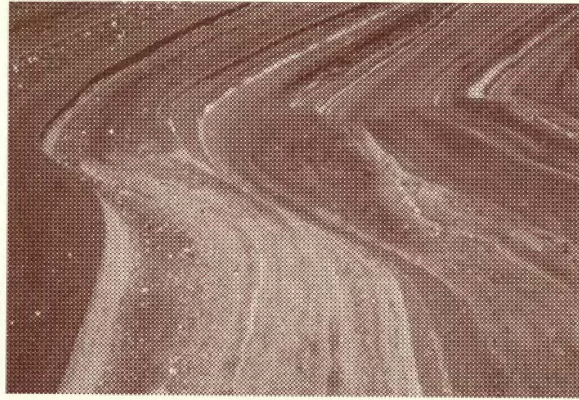


HORIZONS

a journal of international writing and art



kapi'olani community college • 1998



Aloha and welcome to Horizons,

This issue of Horizons attempts to illuminate the many paths that students of Kapiolani Community College have taken. The varied backgrounds, experiences, and the differing points of view of its students make Kapiolani Community College the magical place that it is. Please join us on this wonderful journey of discovery and insight.

The editors would like to thank all who have submitted pieces, and for sharing their thoughts with us. We encourage all students to continue to submit works for consideration. We regret that not every work could be recognized but we encourage you to submit your future essays, poems, and art for next years' Horizons.

Horizons would especially like to thank the instructors who have encouraged their students to submit writing assignments for this publication: Ranee Cervania, John Cole, Janice Cook, Leigh Dooley, Robin Fujikawa, Chris HacsKaylo, Carl Hefner, Louise Pagotto and Loretta Pang.

The editors would like to extend a great Mahalo to Winifred Au, advisor.

Enjoy the Journey !

Marc Guyot Co- Editor,
Michael Thompson Co-Editor,
Kathy Smith Associate Editor
Cathy Wood Associate Editor,

Horizons

A journal of International writing and art

1998

Volume VI

Kapi'olani Community College 4303 Diamond Head Road Honolulu, Hawaii'i 96816

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Letter to Hong

By Wan Na Zheng

Dear Hong:

How are you? First of all, I wish you have a happy life, and everything is ok with you!

The time seems to go by so fast, at this moment, we have parted for about three years. Yet, I still miss the life back home in China. I've been here in Hawai'i for three years already.

How does Hawai'i look like? Not only you, but many friends have ask me this question. And me too, I've been trying to find out the answer in these three years.

As you know, Hawai'i has a reputation of being a "paradise." It is really a nice place for sight-see and vacation. The weather is the first attribute. There's no winter in Hawai'i, the weather here is just like the springtime in our hometown. It's always sunny. It will become a little cold only around Christmas time. Because the nice weather, the city here is just like a garden. You can find trees, grass field and flowers anywhere. Hawai'i is a paradise for plants and flowers. This is my first impression of Hawai'i. I still remember, the first time when I was on the ride from airport back to town, I was really suprised that I found there were so many flowers by the road. They are so colorful. Even the trees, many of them bloom with flowers on the whole tree.

Hawai'ian people like plants and flowers. People like to use the plants and flowers to decorate their life. They wear leis, and give leis as a honorable gift to their friends and to welcome the newcomers. They have Hula Dancing which is a traditional dance of imitating the palm trees. Palm trees are common on all the is-lands.

People say Hawai'i is a "melting pot." it is true. There are so many different ethnic groups here, and the diversity has made up the multiple cultures of Hawai'i. Not only is the beautiful seashore and the volcano exciting to view, but the magnificent culture of its people is another lure to attract people from all over the world.

How is my life here? I could tell you, it is not as romantic as the view of Hawai'i is. America is just an-

other real world for me to experience. As many of the new immigrants, I had culture shock after I arrived here. The language is the big problem for me. I felt I have trouble to go out, to go shopping, to go to work, or even to watch TV at home.

"I get to go to school." I realise this the only way to help myself. Now, I'm a student at one of the community colleges. I took an English class from the most basic level. Now I'm taking English 100, and some other college level classes. I think the equality of educational opportunity is one of the big advantages to live in the United States. Everyone can have the chance to go to college and choose what you want to major in. It's really an "open door."

