

## A HAOLE'S CHANGING CONCEPTIONS OF JAPANESE IN HAWAII

A Hypothetical Approach Using a Social Typology

CLARENCE E. GLICK

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

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

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

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

It may easily be assumed that when he first arrives in Honolulu our Mr. H. T. Mainland-Haole does not recognize many of those he sees and

meets as of Japanese ancestry. He sees that most of the people at the dock and on the streets are not Caucasians like himself, but these unfamiliar faces are to him all part of one large category that he thinks of as "the natives." He has seen occasional references in Mainland newspapers to the fact that in addition to whites and "native Hawaiians" there are a great many Japanese, Chinese, and mixed-bloods in Hawaii. He hasn't heard that there are Puerto Ricans, Portuguese, Koreans, and Filipinos and even a few other kinds of people here. Which among these many people, whom he now sees for the first time, are Japanese he can't be certain. But because he has heard more about the Hawaiians and Japanese than about any of the other groups, if he tries to classify anyone he sees he will probably think of him as belonging to one or the other of these two groups. Generally, his reactions toward all of the non-whites are dominated by, "They're not like me." As he shifts from this negative reaction based on their difference from himself he begins to use the more positive label, "Oriental," as a convenient way of lumping together all the people of Japanese, Chinese, Korean, and Filipino ancestries who are neither "white" nor Hawaiian.

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

After circulating among social and business groups in Honolulu, mostly made up of "coast Haoles" like himself, Mr. H. T. Mainland-Haole begins to acquire some stereotyped notions about the different kinds of "Orientals" and of other peoples in Hawaii. "Japanese" or "Jap" becomes one of those stereotypes, along with "Chinese," "Filipinos," "Puerto Ricans," "Portagees," "Kanakas," and "Koreans." Some of the groups he begins to get ideas about are those he didn't even know existed when he arrived. Mostly based on second-hand information from Haoles like himself, these stereotypes are very crude guideposts to the interracial world which surrounds him. With notions he has gotten about physical features, dress, names, occupations, characteristic mannerisms, vices, and habits, he begins to sort out the people he meets into racial categories. He has learned about these other groups, but he actually hasn't learned to know them as people and perhaps is even more socially distant from them than the day he landed. Many of the second-hand ideas he has acquired carried with them prejudices and overtones of attitudes which he uncritically absorbed. Looking through these colored and pre-focussed glasses, he "sees" many things which fit into the stereotypes. If there are a multitude of other things to be observed, he is unaware of them.

If Mr. Mainland-Haole's direct contacts with people of Japanese ancestry are infrequent or are formal and impersonal and if his contacts with other Haoles continue to be largely among those who share the stereotypes which he first acquired, his own stereotypes become crystallized into a fixed set of ideas and attitudes about "Japs" or "Japanese" - or "Buddha-heads," as he may come to call them. He holds and expresses with complete self-confidence beliefs about their "peculiar" tastes, habits, mannerisms, ways of doing business, and "things you have to watch when you're dealing with them." If he has contacts with a particular person of Japanese ancestry who maintains some reserve and decorum in his manner, the stereotype

remains intact. In time the mental picture may be filled in with a great many details about almost every aspect of life --- economic motives, sex practices, family life, religious beliefs, political behavior, educational activities, and so on. On each of these points Mr. Mainland-Haole has a ready generalization which is introduced with, "Well, you take these Japanese now . . ."

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

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

Through Mr. Tanaka, or through impressions about Japanese people that Mrs. Mainland-Haole has gotten from Mrs. Nakamura, her laundress, the number of "exceptions" to the still active stereotype increases, and soon the "exceptions" themselves begin to fall into subsidiary stereotypes. The behavior of Mrs. Nakamura, who has worked for months for the Mainland-Haole family, has been the subject of many after-dinner conversations with other Haoles. Gradually Mrs. Nakamura has become a mama-san and Mr. Kimura, the yardman, has become papa-san. Particular personal traits become associated in Mr. Mainland-Haole's mind with these particular kind of Japanese, having some of the characteristics of Mainland domestic workers but with certain idiosyncrasies which puzzle, amuse, and sometimes exasperate their employers.

