

CHANGING IDEAS OF SUCCESS AND OF ROADS TO SUCCESS AS SEEN BY IMMIGRANT AND LOCAL CHINESE AND JAPANESE BUSINESSMEN IN HONOLULU¹

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Opinions expressed by prominent Chinese and Japanese businessmen in Honolulu suggest that both the concept of success and the means of achieving it are undergoing change as the first generation gives way to the second and later generations. Excerpts from interviews made in November and December, 1950 by undergraduate students in a class on methods of social research are presented here to highlight certain aspects of this change. This is not a definitive study, but the material may indicate areas for further research.

The interviews in Part I were made with men who were born in Japan or China and who were judged by other informants as falling within the category of the "most successful businessmen" of their respective ethnic groups.

One of the interesting things about these men is that most of them were the sons of families in which there was a business tradition. They were not the children of old world farmers who came here to continue in agricultural work as plantation laborers. Another point is that they had obtained not only some formal education but also, early in their careers in Hawaii, a working knowledge of English, either through going to school in Hawaii or through being employed for a time by Haoles. For some of these men success is defined primarily in family-centered, material terms of operating a financially successful business which is to be carried on by children in the family. Among others of the first generation, who may have started with these attitudes, there appears a broadening of the concept of success to include a feeling of responsibility for leadership in community activities and "service organizations" within their ethnic group. The programs of these activities or organizations also call for money and "successful" businessmen of the latter type are inclined to meet the expectation that they donate some of their wealth to community and service functions; and they expect, in turn, to receive recognition and status-satisfying approval. In both instances, possession of a great deal of wealth is considered a prime criterion of success, but in the latter there is a wider orientation with regard to what one does with one's time and money.

PART I. "SUCCESSFUL" FIRST GENERATION JAPANESE AND CHINESE BUSINESSMEN

(By Leanora Nishikawa and Sau Lin Wong)

Interview with Mr. N., large retail store owner and manager.² (Mr. N. spoke softly and slowly but used good English. Somehow Mr. N. gave me

¹The materials in this article are drawn primarily from two "team research" projects which were carried out in connection with a course on methods of social research and which were completed in January, 1951. They are: "The Successful Business Man in Hawaii," by Sau Lin Wong and Leanora Nishikawa; and "Independent Oriental Business and Professional Men in Honolulu," by Annette Shigezawa, Lois Sandhusen, and Ethel Godfrey.

²In order to insure anonymity as far as possible, some changes and omissions have been made in the interviews. Remarks enclosed in parentheses are those of the interviewers.

the impression that his main criterion of a successful businessman is wealth, obtained "the hard way.")

When most immigrants came over to Hawaii from Japan about half a century ago as contract laborers, I was only 12 and came separately on my own. I had relatives here so didn't feel too lost. I was a schoolboy working in a Caucasian home at _____ School on _____ (an island other than Oahu). Then I worked for the _____ Hotel Company on that Island which also owned a theatre and a wholesale-retail store. Later, through a friend, I became manager of the liquor department and then vice-president of the Company. After World War I, I returned to Honolulu and served as salesman for an automobile agency. Finally in the 1930's I started this store, thinking that this line of business had a good future.

My ambition has always been to be a successful merchant. I'm still not successful. (He laughs.) This store has become a family corporation and we are making plans to expand it further. Things are going along pretty well for us. Our corporation is strictly a family one of which we hope to keep the capital within the family and in Hawaii.

To me success means possessing good character and working one's way up. Education is important as a foundation for success, but it's up to the individual to apply it, to use his common sense. I regret not having had more education. (His children are well-educated; one of them already aids in the management of the store and is a buyer for the firm.)

I feel that my business is of prime importance, and community affairs secondary. More participation in society and the community would be a good thing if I had the time, but I haven't had the time so far.

Interview with Mr. M., retail store owner.

I had been working for a fish dealer in Japan after finishing 15 years of schooling when I sailed over to the Islands. My father was a sake dealer, a small merchant in Japan. I was young when I came, and sought adventure and money.

