of opposition to intermarriage. Other studies document the presence of similar reactions, not only within basic families but also in families of other groups in Hawaii as well. The remark of a person of Chinese ancestry who was interviewed in connection with another study of intermarriage are a case in point:

Well, after my parents knew that I was taking seriously about getting married, they objected, not openly, but in many subtle hints about this one, well-to-do Chinese family having a nice daughter. They’re well-to-do and our families were great friends. In other words, they wanted to make a union of the families and keep the Chinese blood Chinese. My wife’s family was worse, they objected openly. They objected all the way until they found that we were going to get married anyway and that it was no use arguing.

Where opposition to intermarriage has been expressed by family members, it does not follow that there is always reconciliation after the marriage has taken place. In some instances, increasingly rare, Japanese parents in Hawaii have not only threatened but actually disowned children who have gone through with plans involving an intermarriage, and in a few of these there is no reconciliation between parent and child. More common is a begrudging, gradual accommodation to the event as a fait accompli. In the cases we interviewed there appeared to be a shift in attitudes toward accepting the marriage in such cases where the marriage had been opposed.

No single factor seemed to play a predominant role in this process of readjustment. Instead, several factors were operative in the instances of the particular intermarriages couples which we studied. One of these resulted when the parents came to the decision that they were not going to be able to disavow their daughter from going through with the marriage, and that there was nothing to be gained by further opposition. For example:

When she married this Hānai guy, they had no choice but to accept things as they were. After all there is no use in staying angry about it, as it was already done. (Friend of Q-7)

Getting to know the Hānai husband for what he was as a person was mentioned as another factor facilitating reconciliation:

The attitudes of my family changed about the same except for my older sister. After she got to know my husband better and realized that he was a pretty good guy, her attitude changed entirely. (Q-1)

Well, I think after they got to know (my husband) better they accepted the marriage more. My brothers and sisters now talk freely with my husband, and they come to visit us, every once in a while. (Q-3)

Before we were married, I had written to her and called her by phone to reassure her that we were what we were doing. I guess she was still uneasy, but she had to accept things as they were. After she saw (my husband) her concept changed somewhat. (Q-6)

In some instances the previous occurrence of intermarriage in the family has contributed to acceptance of the present one:

I didn’t know her folks, but you know that one of (Q-3)’s sisters has married out, I think that made it easier for her. (Friend of Q-3)

My younger sister is married to a Samoan guy, and my mother thinks that he is better than my Japanese brother-in-law. I think that was in our favor. (Q-6)

Evidence of the success and stability of the marriage relationship has entered into the reassessment and increasing acceptance of an intermarriage in the family:

2Ind., p. 62.
Siblings, who have come under much the same influences as those persons of Japanese ancestry who have eventually decided to marry a Blant, may also be a positive factor in bringing about reconciliation of family members. Within the same family, however, the siblings may very well be divided on the issue. In this connection the comments of J-4 above are particularly interesting in reflecting the feeling of a brother who had assumed the role of head of the family after the father's death.

Her brothers and sisters didn't object to her marriage. In fact, she met him through her brother. (Friend of J-4)

My brothers and sisters didn't object to my marriage. He and one of my brothers dated. They always used to go fishing together. (J-3)

My brothers and sisters didn't object too much to my marriage, but I teased them that they disapproved. The only one who really approved of the marriage was my sister just below me. She and I never really close, and she would back me up in anything I do. She fought with my parents many times for the way they treated me. (J-9)

Only my eldest sister who is also the oldest in the family objected to my marriage. My sister sister and my two brothers didn't object. They told me I was old enough to make my own choices and should marry the person I loved. In fact my youngest brother was glad when I got married to (my husband) since they got along very well. (J-4)

I think (J-1)'s brothers and sister helped in changing the mother's attitude towards accepting him. Even her older sister who was really against the marriage is good friends with him now. (Friend of J-1)

Only my oldest sister never liked him. Me and my brother and my older sister never got along because we been know (his husband) was a good guy. (Brother of J-1)

My sisters and brother accepted him right away. (J-6)

Only her brother objected strongly to her marriage. Her sister was sympathetic and I think that they all hoped such a marriage would come about, since they knew what kind of a man (J-6)'s fiancé was. (Friend of J-4)