Now Mr. Mainland-Haole is himself something of an "exception" in his own group. He becomes interested in finding out more about the Japanese in Hawaii, because some of the things Mr. Tanaka has said he doesn't quite understand. Rather unsystematically he begins to pick up information here and there as he chances upon it in the local newspapers, on the radio, or in luncheon conversations. He sees and hears references to the 100th and the 442nd Battalions. The paper occasionally refers to the "AJA's" which at first means nothing to him though finally he learns that this means "Americans of Japanese Ancestry." He has known that while many of the Japanese living in Hawaii were born in Japan most of the younger ones were

born in Hawaii. In fact, he now remembers hearing Haoles use the term "Hawaiian-born Japanese." Someone tells him that although these young people of Japanese ancestry who were born in Hawaii do not commonly refer to themselves as "Hawaiian-born Japanese," neither do they frequently call themselves "AJA's." The latter is a designation that seems to have originated among those of Japanese ancestry who were born in California and other West Coast States. He is told that the term "AJA" became more prevalent during and after the war when young men of Japanese ancestry who had served in the 100th Battalion or other military units with Mainland-born Japanese returned to the Islands, and its usage seems to be connected particularly with situations connected with their war-experience or citizenship.

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

Mr. Mainland-Haole now concludes that "Nisei" is the equivalent among Japanese people in Hawaii for the longer and more awkward term, "Hawaiian-born Japanese," which he had heard the local Haoles use. He realizes that the Nisei, having been born in Hawaii, is eligible to American citizenship and in fact is an American citizen. "Nisei" generally carries the impression of someone young or at least not beyond middle age. The Nisei seems to be someone more Americanized than his parents so Mr. Mainland-Haole begins to realize that there are some cultural differences between these types of Japanese. And what about those "Sansei" and "Kibei"? His Japanese-speaking friends seem to use them to refer to some, but not all, of the persons of Japanese ancestry born in Hawaii. In finding out more about these terms, his understanding of the term "Nisei" comes somewhat closer to its usage among Japanese-speaking people themselves. It now appears to mean literally "second generation," that is, the children of immigrant parents, while "Sansei" means "third generation," the children of Nisei and grandchildren of Issei. When he asks if there is a term for fourth generation he learns that the Issei did not start coming to Hawaii long enough ago for many fourth generation children to have been born. But he is told that the first syllables of these words -- Issei, Nisei, and Sansei -- simply indicate in Japanese the ideas, one, two, three, and, following the same principle, when the fourth generation becomes numerous they may be known as "Yonsei" if Japanese words are still in common use in Hawaii when that time comes.

But there are still the "Kibei" to be accounted for. This word, Mr. Mainland-Haole discovers, literally means "returned to America." Logically, he thinks, this should include any Issei who has paid a visit to the land of his birth, but it actually has a different meaning. He learns that many of the early Japanese migrants did not believe that the Hawaii of the 'nineties and early 1900's compared favorably with Japan as a place in which to rear and educate children. Consequently, they sent children, particularly sons, back to Japan for those purposes. Mr. Mainland-Haole's Japanese friends explain to him the strength of Japanese family ties and the responsibilities of sons to their parents to account for the decision of some immigrants to send some of their children to live with and serve aged grandparents in Japan. If, after a number of years in Japan, these children, who otherwise would have been like the rest of the Nisei, return to Hawaii they are set off from the Hawaiian-reared Nisei of their own age as "different," "not American," and the term "Kibei" is applied to them. It seems then that the "Kibei" is a "Nisei" who because of his experience in Japan is in culture and personality more like an "Issei" than a "Nisei."