I worked for over a year as a sales clerk for _____ Shoten in _____ (town on island other than Oahu), and then at _____ (Japanese) Store, after which I continued my schooling at Mills School in Honolulu for a few months. Then about 1910, fish dealers began operations in the Islands and Hawaii Fisheries was established. I bought fish from this company and opened my own little shop. Then when _____ (one of the fish markets on North King Street) was begun, I rented a stall and built up business there. In the 1930's I bought this establishment, and a few years later my sons and I formed a corporation.

My friends warned me that I was taking a risk to stay put here. My friends were accumulating their wealth to take back to Japan, but I finally made up my mind and was determined not to change it. Now I also do extensive importing of Japanese goods, hold investments, and rental units.

My main concern is to help my children and keep them comfortably provided. My work has all been for the family. I am perfectly happy now with the way things are, but of course, I should like to make some progress every year and advance in our business and continue to build it up, my sons to continue it, with me in the background. It's no sense just keeping and accumulating money, but it should be put to good use, invested in

bigger business, expanding business. Certainly business should be built and more investments made in the Islands so that Hawaii might prosper.

I think a university education is desirable. However, I wouldn't press my children into going if they didn't want to. (He has several children; two sons received a university education.)

My ideas of success have changed since I first arrived in Hawaii. When I was younger I used to think that I would be successful and go my own way and do as I pleased until I was 50. Then I might have time to help in the community. However, as I grew older I thought of the children, my family, and that as long as we had enough to live on, I could help others.

Certainly, community aid is a good thing; if we have the money to donate, we should donate it; and the more we earn, the more we can give. There are many groups which come for donations; let's see --. (He mentioned several groups.) As for social affairs, I feel we should leave them to the younger generation. I'm too old to go out in society. I feel that if my sons are members of any organizations, I am in them too. First generation people are not of much use in the community; we can't speak English very well.

Success is achieved through hard work, diligence. One must work his way up to be considered fully successful. There certainly is a difference between gaining success through industriousness and through luck. Take Mr. Y., for instance. He is very successful because he has foresight and is smart and plans ahead for the future. He outlines his plans of progress and expansion every year and faithfully works hard to make these plans materialize. Now Mr. A. is a successful one I consider lucky; things have just turned out right for him in real estate.³

Interview with Mr. K., importer and retailer.

My father had already been in Hawaii seven to eight years before I came, nearly forty years ago, at the age of 19 from Japan, where I was graduated from _____ High School. He was in the importing business and I came over to build up some kind of business, too. After spending five years in California studying English, I returned to Hawaii, and thirty years ago, built up this present business with my father (importing and selling goods imported from Japan). I like merchandising very much. I hope that this business will be carried on in our family.

I would say that my idea of success is about the same as when I was younger in this business. Basically, success consists of hard work and fair play. The individual's own good character and clean heart lead one to success. Even if a business man is not too wealthy, he may still be a success.

³The statement of another elderly businessman, who was born in Japan but was brought to Hawaii in the 1880's when three years of age, bears upon this attitude toward the first generation person with easily-won wealth: "The people who are socially prominent in the Japanese community attain that position by one means -- money. Education or ability doesn't count but as long as you have the money you get put into the high places. Take _____, for instance. Before the war he was nothing, but after the war, when he made money, you see his name in the paper all the time heading this or that committee." Interview made by Miss Sachiko Fukuhara, December, 1950.

In business, cooperation with one another is essential for the prosperity of Hawaii. The work cannot be done individually but within the community with cooperation and good will towards one another (nakayoku).

Interview with Mr. T., retail store owner, one time official and still part-owner in several other enterprises.

I came to Hawaii at the age of 20 from _____, Japan, where, upon finishing my intermediate school, I had helped in my father's general merchandise store. I came in a mass immigration hoping to make money and build up some kind of business.

In Hawaii I worked first as a yardboy at the _____ ("Haole club") for five years, then began a cleaning business, expanding later to a (retail) store. Finally this store was established about 25 years ago with the hope of aiding the common laborer -- and also (laughs) I could make money in the process.