Even though many totally-born Japanese, especially the older ones, oppose intermarriage, the very manner in which this opposition is phrased tends to differ from that voiced by the local (i.e., European origin) generation, Japanese-born. There is, for one thing, less emphasis upon the idea of an intermarriage being a disgrace to the family name, i.e., status of the extended family. Instead, more emphasis may be placed upon the problems of interpersonal adjustment that might result from the ad hoc incomplete cultural assimilation of the Japanese member of the family group formed through intermarriage. A locally-born Japanese, now in his early forties, who was interviewed, illustrates a type of ambivalent reaction that is concerned partly with traditional bases for "in-group" marriage but also partly with the importance of close, all-siblings relationships between husband and wife in the immediate family group. In language usage, mode of dress, and many external things, this man has transcended his ancestral cultural milieu, but with the crucial
issues such as marriage he was not able to dissociate himself entirely from the traditional family cultural norms in which he has been brought up. There was, however, a feeling of the difficulty of bridging the difference between the Japanese group and the Hokkaido group.

As far as my kids are concerned, I'd rather have them marry Japanese girls. It's more so with Japanese women. Just figure how difficult it will be for her to bring her Hokkaido husband to a Japanese community to live. He'd be out of place in a place she went to the social functions with him. This may not be true with college grades but more with those girls who are not too good looking and who are not like those girls who are not too good looking and who are not like those. They wouldn't know how to act with his people. That's why I say it's not too bad when local boys marry Hokkaido girls, but their wives will have a hard time in associating with friends. Look at (a Japanese person with a married Hokkaido wife). His wife would probably like to have a good time, but she never goes to the places that he goes. My wife, you know, of another married Hokkaido girl that was married to a local guy. She became sort of that way (developed some kind of nonsense) because she had no outlet, and not too off the mainland.

The reason why the Japanese object to Japanese marriages is because they don't have the family background. I wouldn't want any of my children to get married to someone I didn't know. (He is married and has two sons but no daughters.) If he's a local, you know what he is and what his family background is. The Japanese are particular about this because you know, how you like it if your kid is insane -- that's hereditary, you know. Tuberculosis is contagious, so it isn't. (At one time the Japanese people thought that this was a hereditary disease. There are many who still adhere to this belief.) In the marriage process when the go-between checks the family background, if there's a case of insanity was found in the family, it was reason enough to prevent the marriage.

A position that is still further divorced from emphasis upon traditional considerations and which emphasizes the true and comradeship relations between the persons contemplating marriage was set forth in some of the other interview data obtained. First, however, reference might be made to this third generation Chinese who was interviewed in connection with another study of intermarriage.

I think that they wanted me to be sure of myself because marriage is not something to be taken lightly. When I think about it now, I realize how limited my parents were. But at that time, it seemed to me as if they were a little harsh. Thank God to my marrying B. When my parents talked about my marrying, they told me that I should wait a year or so before we married. If I really loved her, she'd be willing to wait, I knew that. But then, it's funny when you think about this, I guess you just can't wait. I talked a lot about it to my folks, but in the end we were able to support ourselves. I was pretty surprised that they finally saw my way. I guess they knew it was what I wanted and if it would make me happy, they were all for it.

In the one case in our study where there was no opposition to intermarriage, the girl's mother herself, in her second marriage, had married a person of British-Chinese-Hawaiian ancestry. This man, the step-father, expressed views which, if it is felt, are already widespread and will become even more prevalent in the Islands as the number of parents who are themselves of mixed ancestry increases. Such persons have less of the feeling of strong identification with any particular ethnic or racial group; they may take either an extremely individualistic attitude or an embracing the idea of the solidarity of mankind in general and the dignity of the individual in facing the pressures. The step-father said:

"Every parent wants his kids to have the best. I've been through poverty and worse my way to where I am today. I think I've been pretty lucky. If my kids can better themselves, they are entitled to it. They have a right to their own lives. I can help them out, I'll help them, but it's up to them. If they have their goals and work toward them, it's good, even if it takes them ten years to reach that goal. I know the next generation is studying in school trying to get the good. That is good.

When I was young, we never thought of far places. If my non-in-law has trouble, even if he has two thousand miles away, I'll go and help him out. This is a small world we're living in. You must have something in common with everybody else. On the personal level we are all the same. Only when politics come in then you start saying this person is on this side or that side. You know, Communist, or Republican, like that.

Hawaii is the "melting pot" of nationalities. Through intermarriages we become one. There are barriers such as language and customs, but we have a common American language that we can work through.