School in America is very different from our home country. Before, when we went to college in China, we mostly took some class which were assigned to us. Here, we can choose the classes we want, and what major we are interested. Of course, we should be more responsible for our choices.

School is not easy. The English is often a big obstacle for me. Actually, sometimes I hate school, even I feel I'm lucky to have the chance to be going back to school again. I always found I have no time to relax, there is too much homework waiting for me everyday.

"Busy" is a common feeling of many of my friends here. Most of us are having a part-time or full-time job while we are being a part-time or full-time student. The life in Hawai'i is too expensive, and to be independent is another reason.

Learning to balance my job and school is one of my experiences living in Hawai'i. However, I'm glad that I can learn to get used to a different environment gradually. I think one day I will really like living here.

Hong, what about yourself? Is there any exciting news you can share with me? I will be very happy to receive your letters.

Let's keep in touch!

Best wishes!
Yours: Wan Na

Thai Culture in Honolulu

By Christy Itamoto

It was 1979 and the countryside was serene. It was after the war and the country was less populated. A three-year-old came home from playing and asked her grandfather where the rest of the family was. He was surprised to find her still home, he told her, for he thought she had gone with everyone else to buy some new clothes for America. The girl jumped up and told her grandfather that she had not gotten blue jeans for the trip. He told her to hurry and catch them because they had just left. She ran out of the house and ran along the dirt path to find her mother and siblings (S. Phanthip, personal interview, November 15, 1997).

The story of the little girl and her blue jeans is very dear to me, for it symbolizes the readiness of the Thai people to accept a new society. They have been in the United States for about 20 years, and in that time they have assimilated into American culture, yet have maintained some of their old customs and traditions. The culture interests me, mainly because of the unity I felt in their families and their readiness to invite others into their extended families.

My study took place in the homes of my key informants and their family. This involvement allowed me to be a participant observer and interact directly with my subjects. I lived with the Phanthip family for one year and regularly visited the Seliwath family, who are related to by marriage. My key informant was Vanmany Phanthip. Others were Somchay Phanthip and Nantha Seliwath. During the year that I spent with the Phanthip and Seliwath families, they both made me feel a part of their families.

History

The origins of Thai civilization have not yet been confirmed. It is a popular theory that the

Thai people have been at their present location since the very beginning of civilization. At Ban Chiang, a village in Northeastern Thailand, bronze artifacts that were unearthed have been dated 1,000 years older than those of Mesopotamia.

The history of Thailand has not been one of steady, serene cultural growth. The country shows evidence of different rulers and the influence of other cultures in many aspects of daily life. For example, Buddhism is the country's official religion, but there are traces of Hinduism and animistic beliefs. The country's many temples show architectural influences of India and Cambodia (T. Nummonda, personal interview, April, 1997).

From this evidence of cross cultural influences in Thailand, it is also safe to say there is high tolerance among the people. There are four major subcultures with their own dialects in the regions of the Central, North, Northeast, and the South. This range diversification is a direct result of geographic boundaries. The differences are also evident in the appearances of the individuals from the different regions (V. Phanthip, personal interview, November 15, 1997).

Many people in Thailand, as in the rest of Southeast Asia, were left with no other option but to flee the country after the Vietnam war. The exodus of Southeast Asians which resulted from political and economic instability began in 1975. The refugee camps in Thailand housed all Southeast Asians hoping to move to America (Takaki, 1995).

Thai Culture in Hawai'i

Nantha Seliwath is a resident of Honolulu and has been one since 1980. She, her husband, and an infant son spent time at a camp in Thai-

land waiting for space on a plane and a sponsor from aid organizations. Their wait was a year, but some have waited longer (Seliwath, personal interview, October 16, 1997). Like many of the Southeast Asian immigrants, they came with the bare essentials. When the Phanthips came to the United States, they brought nothing but the clothes they were wearing and some gold chains and gems hidden in their clothes (S. Phanthip).

Jewelry is a sign of wealth and affluence like in most other cultures, but it is also a more reliable form of currency. Because of the instability of the economy and the governing power, Southeast Asians, particularly Laotians and Thais, do not trust paper currency. They invest in jewelry and gold because it has value in any currency. When I first noticed that everyone had a 24k gold chain, I thought that these people were very well off, but then I was later told the significance of the jewelry. Apparently, every child is given a gold chain that is about 18 inches long and is 24k. This is the weight of *nung baht*. Baht is the Thai currency, but *baht* in this context refers to the weight of the necklace. But it does not suggest that the gold chain is worth one baht, especially since 2,500 baht equals 100 dollars (V. Phanthip).