Although everything's fine now, I would like to see my business expanded further, especially for my sons to carry on. I will not actually retire but remain in the background and help where I can.

My children mingle with other nationalities but my wife and I are restricted mostly to Japanese friends and acquaintances, our degree of ability to speak English being a factor. I feel very fortunate to have such a fine family, and I feel that companionship and understanding love between parents and with their children are very important factors in happiness and success. Education is important also and I would send my children through school as long as I could afford to. (His children are looked upon as rippa -- fine, grand. All but one of them are mainland-"experienced" or -educated. One son is fast becoming a leader of the younger generation of the Japanese community. He is considered one of the bright stars in the array of successful sons who take after their successful fathers, and is already prominent in Japanese civic groups and in organizations of the community-at-large.)

My idea of success when I first arrived in the Islands was to make money and be wealthy. Since then, the meaning of success has changed for me to entail not just money but also participation in community organizations and welfare projects. An individual must join with others to help build and further the welfare and prosperity of Hawaii to be successful himself. The individual prospers through the prosperity of Hawaii. Of course, he must majime ni hataraku (work industriously). And, of course, the happiness of the family is all-important.

Interviews with successful Chinese men of the first generation were difficult to secure. Three men of the small group still living were interviewed. All of these men had received some education in China and had, after their arrival here, attended school in Honolulu. However, all three still speak English with some difficulty and with a decided Chinese accent. The interviewer comments: "Like most old Chinese they were modest, and it was difficult to get them to talk about themselves." Excerpts from one of these interviews are given below.

Interview with Mr. C., partner in retail store and official in other enterprises.

I was born in China and went to school for only a short while there. At the age of sixteen I came to Honolulu to make money and had no idea as to how long I was going to stay. When I first arrived, I went to night school until school opened in September when I began to go to day school. I went for one year, but had to quit and go to night school again because I got up so early to go to work and worked so very late that I couldn't continue. I worked first for a grocery store as a delivery boy. Three years later I became a butcher and was one for five years. Then, I went back to the grocery store and became a partner.

To me success means children, money, honor and long life. Money alone does not mean success. It is only part of it. The main thing is honesty and good character. You work hard in the society and people know you honest and dependable. You work longer and prove to them that you are honest and sincere. They'll depend on you. If you don't do community work, no matter how smart you are or how dependable you are people don't trust you. If you are honest and dependable, you can't help but be successful.

If you have education, better yet. If you get education and work hard, you get ahead twice as fast as those who work hard and have no education. I know this, that's why I want my children to get lots of education.

PART II. "SUCCESSFUL" LOCAL-BORN BUSINESSMEN OF JAPANESE AND CHINESE ANCESTRY

**(By Sau Lin Wong, Annette Shigezawa, Ethel Godfrey,
and Lois Sandhusen)**

The interviews in this section were made with Hawaiian-born men of Chinese or Japanese ancestry who have been judged by informants as successful businessmen in Honolulu. Nearly all of them have graduated from college and also have taken post-graduate training in some specialized field. Nearly all have travelled and received part or all of their higher education in Continental United States; some have travelled or studied and worked in the Orient. Some have combined business activities in Hawaii with work at some profession. A few have been elected to positions of prominence in political office.

Brief accounts of the sequence of experiences leading to positions of "success" are outlined below in excerpts from interviews with two Hawaiian-born Chinese.

Interview with Mr. L.

My background is a very interesting story. I was born into a large and very poor family. We used to work hard for our money. I used to sell papers, and shine shoes. I used to shine shoes even on Sunday mornings. Get up real early, you know. Often we went hungry and didn't have enough clothes to wear. That's why I tell my children they should feel lucky. Just the other day I told someone that I was spending about \$3,000 on my daughter's education. During my father's time it would take him three to four years to even get that much.