Another "straw in the wind" so far as future trends in intermarriage in Hawaii are concerned is suggested by the fact that although objection was expressed by some or all family members in all but one of the instances of intermarriage studied, the evidence is almost unanimous that the brides did not experience a loss or "cooling off" of their former friends. A few sample remarks will suffice:

1. I don't think I lost any friends by my marriage to a Hoabla. My friends are pretty broad-minded. (J-15)

2. I was not afraid of the "U.S." I was at her wedding. Her marriage to her husband isn't changing any friendship with me. (Mileva's friend to J-16)

3. I think we have enough sense to make our own judgment as to what we want. It's not a matter of race, but what a person is like or how he is that we look for. (Friend of J-16)

My friends are the same friends I had when I was in college. Whether I was married to him or not didn't make any difference. Most of my friends are school teachers, and we have no special things to discuss. They accepted him before we were married. (J-15)
I don't think (2-1) that my friends by getting married to a Nisei. Most of my friends (like myself were of the second or third generation and were more broad-minded. We knew that they had planned to get married, but they seemed to be made for each other. (Her husband is a really nice guy. (Friend of J-2)

I don't think her friends objected simply, but some of them became a little cool towards her. For my part I liked her all the more for her courage. (Friend of J-2)

My friends knew that (my husband and I loved each other and had planned to get married as they weren't married or didn't look down upon us when I got married. They knew he was a nice guy and would make me happy. I have friends of all races who are every day and not just those who are Nisei. (Friend of J-1)

We have made quite a few new friends, but to racial group predominately. My relations are all of different nationalities, but we get along pretty well. They all come over to our house to watch TV. We have never had much trouble acquiring new friends. I guess we both are friendly people and are easy to get along with. (J-2)

The friends: I've had before the marriage were still my friends. Most of them are friends I picked halls I was in school or through my work relationship. We visited them and they visit us. I guess about half of them are mixed couples, while the rest are all Japanese or all Chinese. We find that the people in the neighborhood are very nice, and we get along fine with all of them. There's a Portuguese couple over there (spelling her name), and a Japanese couple there (spelling her name), and a Chinese couple there (spelling her name). We all own our houses here, so I guess we fall in the same socio-economic class. (J-2)

It seems that the continued assimilation of the Japanese group into the wider community has been influential in bringing about a general change in attitude toward intermarriage. One of the most noticeable trends is the increased willingness of Nisei couples to consider marriage, even if it means marrying outside their own ethnic group. This trend is not limited to specific neighborhoods or cities, but is evident across the country. In many cases, Nisei and Japanese American couples are marrying each other, demonstrating a growing willingness to marry across racial lines. (Friend of J-1)

I think that as long as the people can be as happy as (J-2) and (her husband), there will be more mixed marriages. I think that my parents are becoming more relaxed now. My sister goes out with a Chinese boy and my parents don't object. (Friend of J-2)

I believe there will be more mixed marriages in Hawaii, because people are getting to be more broad-minded today. (Friend of J-4)

There will be more mixed marriages in Hawaii, because the younger people are becoming more liberal from the traditional ways. (Friend of J-4)

There are so many mixed marriages in Hawaii already that we can't help but accept them. More and more people are marrying outside their racial group, and they seem to be happy. I don't see why anyone should protest. (Filipino friend of J-2)

I think mixed marriages will be more accepted in Hawaii in the future. Love and compatibility should be the basis of all marriages and I think that the people of Hawaii are realizing that fact. (Friend of J-1)

In the midst of such a social climate, conversations about Japanese ancestry, along with those of other nationalities, may not only feel that they are "doing the right thing" by following the dictates of love, even though this involves interracial marriage, but also that their marriages are merely another example of what will become much more common in the decades to come.

I think there will be more mixed marriages in Hawaii, not only among Japanese and Nisei but among all races, since the younger generations are gradually breaking away from the old traditions. (J-1)

I think that there will be more mixed marriages. I feel that if I can be happy, others can too. (J-2)

Since the War there have been more interracial marriages, and I think from now on there will be more marriages like them. It seems that instead of being important things in a marriage is the fact that two people love each other such marriages no longer will become more common. (J-3)

I think that if I can be happy, others can too. (J-2)

Since the War there have been more interracial marriages, and I think from now on there will be more marriages like them. It seems that instead of being important things in a marriage is the fact that two people love each other such marriages no longer will become more common. (J-3)

Since the War there have been more interracial marriages, and I think from now on there will be more marriages like them. It seems that instead of being important things in a marriage is the fact that two people love each other such marriages no longer will become more common. (J-3)