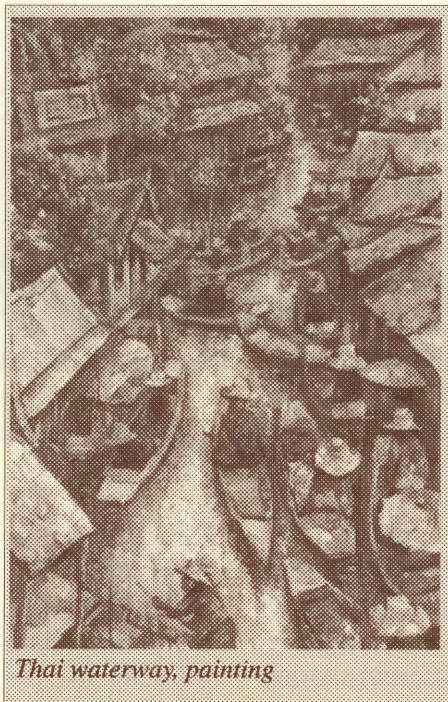
The gold chains are given to children upon the discretion of their parents. It does not symbolize a rite of passage. Some children are given these chains as infants. Almost every infant wears silver or gold anklets with bells. It is a common gift to babies. Depending on the religious practices of the parents, there is one more item many Thai people wear — a thin piece of gold rolled up like a tube, about one inch in

length, worn on a gold necklace. This is called a *loht*, and it has scriptures on it in Pali, the old language of the monks. It is blessed by the monks to give the person wearing it good fortune, health, and success in academics and all that the person pursues (S. Phanthip).

The Thai calendar system is different from that of the United States and Europe. Each year has a name and the names cover a twelve-year cycle. Also, Thai years do not coincide with Western years. The Thai calendar follows that of Lord Buddha's life. So, in the year B.E. 2431 (Buddhist Era, years of the passing of the Lord Buddha) King Rama V changed the new year day to April 1. The date in Thailand has been changed to January 1 in B.E. 2483, but the Thai people of Honolulu still observe the new year festivities in April (Nummonda). The new year festival is called *Songkran* (the Water Festival). Every year the Thai community gathers at a park. For the

past couple of years it has been at Kapi'olani Park.

Nantha, whom I must call Na Sao out of respect—it means *Aunt* from my mother's side—sets up a tent at the festival and sells food that she and her family makes. These proceeds go to the temple. This is the custom from the old country, but it probably did not occur centuries ago. The monks do not have a strong presence in the community here as in other communities and in Thailand. Usually, *Songkran* is celebrated near a temple so that the offerings can be given to the monks. The offerings are usually a glutinous rice, banana, and black bean dessert as well as rice, boiled chicken, and boiled eggs. (Seliwath). These offerings are placed in a bowl that is designed and fashioned after the bowls



Thai waterway, painting

of hundreds of years ago. They are usually silver or gold and are called *kwoan*. When the offering is made, one should always keep one's head low and not let hands or limbs touch the plates of the monks. However, this practice has been lost in Honolulu.

A custom of the Water Festival that is still in practice is the throwing of the water. This is an act of cleansing of bad karma and of starting the new year with a clean slate. The old custom is that the monks would walk around with holy water in a *kwoan* and a switch from a tree, leaves still intact, and sprinkle people and bless them. The head of the Phanthip family who has been baptized into monk standards—he has the knowledge and skills of a monk because of the training he received in a temple—does the blessings. He blesses the *kwoan* of water by chanting some prayers in Pali and by burning a thin, long candle that is handmade and blessed. He then performs the ritual of sprinkling everyone with the holy water (V. Phanthip).

Also at Songkran is the money tree. This tree holds the monetary offering to the temple. That tradition is still practiced here in Honolulu. This tree is usually about three feet tall. It does not have any leaves and is implanted in sand. People fold their offerings into different shapes, such as bow ties, and tie it on the money tree with the blessed yarn. This blessed yarn is an old custom. The families obtain the yarn from the monks or the temple and tie it on their children's wrists to bless them for the coming year. The yarn is always white and is used in all other ceremonies. Relatives, usually aunts and uncles, tie money with the yarn and then tie it to the child's wrist while saying a prayer for the child. Songkran is the most important festival of the year (Seliwath). In Honolulu, there is also a Miss Songkran competition. This is a new custom and I know it to be only in Honolulu.