I was educated here. I went to McKinley [High School] and I worked my way through school. I mean I helped to support

myself by selling newspapers and carrying newspapers. After graduation I worked as a bookkeeper for three or four years for a mainland firm and saved about \$500. Then I went to a university on the mainland and studied (in my field of specialization). Ever since I was small I had wanted to go into this field. I used to read about it all the time and I set out to get established in it. After I graduated I returned to Hawaii. I worked for the city and county for a while and then went to work for the territorial government. After that I opened my own business.

Interview with Mr. P.

I was born here in Honolulu and graduated from McKinley. I went to the local university but also got some of my university training in China and on the mainland. After I finished some graduate work, I spent several years in China. After the war started between China and Japan, I sent my family back here, but I stayed on. [A Haole firm] in Honolulu asked me to come back and work for them, but I was doing the work I liked, which was building up China to make her people to be looked up to, to make China a nation others will look up to. If I had known about the Communists I wouldn't have wasted my time. Finally I came back and accepted the offer with [the Haole firm].

Roads to Success

What do prominent local-born businessmen of Japanese or Chinese ancestry think are the ways to become successful?

For many young men, the road to success will not be through the "hard work, up from the bottom" path followed by their parents, but through gradually taking over the family business or branching out from it. Evidence of this has appeared in several of the interviews already quoted. The importance of the established business family in passing along business tradition and goals is recognized.

The Chinese started in business as tradespeople. They progressed from a two-basket peddling proposition to a corner grocery store, from there formed partnerships to pool capital and expanded into bigger firms. In the meantime, their children were unconsciously absorbing a lot of business knowledge so they too inevitably looked forward to a career in business.

The Chinese immigrants were in large part tradespeople who started at the bottom of the economic ladder but who were never contented to remain long at any low level. They were constantly looking ahead to better themselves, and their children usually carried on in the family business. Since young Chinese in Hawaii had this opportunity to grow up in a business atmosphere they have acquired much business sense which could not be had from books. . . . Today, Chinese businessmen are closer to the Haoles because of having proven their business ability during the last war.

A university education, including, if possible, post-graduate business training, is important.

A mainland education if one can afford it is advantageous since travelling is broadening and since it also enables one to

experience various different ways of living. But a mainland education is not essential to get ahead here.

For a person with ability who wants to be successful in Honolulu, I would recommend that he should get as much educational preparation in his own line of interest as he can and go into his own business or profession rather than become an employee of a big (Haole) concern. There are more top paying positions open today than there are men to fill them. If people down here would just prepare themselves they wouldn't have to watch mainland people come down here and take over.

It is quite possible that before the war there weren't Orientals qualified to fill the positions that were open. Now due to Mainland and Island education, a change in their position has been effected.

However, education alone cannot assure success.

Formal education, no matter how specialized, is not enough to bring success.

All too often the Orientals consider education sufficient preparation to get ahead in business.

What is it beyond informal and formal preparation for business that these men have in mind? Actually a number of things are involved. Among them is the theme which successful men of the first generation accepted -- experience ("hard knocks") and hard work, the will to hustle and to persevere.

When a person is beginning in business he has to get out and hustle. After he has gained prestige "the world will beat a pathway to his door."

The criterion for success is not necessarily education, but the willingness to work hard to get experience, develop impressive personality and gain confidence.

There is just as much opportunity for Oriental men in Honolulu as there is for any other people -- but he must be willing to work hard.

I feel there is as much business opportunity here as anywhere else if one is willing to work.

Formal education, no matter how specialized, is not enough to bring success. Actual experience is very valuable. (This man who started from a lowly job considered his early inauspicious attempts as a definite asset toward his climb in economic success.)

Perhaps a lot of the discouragement is due to the fact that young people expect to reach quick success without being willing to work hard or gain success slowly.

Some of the local-born businessmen emphasize a general term which they do not stop to define -- "ability."

The most important thing in rising in business is ability, not racial background. However, an Oriental person should choose an open business here.

I wouldn't say that opportunities are meager today. There are just as many opportunities in Hawaii today, but the man who wants to get ahead must match his desire for success with an equal amount of ability.

Another elusive term -- "personality" -- is brought into the picture.

The basis for success is not only ability, it is ability plus personality.