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

One of the things he has learned from the lectures on the Japanese family is that in the traditional family in Japan members had different roles according to their place in the family. Mutual respect depended on how well members carried out their roles -- the patriarchal father (otōsan), the subordinate and self-effacing yet dignified wife (okāsan), the privileged sons (botchan), the quiet, obedient, subservient daughters (ojōsan). He has heard about the match-maker (baikainin, baishakunin, nakaudo) who arranges marriages between families. He has learned something about classes in old Japan, bushido, and the samurai tradition, and also about the outcaste group, the Eta or chorinbo, seldom referred to in public conversation.

Now that he has learned so much about the Japanese background, he looks hopefully at the Tanaka family to supply illustrations of all the fascinating culture patterns and social roles he has been reading and hearing about. But here he is considerably let down. The family that he has thought of as being "Japanese" hardly seems to be Japanese at all. The Tanaka's nice new home is attractive and in good taste, but it looks like the homes of most of Mr. Mainland-Haole's other friends. The Tanaka children certainly don't seem to fit the picture of the quiet respectful daughters and sons of the traditional Japanese patriarchal family -- they don't bow to their

parents; Mrs. Tanaka complains about the same things that Mrs. Mainland-Haole complains about in her children; the boys are more absorbed in baseball than in judo and the girls would rather learn the hula than the ritual of the tea ceremony. When Mr. Mainland-Haole talks to Mr. Tanaka about all this, Mr. Tanaka reminds him that they are just one family and that he and his wife, both University graduates, have rather gotten away from traditional Japanese patterns -- in fact, Mr. Tanaka remarks that Mr. Mainland-Haole knows more about the Japanese culture than Mr. Tanaka himself knows. But when Mr. Mainland-Haole meets Mr. Tanaka's parents and some of his more conservative Japanese friends, he learns that in many Japanese families in Hawaii much of the older ancestral culture still persists. Although Mr. Tanaka and his family go to the Congregational Church, his parents still attend ceremonies at a Buddhist temple and some of the Tanaka children's friends belong to the Young Buddhist Association, go to Japanese language school, and the boys take judo lessons.

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

One of the firmest parts of Mr. Mainland-Haole's early stereotype about the Japanese was that "they certainly stick together." But as his circle of Japanese acquaintances grows he begins to wonder if they do stick together as much as he thought, or at all. He hears derogatory remarks about certain kinds of Japanese made by other Japanese, often in terms which he realizes are certainly not complimentary, though he isn't quite sure what they mean.

In connection with the young people's decisions about marriage, Mr. Mainland-Haole has run across certain divisions among the Japanese group. Apparently one of the reasons why the Issei parents are so concerned about exercising some control over their children's marriages is

that there are particular groups among the Japanese immigrants who do not want their children to marry each other. Mr. Mainland-Haole learns for the first time that there are two main groups among the immigrants -- the Naichi who came from "Japan proper" and the Okinawans who came from a group of islands southwest of Japan known as the Ryukyu Islands, of which one is Okinawa, well known in World War II. As he learns more about the Okinawans, whom he had at first assumed to be "just a kind of Japanese," he finds that they had had a long history more associated with China than Japan before the Ryukyus were taken over by the Japanese in the Nineteenth century. Okinawan immigrants still spoke a language which was distinct from Japanese, although they also used Japanese. Okinawans, he finds, had many distinctive cultural practices, such as the tattooing of married women, which set off the Okinawan immigrants from the Naichi, who rather looked down upon them. With attitudes of superiority toward the Okinawans, the Naichi generally opposed marriage of their children to children from Okinawan families and the Okinawans usually reciprocated with similar attitudes.