Another festival that is celebrated in Honolulu is the *Loy Krathong*, or the Full Moon Festival. This festival is usually celebrated in November, but sometimes in October. The tradition is that the full moon brings signs of wealth and

fortune. Thus, we must show our gratitude to this good fortune. A candle is placed on a lotus leaf that floats on the water. But since Honolulu does not have a lotus pond, the Thai people improvise using a dragon boat. People place their candles and the wishes into a boat that is carved into the shape of a traditional Southeast Asian dragon. Early in the morning the monks bless the boat and then set it a sail on the ocean (Seliwath).

One practice of Loy Krathong that may vary is the sewing of money for the baby. When someone is expecting a child or has an infant child and the mother is observing Loy Krathong, she sews a little bag and places money in the bag for the child. A prayer is then said to the moon to bring good fortune to the child. The belief is that the child will never endure financial difficulties.

Traditional weddings are still practiced by most Thai people in Honolulu. I observed the wedding of the respected cousin of my main informant. The engagement is facilitated through the parents of the bride and groom. For example, when a couple decides to get married, they must inform their parents. The groom and his parents visit the bride's house to make an offering for the bride to her family: a bride wealth. The parents of the bride must accept the groom. Acceptance depends on his family name and the offering for their daughter. The offering could be anything. Centuries ago it was land and/or livestock. Now it is usually money and gold. After the offering is accepted, there is an engagement, which should only be as long as it takes to plan a wedding. Anything of a year or more is considered bad luck. Unlike Western tradition, the financing of the wedding does not automatically fall on the bride's side. It depends on the families and who wants to throw the wedding.

The traditional costumes for the weddings are very elaborate. The groom wears a long white sleeveless shirt with a long strip of checked cloth worn diagonally over the shirt, over the shoulder. For pants, the groom wears



Thai village painting, detail.

a sarong that is tied to look like very loose pants. The bride wears the similar thin cloth, *pah biang*, like the male. But, the cloth matches the skirt or sarong. The material of the sarong and the *pah biang* is silk woven with actual gold fibers. There is also a silver or gold belt that the bride wears. Wedding attire can cost thousands of dollars. Usually, all this is given to her by her mother like a dowry.

Before the ceremony, the groom's family parades down the street towards the bride's family. The best man holds an umbrella for the groom during this walk. When they arrive to the bride's home, someone must wash the groom's feet. This person is a designated member of the bride's family, usually a younger sibling. The groom must also pay this person before the parade starts.

The centerpiece is the most important piece of the wedding ceremony. It is made of either paper or banana leaves which are folded into a funnel and stacked one on the other to make a tower. A stick with the blessed yarn, which is pre-cut and tied to the stick, is put into the creases of the ornament. Flowers, usually plumeria, are stuck into those creases, as well.

There are also offerings of food: boiled eggs, rice and boiled chicken. This becomes an elaborate center piece called the *pak kwoan*.

The monk then performs the ceremony and the wedding is about forty minutes long. During the chants, everyone prays and touches the person on either side, thus connecting everyone with the bride and groom. The bride and groom hold a piece of the white yarn, which connects them. When the monk is finished chanting, the bride and groom drink wine and the ceremony is over. Right after the ceremony people remove the sticks of white yarn from the *pak kwoan* and tie it on each other's wrists for blessings (V. Phanthip).

Thai cuisine is an integral part of the culture. Their cuisine has brought the Thai people recognition in their new home. Keo's Restaurant has been written about in the newspaper countless times. There are over fifteen Thai restaurants on O'ahu. There is such enormous interest in Thai cuisine that many culinary instructors give lessons in the art. For the past sixteen years Kaimuki Community Adult School has offered classes in the cuisine. The Thai people have found a new occupation as they evolved

and assimilated into their new surroundings. Most immigrants were farmers who cooked just for their families. Now they cook for a living.