Personality is what counts to get ahead these days. Education is only secondary.

An interviewer summarizes impressions gained from her interviews regarding these factors which enter into success as follows:

Good personality stood out as an impressive factor in business success. It was felt by the interviewees that the person who is able to get out and meet people, the person who can express himself to create a favorable impression, the person who has the initiative and perseverance to hustle will have the nod over the brilliant business graduate who sits in a shiny office surrounded by his numerous degrees waiting for the world to seek his ability.

The foregoing comments suggest that "personality" is thought of as a facility in meeting and getting along well with people and making a good impression upon others. The interview materials indicate that the matter of "contacts," both informal and through established groups, is given a great deal of conscious, at times quite calculating, attention.

I feel it is so important to keep in contact with classmates and associations made in youth. So many people forget that and miss out so much in later years.

It is important for young people who plan to go into business in Hawaii to get at least part of their college education here because their future business associates will be their classmates and other people they meet now in college. . . . A person who gets his entire college education or business preparation on the mainland is at a distinct disadvantage in that he does not establish contact with future local businessmen.

Social relations are more often business motivated. I have many social relations with doctors, lawyers and merchants which I consider good business friends also.

Social gatherings are mostly made up of men with similar business interests and though the gathering may be apparently social, the gathering is in itself good business, since it paves the way for future business transactions.

Since social gatherings do have business value, these gatherings have a cosmopolitan composition. When you're in business, you're either buying or selling, and therefore you

can't afford to be racial and confine informal social relations strictly to your own group.

There is definitely an element of chance which affects an individual's progress. I am not a casuist, but because I have been at the right place at the right time and have known the right people, opportunities have come to me. These chances did not entirely depend on my ability.

Some businessmen give attention to the reverse relation between business and social contacts.

I feel that my position in business has broadened my social contacts.

There is no question that social relations do broaden across racial barriers as one's business grows.

My social life has broadened as my business has grown. I am accepted cordially by both Orientals and Haoles and I accept both groups in all sorts of situations. But naturally most of my friends are Japanese.

One interviewer comments as follows upon the implications which this relation between business and social contacts may have upon a changed role for wives of Oriental businessmen.

There is much indication that social-business relations on the part of Orientals will be more and more patterned after the Haole mode. Haole women have always played a prominent part in social gatherings attended by their husbands; this was not so with the Orientals, especially with the Japanese who considered women to be out of place in anything relating to the men's business affairs. As this old country custom is worn down, differences in behavior will also disappear.

One of the persons of Japanese ancestry who was interviewed on this matter expressed himself in this manner:

Because so much business is conducted in social gatherings, and since important business relations are sought and established during these gatherings, businessmen's wives have come to occupy an important role. However, there is a discernable absence of Oriental women, especially wives of Japanese businessmen, in these social-business parties. I don't know exactly why Japanese men don't take along their wives. It may be a carry-over of old Japanese concepts of the inferior role of the wife or else it may be that these men do not feel that their wives are adequately prepared to conduct themselves to advantage at such gatherings.

The contacts made through joining civic and service organizations are regarded as an important aid to one's business. Closely associated with this are the prestige and reputation in the wider community one may gain through participation in these organizations.

I think social and economic success go hand-in-hand because through society you meet people. You mingle and gain contacts. Then, too, there is an exchange of ideas. You join

clubs for this reason -- the Lions, United Chinese Society, the Chinese Chamber, and the Hawaii Chinese Civic Club. Through all these clubs and associations you gain contacts and make friends. People will come to know you and trust you. It is important to be in society because by working with people and only by working with them can you establish a reputation of being honest and trustworthy.

It is all right to belong to racial groups but I think that it is unwise for one to confine his time and talents to racial organizations. One should make an effort to branch out and take part in civic activities which are interracial. Taking part in interracial organizations is important to me because Haoles and non-Japanese think of me when they think of _____ (my business). I have made a special effort to join non-Japanese and interracial organizations -- business and civic groups -- because I felt that it is good public relations and also because I enjoy making new acquaintances of the sort that is not possible in all-Japanese organizations. I have heard criticisms from Japanese people who say that a man of my position should devote more time to Japanese interests instead of making so many non-Japanese contacts.