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

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

Mr. Mainland-Haole by this time has gotten on such frank terms with Mr. Tanaka that they can discuss almost any subject and Mr. Tanaka answers Mr. Mainland-Haole's questions about the differences among the Japanese very freely. Occasionally, on picnics at the beach, Mr. Tanaka talks about some of the things that happened to the Japanese in Hawaii during the war years and some of the "types" that seemed to appear then. There was the katta-gumi, the "victory club" member, almost always an Issei, occasionally a Kibei, who was so sure Japan would win that he could not be convinced that Japan had actually been defeated; there was the inu, the informer, who worked with the Haole intelligence officers in Hawaii, giving both true and false information which led to the internment of hundreds of Isseis and Kibeis; there were the kamikaze, the baka-bomb, and the kamikuzu, names given to those Nisei girls who associated, with different degrees of intimacy, with Haole soldiers and defense workers, in spite of protests from family members and friends; and there was the kotonk, the Mainland-born Japanese with whom the Hawaii-born Japanese came suddenly into contact in the Army and from whom they felt distinctly different. After the war, there appeared among the Japanese, as among the Haoles, the "vet," the "disabled vet" and the "52-20 man," whose most important characteristic is their emphasis on their military service during the war years. As Mr. Tanaka explains, most of these terms are already passing out of usage by 1950.

Mr. Mainland-Haole by now has had a good many informal contacts with the Tanaka family and their friends. Mrs. Mainland-Haole has met some mutual friends of the Tanaka's at the Y.W.C.A. and the P.T.A. and while working together with them she has come to acquire distinctive impressions of a good many different "types" of persons of Japanese ancestry whom she discusses with Mr. Mainland-Haole. They are both impressed with the great differences among their Japanese acquaintances in regard to what they think of as "Americanization."

When Mr. Mainland-Haole listens to Mr. Tanaka talking and joking with other Japanese, he hears a good many phrases which seem to be applied to different people in the Japanese community and he pins Mr. Tanaka down about their meaning. Most of them seem to have something to do with how Americanized some of the Japanese regard each other. These terms range from the label "Japan-hiki," applied to people who have hardly any American ways, all the way to "real Haolefied" which means that the persons referred to are "as American as any Haoles." Between these two extremes there are many other types. From Mr. Tanaka and other Nisei friends, Mr. Mainland-Haole finds out that there are actually dozens of terms used to designate a great variety of types of personalities among people of Japanese ancestry in Hawaii, some of them traditional types which have long been known and referred to in Japan, some of them types that seem to have appeared only in Hawaii and with different types among the Issei, Nisei, Sansei and Kibei.

Mr. Mainland-Haole becomes familiar with the connotations of some of these terms so that when he hears his Nisei friends using them they give him an idea of the way the persons referred to are regarded by other members of the "Japanese community." Of course, "the Japanese community," after he gets to know a good many persons of Japanese ancestry, hardly seems to him to be a community at all, any more than the Haoles make up a community, but when the Japanese in Hawaii are referred to en masse, "the Japanese community" seems to be the phrase used. In "the Japanese community," then, certain social types seem to have become defined in local usage and Mr. Mainland-Haole becomes interested in learning what the types are and sometimes, in his own contacts with persons of Japanese ancestry, he finds himself using them mentally to classify those he meets. Roughly listing them along a sort of line from the least Americanized to the most Americanized, he thinks of them in an "order of assimilation."

Least assimilated is the "Japan-hiki," generally an Issei, who is a strong and ardent defender of doing things in the traditional Japanese way. Next comes the "Japan-bobura," usually an Issei or Kibei, who is something of a "greenhorn" in Hawaii. He is ridiculed by the more Americanized Nisei, while the Japan-hiki would point to him as a model of conduct. The okusan, the dignified Issei "Japanese lady" in Hawaii follows modified standards for an upper-class woman in Japan and is unconcerned about what Haoles or other non-Japanese groups think about her. The sensei, bonsan, isha, the dignified teacher, priest, and doctor, respectively, are part of the upper-class among Issei Japanese in Hawaii, conscious of their superior positions, but like the okusan, modifying their conduct somewhat from the standards that would be set for them in Japan. They are somewhat more concerned than the okusan about what Haoles think of them. While the Nisei accord a certain amount of respect to the okusan, sensei, bonsan, and isha, who are Issei, they are likely to make fun of the botchan, the son, and the ojōsan, the dutiful daughter, who are the "good boy" and "good girl."