A popular dish is called larb. Larb is a salad made from mint, cilantro (chinese parsley), green onion, toasted sticky rice, with beef, chicken, or tofu, and seasoned with lime juice and patis (fish sauce). Nantha who is a chef at Keo's Restaurant can attest to larb being a favorite dish of both Thai natives and local O'ahu residents. In Hawai'i, larb is not made like it is in Thailand. In Thailand, it is sometimes served with raw beef. Many years ago larb was a dish that used to only be eaten at weddings or important festivals and ceremonies because long ago, red meat was rare and expensive. The only red meat in Thailand then was the water buffalo which was needed for farming (Seliwath).

Thai people of Honolulu do not live in a designated geographical location, but they are still closely knit. My experience living with the Phanthips opened my eyes to the doors of an "old village." There is a hierarchy in age. It is not necessarily who is the eldest but whose parent is the eldest. For instance, Somchay Phanthip is by age younger than Nantha Sellwath, but Somchay would have the respected older title because Somchay's mother is older than Nantha's mother.

Thai people in Honolulu still farm as they once did in Thailand. The crops are shared among the families. Bartering is not much practiced among relatives. Sometimes Na Sao Nantha would come over and give vegetables to Somchay because she was out at a friend's farm and brought extra produce. This gesture of generalized reciprocity is practiced quite fre-

quently. Many favors are asked of each other but it is not viewed as a burden but a gesture to help one's relatives. Although the family unit in the United States is smaller than in Thailand, the family still remains very close. But if it were up to the first generation of immigrants, the entire family, cousins and all, would live together in one big house.

I am of Japanese heritage and my great grandparents immigrated to Hawai'i in the 1800s, during the sugar cane era. As a family, we have become very Americanized, and now enjoy very few Japanese traditions. Our cultural observances have now dwindled to only a mere New Year's celebration. Most of the members of my family can no longer even speak or understand the Japanese language. I fear that the same maybe happening to the Thai people as well, since they have had to assimilate at a faster rate than my family did. Many of the Thai children do not understand their culture and traditions. In Hawai'i, as in the rest of the United States, there is the feeling that everyone must assimilate or feel like an outcast. Already, the second generation of Thai people speak only broken Thai, and only a few of this generation understand the history of their culture, and the reasons behind their traditions. Hopefully, this generation of Thais will become aware of this situation and begin to preserve their culture, so they do not become too "Americanized" as my family has.

Reference

Takaki, R. (1995). *From Exiles to Immigrants*. New York: Chelsea House Publishers.

Fiestade Espirito Santo

By Gary Paul Phillips, Jr.

The Fiesta de Espirito Santo, known as the Portuguese Holy Ghost Festival, is an annual tradition in Hawai'i. It was brought to the islands by the early Portuguese settlers, and it continues today. Though it has changed somewhat over the years, the Portuguese Holy Ghost Festival continues to promote the culture and heritage of the Portuguese of Hawai'i. Much of the information for this paper comes from past or present participants in the Holy Ghost Festival: Josephine Robello, a former Holy Ghost Queen; Millie Swift, Mr and Mrs. Clyde Swain, Michael Swain, and John Rapozo.

The earliest record of Portuguese living in Hawai'i dates back to 1794 when some sailors jumped ship. John Elliot de Castro, the earliest visitor from Portugal, arrived in 1814. King Kamehameha I kept deCastro on retainer. As his exclusive physician, deCastro was also a constituent of the King's imperial entourage. In 1827, a new report of Portuguese immigration noted the baptism of a pair Portuguese children. A year later, Antonio Silva arrived and planted one of the first sugar crops. By 1853, there were 86 Portuguese on O'ahu. Among them was Jacintho Pereira. Pereira, a Portuguese citizen of Hawai'i, suggested that Portuguese laborers be brought to Hawai'i to work on sugar plantations. He reasoned that a blight, which had devastated the vineyards and wine manufacturing business in Portugal, had led to a severe economic depression, so Portuguese laborers would be willing to come. Around this same time, a German botanist by the name of Hildebrand also suggested recruitment of Portuguese laborers. However, he made this suggestion for an entirely different reason. He thought that since the Portuguese were hard

workers and worked in a climate similar to Hawai'i's, they would be very productive (MacDonald, 1982).