When one takes part in community activities, he gains prestige -- the sort of prestige that is not wholly dependent on one's ability in his business or profession. And if one has that sort of prestige, it'll be advantageous to his business.

The more or less calculating attitude which his acquaintances take toward the view that extensive social contacts are "good business" leads one to these well-established businessmen, who is also a very active churchman, to remark:

I think "community work" is nothing but a bolster to human egotism. Just the other day I told a friend of mine, "I wonder what the _____ Club would do if there were no blind people." The thing is that we don't help our fellowman until he is handicapped or maimed. There are in some the inner want to help others, but they do it just to make themselves feel good If you find a man that loves nature and respects her rights, then, you have found a man who really loves his fellow man. But most people work in the community to bolster their ego. They do it in terms of what they'll get out of it.

An awareness of the importance of social relations in business success is inevitably connected with the issue of the racial exclusiveness of certain "Haole clubs." The attitudes of two of the men interviewed on this topic were expressed along the following lines:

Even though many social and business organizations have opened their membership to include Orientals, there are still some which are exclusively for Caucasians. There is no point in resenting such a situation. Instead, if one devotes his time to doing service where his talents are appreciated, he will receive whatever recognition is due him and thus with added prestige gained from such activities, he will be asked into groups where he can be proud to be a member.

The _____ (club) discusses from time to time whether or not to open the membership to non-Haoles, because certain

members have indicated their desire to see Japanese or Chinese businessmen who are their personal friends become members. Membership will not be distributed on a basis of percentage but on individual consideration.

One of these men also stresses the importance of the way "non-Haoles" who have been admitted into organizations which were previously "for Haoles only" handle their relations with others. He feels that the final outcome of any change in policy of these organizations in the direction of a "non-racial" basis for membership hinges upon this factor.

The _____ (golf club) opened its membership to Orientals and today there are more than a dozen Japanese and Chinese members. These Oriental members do take advantage of the golf course but they arrive with a foursome of their own Oriental friends and do not try to mix with the Haole members. And club meetings and social affairs are significant by the absence of these Oriental members.

By these actions the Japanese and Chinese are defeating their own desires for complete assimilation. Until the Oriental man can forget the idea that he belongs to any one racial group, he will not be entirely successful in his social life and in getting along with the Haoles.

The "Racial Factor" in Business Success

Several of the statements already quoted indicate that these successful men of Chinese and Japanese ancestry believe Hawaii is still "a land of opportunity." Undoubtedly sharing the opinion of others that they have been successful themselves, they could not be expected to take the view that being a "non-Haole" was an insurmountable obstacle to success. In assessing "the racial factor" in business success, views expressed in the interviews include the following: (1) "race" has been a factor which has affected adversely the advancement of Oriental men in "Haole businesses;" (2) the alleged tendency of Haole businessmen to favor Haoles in employee promotions is normal and understandable but one that must be overcome; (3) the solution, for the time being, is for Orientals who have the qualities conducive to success to organize or join competing "non-Haole businesses;" (4) employment opportunities for Orientals with "Haole firms" actually are improving, especially since the last war; (5) in spite of competition and "the racial factor," Haole and "non-Haole" businesses share certain common interests; (6) "race" is sometimes used as an excuse for failures due to other causes; and (7) the long-run trends are such that most customer-oriented businesses will have to become "interracial" if they are to attract the increasingly interracial clientele which is necessary for success. It is impossible to quote all the interview materials which bear upon these views, but representative expressions of opinion are presented below.

Advancement of Orientals in "Haole Firms."

I know a boy who graduated from Harvard Business School for whom we tried to find a job. I went to _____ ("Haole firm") and tried to get him a job there. He had the qualifications for a high paying position but _____ was not enthusiastic about bringing him in and evaded the decision by asking for time to consider.

The Big Five has halted the progress of Orientals, because they have not permitted them to rise within their firms.