The real leaders in the "Japanese community" of Hawaii are sometimes referred to as the yushi or yushika. They are likely to have taken on



more Western ways than the bonsan or the sensei and are more involved in community activities affecting the status or "face" of the Japanese in the larger, interracial community. They are more sensitive to what Haoles, particularly Haole leaders, think of them. In contrast to the yushika is the odatemon, a "sham big shot" among the Issei. He is a vain person, a flatterer, he expresses his emotions or praise of another Issei much more volubly than would a well-bred Japanese and is therefore suspected and disliked. His more open expression of emotions marks him as an Issei who has been more influenced by Western ways of acting than most of his generation. Another Issei type who has had contacts with Haoles but unpleasant and frustrating ones is the "Haole-hater."

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

Among the Nisei, Mr. Mainland-Haole learns, there are many types which seem to be products of different kinds of life in Hawaii. The furyoshonin is the Nisei pool-hall bum, with little education and so not really as much Americanized through the public school system as other Niseis. He associates mostly with others of his kind. He generally knows no Haoles intimately and doesn't care to. A term which apparently originated among the Hawaiians, bla-lah, a corruption of the word "brother," has come to be used to refer to teen-agers and late adolescents of any racial extraction in Hawaii who have characteristics somewhat like those of the zoot-suiter on the mainland. Mr. Mainland-Haole had noticed all over Honolulu boys in twos and threes, sometimes larger groups, with long, heavily oiled, elaborately combed hair, known sometimes as "duck-tail" or "chicken-ass," tight jeans and brilliant sport shirts, sometimes near pool-halls, sometimes at public playgrounds and parks or near the public beaches. He learns that a Nisei bla-lah has broken away almost entirely from the social role of the son in the traditional Japanese family. The bla-lah associates on a lower or lower-middle class level with youths of other races, uses an Island dialect as his natural way of talking, understands some Japanese but speaks less. Because there are few young Haoles in Hawaii on this same class and cultural level he rarely has any intimate contacts with Haoles. What contacts he does have with them may be in the form of conflicts with Haole military personnel who try and may succeed in dating the titas (local word for "sisters"), the female equivalent of the bla-lahs.

Among the young Nisei girls are the odori-mushi ("dance bugs"), teen-age high school products interested in modern dance music and dance steps, roller skating, bowling, movies, radio comedies, autograph hunts, and the general run of American interests which are typical of American bobby-soxers. The odori-mushi has few contacts with Haoles and usually has no strong feeling toward them one way or another. She is not quite as emancipated from her family as the girl referred to as abura-mushi ("cockroach") who breaks away from parental restraints and plays a fast and frequently losing game with her many Nisei and other boy friends. The abura-mushi is likely to become one of the type called by other Nisei, "Haole-meat" -- the girl who has turned to single and lonesome Haole soldiers and other transient Haoles who want female companionship. She gets a reputation among Nisei boys of being "loose" with the Haole men and they stop dating her. During the war she was the kamikaze. When she marries it

is likely to be to a Haole and if her husband leaves her, as is common, she marries another Haole of the same type. Her companions are likely to be other Nisei girls of the same kind as herself.

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

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

During the course of Mr. Mainland-Haole's experiences, several important changes have occurred in his mental conception of the Japanese. First, he learned to distinguish them from other non-Haole groups in the population. Second, he built up an elaborate stereotype which he applied indiscriminately to all Japanese. Third, he began to recognize some persons who were different from his stereotypes whom he considered "exceptions." Fourth, the exceptions became so numerous that he had to modify his general stereotype by making "sub-stereotypes." Fifth, these stereotypes began to be inadequate and he adopted a new approach, attempting to learn more about the Japanese culture. Sixth, with that background he came to realize that the Japanese in Hawaii, like other groups, have gone through many changes. Seventh, he came to recognize more and more divisions within the Japanese groups. Eighth, he became aware of deviations among personality patterns and social types recognized among the Japanese themselves. Lastly, he came to know Japanese in Hawaii as individual human beings who share a certain cultural and historical background which give them group identification, but who have all the variations in personality of any large, literate population.