In the late 1800s the Reciprocity Treaty was signed, and Hawai'i needed many laborers to work the plantations. At this time Minister Gibson made public his reasoning for the procurement of Portuguese laborers. He conjectured that they would settle in Hawai'i and this be advantageous to the government for these reasons:

- 1) They are willing, not only to remain here and make this country the abode of their children but even to take interest in the political questions of this nation. They are all eager, on the expiration of their contracts, to secure a homestead, and in fact those who have left, have only done so, as a rule, when they found that it was next to impossible to buy land to settle on. And let it here be said that it is a shame on them to secure government or crown lands, as they would constitute exactly the class of small farmers which is lacking and needed here, and which makes up the strength of a nation.

- 2) They will contribute more than any other class of immigrants which could be possibly introduced here, towards rapid repopulation, as the usual proportion of their families varies from four to twelve or more children.

- 3) The children take with wonderful facility to learn the English language and customs, which shows a happy disposition for assimilation. In point of religion, they are almost all Catholics, and of a lib-

eral, easy and quiet nature which, even were there to be here in the majority, would never cause them to conflict with other creeds (MacDonald).

In September of 1878 aboard the German ship *Pricilla*, 180 Portuguese immigrants arrived in Hawai'i from Madeira. These early settlers were the first of nearly 20,000 Portuguese people to emigrate to Hawai'i through 1913. The journey from Portugal was approximately 15,000 miles over open ocean (Felix, 1978). The majority of the earliest pilgrims toiled in sugar plantations and were employed in place of the Chinese who had departed the plantations in favor of working in the trades or opening their own stores. It was noticed that upon landing in Hawai'i the Portuguese immigrants "bore the marks of oppressive poverty" with lean builds, dark skin from fieldwork, and a small stature. It was many years before the Portuguese began purchasing their own land and opening their own enterprises. During the mid 1920s there were about 27,000 Portuguese living in Hawai'i. A Catholic priest, Father Reginald Yzendoorn, made the following statement about the Portuguese: They are "by far the best immigrants who have ever been brought to these shores. They are moreover a prolific race; families with a dozen children being by no means rare" (Macdonald).

Upon arrival in Hawai'i, the settlers set up various Portuguese organizations. Among the organizations formed by Portuguese immigrants were the Holy Ghost Societies. They have endured while many others have not. The Holy Ghost Festival promulgates the beliefs of the Portuguese by its homage to the Holy Ghost. Many of the Portuguese were whalers and would invariably ask for the "Divine Mercy of the Holy Ghost" prior to going out to sea so that they would return unharmed.

The Festival has also been traced back to Queen Isabel of Aragon in the thirteenth century. The Queen constructed a church in order to glorify the Holy Ghost. Once the construc-

tion of the chapel was begun she brought into existence a tradition known as the *Coronation of the Emperor* in which she distributed food to the poor and looked upon them as royalty for a day. There are several miracles linked to Queen Isabel. Among the miracles believed to have been performed by the Holy Ghost through the queen, is the ability to heal the afflicted by simply placing her crown on their heads. Another miracle was executed by the queen through her promise to God to give up her jewels if the people of Portugal were fed. She went out to distribute the jewels, which she kept wrapped in her dress. Along the way she encountered her husband Dom Diniz who did not take pleasure in her benevolence. When the king asked her what she had in her dress, she responded, "Roses, my lord." The king then looked for himself and indeed there were white roses although it was winter, and roses were not in bloom. This is why today flowers are used extensively in the decorations for the festival and children wear flowers around their heads. The next morning two ships were found abandoned in the harbor, laden with grain and animals. The Queen commanded that the grain and meat be prepared and utilized to nourish the poor (Punchbowl Holy Ghost Society, 1991).

The Holy Ghost Festival takes place throughout the seven Saturdays between Easter and Pentecost, in accordance to the Catholic Church calendar. A celebration takes place on each Saturday during this period. On each of the first six Saturdays, the participants share in feasts known as *Domingas*. These Domingas venerate various figures of the Catholic doctrine. They are 1st Dominga—the Holy Ghost Flag, 2nd Dominga—the Blessed Mother, 3rd Dominga—the Sacred Heart of Jesus, 4th Dominga - St. Anthony, 5th Dominga—Santo Christo, 6th Dominga—Our Lady of Fatima, and the 7th Dominga—the Queen and her court, representing Queen Isabel. The 7th and final Dominga is the culmination of the festivities. It takes place on the final Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. Initially the festivals took place in the household

of the Domingas sponsor (Punchbowl Holy Ghost Society).