Yes, I definitely think that Orientals are discriminated against when it comes to promotions.

Favoritism, Including Racial, is "Normal" but Must be Overcome.

The big concerns naturally wish to groom their relatives for high positions, but this is not unusual. Just as a parent would prefer his own child to run the business even if he is inferior to an outsider.

I think it is natural for the Haole to feel superior, because they've lived here so long and have reached economic success so much sooner than the other groups. I feel that prejudices exist within all groups and that many of them stem from economic causes. In many cases these prejudices are well-founded, as when promotions and hiring are done not on basis of merit but on family connections and race.

One of my friends had worked at the _____ ("Haole firm") for years and was offered a better position in another firm. He went to see the manager who advised him to take the offer, because he said frankly, "We have to take care of our own" -- meaning Haoles. We Orientals should accept this feeling as natural and intrinsic. But we should also try to bridge this gap by becoming more efficient and better educated.

Solution for the Time-Being: Go into Competing "Non-Haole" Businesses.

The heaviest competition is found by Orientals employed by big Haole firms. I don't know why they don't get out and form a group to open up a business of their own. Many of them do because they see that though they can get a job in a big Haole firm they do not have the opportunity to rise to a position in line with their ability.

The Orientals who are employed in big concerns and cannot get promoted as fast as their Haole peers may resent the firm's policy, but there is nothing they can do but get out. They should get out and become independent as soon as possible and as soon as the individual feels he has gained sufficient experience.

One of my relatives graduated from college with a business degree. When he arrived in the Islands upon his return from college, he joined a large firm here. He became disturbed at the policy used in promotions when he definitely realized that it was no myth that the Oriental does not have equal opportunity. He quit his job and went back to the Mainland and (got training in another line of specialization). He now is a successful _____ (professional man) on one of the other islands.

The Employment Situation for Orientals in "Haole Firms" is Improving.

I don't feel that the Orientals as a group have as many opportunities in the businesses of Hawaii, but the situation has improved. I can foresee an even greater improvement in the

future as evidenced by the fact that such men as _____ at _____ have been placed in responsible positions.

It is true that there is a limit as to how far an Oriental can climb in a big Haole firm, but the many exceptions to this rule today are an indication that such thinking will become outdated and an ineffective rationalization.

The "racial" factor in business has improved greatly since the war, as is evident by the many instances where Japanese and Chinese are employed in top positions in Haole firms. And I think that the situation will keep on improving and Haole firms will keep on placing men in their firms on the basis of merit if only through necessity since competition is so keen that old policies can no longer be retained without dire effects on the business.

Mr. _____ was one of the first mainland Haoles here to interest the _____ and _____ (officials in big concerns) in placing Japanese and Chinese in high paying positions. The resulting increase in business was proof of the value of his "radical" ideas and soon after many other hitherto exclusive Haole firms invited Japanese and Chinese men to hold top jobs.

The attitude toward this latter trend is somewhat ambivalent, however, and by some the practice is referred to disapprovingly as "window-dressing."

_____ ("Haole firm") very obviously took up the idea of window-dressing to gain back their lost business which _____ (a competing firm) by being interracial had acquired.

Caucasian businessmen. . . saw that the new corporations set up with interracial boards of directors can do tremendous amounts of business since they appealed to all groups. Big businesses began to use the same policy and placed Oriental men in responsible positions.

Points of Common Interest Between Oriental and Haole Businessmen.

The interests of the small (Oriental) businessman are parallel with the Big Five and I think it is a misconception that small businessmen fight the Big Five. Actually, it is the unions and the working people who hold unfavorable opinions of the Big Five.

Due to unionization, emigration, high taxes and increased operating costs, the firms are not expanding along with the increasing working population. Businessmen do not want to put more money into their business because profits are taken up by the government in taxes, social security insurance, and the like. The small shop-keepers are just as well off if not better as the ones which have unionized employees.

Race Prejudice May Be the Result, Not the Cause, of Business Failure.

Racial prejudice is economic. There is very little prejudice in a man who has attained economic success, because he can afford to be tolerant. There is no one pushing him around.

Much of the prejudice comes from those who wish success but cannot attain it.

When any person, regardless of race, blames failure in business to racial prejudice of one group towards another, he overlooks his own lack of ability, bad business transactions, faulty management, or anything else that would show personal inadequacy; instead, he finds consolation in rationalizing. He blames the Big Five or other strong firms of unfair business competition.

Long-Run Trend is Toward Interracial Businesses.

After the war, many Haoles were discouraged over the business reverses and several thousands emigrated from Hawaii to the Mainland. This made it clear to Caucasian businessmen who remained that they could no longer do business with only the Caucasian population; they had to cater to all groups.

I think every man would like to be his own boss but he will not succeed if he caters strictly to one group, because an interracial or non-racial business policy has more appeal now to the island population.

(Do you do most of your business with your own ethnic group?) No -- money talks. The Haoles are just as interested in acquiring Oriental business as are the Orientals in getting business from the Haoles.

We do business with all groups, as is evidenced by our staff of employees. We employ about twenty-five non-Japanese on our sales force. . . . We like to do business with all the racial groups represented in Honolulu.

Changing Ideas of Success

The preceding interview materials indicate clearly that the men interviewed have given considerable thought to the factors involved in attaining success. Between the lines one may detect that to many of these men, if not most, success is measured primarily in terms of the accumulation of wealth. When asked to comment specifically on their idea of success, however, the verbalizations obtained from three interviewees suggest that it is "the others" more than they themselves who define success in monetary terms. They also indicate that the method by which wealth is obtained may be of more concern to local-born men to whom Hawaii is "home" than it may have been to many of the first generation who did not intend to remain in Hawaii after they had accumulated a "fortune." Becoming wealthy through questionable or shady occupations and business practices is frowned upon. There is disapproval of the accumulation of money as an end in itself. On the other hand, there is verbal approval of ideals of success expressed in terms of personal development and community service with resultant recognition and respect from the community.

My concept of success has changed since the beginning because coming from a poor family money meant everything to me. My aim was to make as much money as possible. But now I feel that in order to be successful you must participate in

community affairs. I feel it's part of our civic duty to help in the Red Cross, Community Chest, and tuberculosis drives. I feel that in making money you have to be honest. If there's one thing I hate, it's dishonesty. I have no respect for people who are dishonest and will cheat to get hold of a few dollars.

In America success is based too much on materialistic things. There's too much emphasis on superficial values. Success should be the attainment of your utmost ability. It should be measured in terms of the individual's ability, capacity and skill. You must consider the individual's character, ability, and capacity in relation to his own job or profession. To be successful, you have to have character, native intelligence and ability. Suppose you have lots of money, but no character. If you have a reputation of being dishonest -- mishandle funds, cheat, and the like -- people won't deal with you.

We are too conscious of the material things -- about money, houses, and cars. We look at big houses and we think, "He must have money." So we build a big house to show others we have money. Then, we see the Cadillacs and the swimming pools, and because we feel it's an indication of wealth and success, we want it, too. The first generation came here to get as much money as they could and then go home to China and live. Their sole purpose was to make the most money in the shortest time. In their children, it's a carry over from their parents. The children want lots of money. Look at the doctors and the lawyers! They don't go to school for the culture although they may put on the front that they are. Young people are becoming professional men because of the money they can get, but the field is getting smaller and smaller and the competition greater and greater. Parents of the first generation push their sons into the professional field because they don't want their children to work hard like they did. The young people, along with their parents, feel that there's more money in the professional field. It'll take them a long time to realize that money isn't everything.

Take _____. He is connected with _____ (secondary school). He draws a teacher's salary and that isn't very much, but he does lots of work for the community. He's an officer in several Chinese societies. He doesn't have lots of money like the man who ran a prostitution house on _____ Street, but he has the respect of others. I trust him and even if he isn't rich I think he's successful. I feel as long as you're happy, have pride in your work and profession, then I believe you're successful.