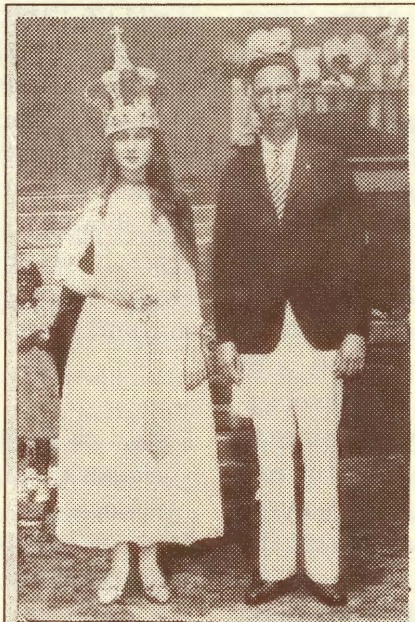
Transported from house to house was a little wooden chapel with a three-dimensional likeness of the Holy Trinity. Customarily, this chapel would remain at the sponsor's house for the entire week. It then would be conveyed to the succeeding house for the ensuing celebration. The sponsors were selected at the conclusion of the festival when names were drawn out of the vaso. It was believed a benison to be selected as a sponsor (MacDonald). Currently, the festivals take place in several chapels on O'ahu: Kalihi, Kewalo (Kakaako), and Punchbowl. One by one, each chapel has celebrations on successive weeks so that participants can attend all three festivals. Each of these chapels are located in what once were predominantly Portuguese neighborhoods. Kakaako was then referred to as the "Portuguese Suburb." The original Portuguese pioneers liked living on hillsides because they reminded them of the sea cliffs of their homeland, Madeira.

On Friday the ceremony starts with the "Blessing of the Meat and Bread." Originally, this was done on the grounds of the Holy Ghost Society. The beef carcasses were first suspended on hooks. Soon afterward, the priest would consecrate the participants, the meat and the bread. The men then commenced to carve the meat into even portions. While the men prepared the meat, the women furnished goodies for all of the guests. While this was taking place the children usually ran around and played games. At some point after the Second World War, this practice was condemned by the Board of Health, and no longer takes place. Now the meat used for the festivities is delivered pre-cut and frozen,

but the blessing of the meat remains the same (J. Robello, personal interview, October 11, 1997).

On Saturday morning, the Holy Ghost flag and the *Pensao*, or member's portion of the meat and bread and a bottle of wine is taken into each of the member's residences, one by one, as a divine sanction from the Holy Ghost. Presently, members have to pick up the *Pensao* themselves. Many believe that the meat and bread

used in the festival today is symbolic of the miracle of grain and animals found on the ships long ago. Others believe that the use of bread and meat goes back to a time when wheat was introduced to the Portuguese by the Romans. During the Middle Ages, bread and meat were universally recognized as the primary sustenance of the aristocracy. The bread used in the Holy Ghost festival is *Masse Sovada*, known as Portuguese sweet bread in Hawai'i. Originally the bread was baked in *fornos* (ovens). Some of the loaves to be auctioned were shaped in the form of body parts. This is the means the contributor used to summon



Josephine Robello, Kalihi Holy Ghost Society queen, 1932, and escort.

the Holy Ghost to make better the body part represented by bread. Saturday also makes way for crafts and foods which, undoubtedly, included *tramoco* (a lupine seed which is boiled and served as a snack).

On Sunday morning at the Punchbowl Holy Ghost, the streets are decorated and the procession, led by the Royal Hawai'ian Band, starts from the Holy Ghost grounds and proceeds to Blessed Sacrament Church. To the rear of the band are the Dominga sponsors bearing elaborately adorned statues, the Queen and her court, members of the Holy Ghost society, and other various associations. The festival ends with an

auction. Bidding for a family member's cake sometimes amounts to several months' salary, as bidding is fueled by competition to be the most charitable to the Holy Ghost chapel (C. Swain, October, 1997).

The festival is a very important part in revitalizing the Portuguese people. It provides an opportunity for the local Portuguese to draw together and do things the Portuguese way. This was very important to the initial settlers as they were very proud of their heritage and wanted to perpetuate it in Hawai'i. Many of the active members of the society are elderly and maintain an extensive knowledge of their kinship ties. The assemblage also reinforces the bonds between members of the community.

Although the Holy Ghost festival only lasted seven weeks, the chapels were used year round. They were a place for Portuguese to meet and associate with each other. Chapels also served as a communication base. If an important message needed to be conveyed, it was left with someone at the chapel. The Holy Ghost societies were also considered an acceptable place to meet potential spouses. The chapels usually had a small number of additional chambers available for use by the various community associations.

In recent times, members of the Kalihi and

Punchbowl Holy Ghost societies have continued to diminish. In contrast, the Kewalo Holy Ghost society membership has steadily increased. This is probably due to the decreasing population of Portuguese residing in the Kalihi and Punchbowl communities, while Kewalo, which has become an industrial area and not the territory of any particular residential neighborhood, attracts members island wide.

Holy Ghost Societies have proved instrumental in preserving Portuguese traditions. The Fiesta de Espirito Santo, or Holy Ghost Festival, sponsored by these societies, has helped to preserve the heritage of the Portuguese people of Hawai'i and has served to strengthen the bond within the community. The Holy Ghost Festival is an annual tradition here in Hawai'i and, though it has changed somewhat over the years, it has endured as a means by which the local Portuguese continue to honor their ancestors and promote their culture.

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New Years at Home

By Adele Nakajima

January 1st is recognized as New Year's Day by many cultures around the world. It is celebrated in different ways due to varying customs and beliefs. Although each culture has its unique traditions, here in Hawai'i, people tend to exchange ideas and customs. The result is a blending of traditions. I experienced this change first hand as I watched my own family's New Year's traditions evolve.

Before my birth, my parents were sent from Japan to Hilo where my father served as a missionary. Hilo is where I was born. Being raised by Japanese immigrant parents, I had a very Japanese lifestyle. While my brothers and I were very young, we spoke very little English, that is until we entered school. As we grew older and adapted to the American way of life, our home still remained very much like life in Japan. New Year's Day was the biggest event of the year, and we celebrated it in the traditional Japanese way. However, over the years we slowly incorporated other local traditions into our New Year's celebration.

My family moved to O'ahu when I was eight and the first New Year's in our new home was exciting for the whole family. Everything was so new! Honolulu, a cosmopolitan city, promised a wide variety of food and entertainment which pleased my parents and excited my brothers and me. However, it was then that I realized that regardless of where I live, Hilo-country or Honolulu-city, home is the best place to be for New Years.

New Year's preparations begins December 26th in our home. There was so much to be done. In Japan, it is believed that before one can greet the New Year, the entire house must undergo a thorough cleaning. This is necessary to

rid the house, not only of dirt, but of evil that might have found its way into our home. It also served to start the New Year off fresh. My brothers and I observed my parents' tireless efforts, cooking, cleaning, and decorating, often through the night. The two days before New Years, my mother did not sleep at all. There was so much cooking to be done before January 1st. This busy preparation for the holiday often overshadowed my birthday which falls on December 30, but I always understood. My parents worked hard to ensure that every year started off with great things for us kids, and this blessed me with a special warm feeling that one can only experience and not see. I now enjoy reminiscing as I look at old baby pictures of myself with my parents dressed in kimonos. I appreciate the sense of pride that my parents instilled in me. Through their commitment and hard work, they demonstrated the importance of preserving our heritage, as we annually welcomed the New Year in the traditional Japanese way.

From the time my brothers and I were able to walk, my parents involved us in the chores of the busy season. My father led, as we began the extensive cleaning of our house. He is a perfectionist and particularly enjoyed taking charge of this major undertaking. Everybody was given a job to do, and it was to be completed by midnight December 31st. Dad saw to it that every corner of the house was vacuumed or swept, and mopped. All window sills and louvers were wiped squeaky clean and window screens scrubbed. My dad also rifled through every drawer and closet in the house, removing everything that was no longer in use. Dad loves to throw things away! As kids we found out

the hard way when we didn't clean up after ourselves. In our home, there were no specific gender roles for delegation of house chores. We worked as a team. As my brothers and I made our way through the house, cleaning one room at a time, my dad began to decorate.

A prominent traditional Japanese decoration of the New Year, which is familiar to most everyone in the local Japanese community, is known as the *kadomatsu*. The *kadomatsu* is made with three stalks of bamboo, about two to three feet high. They are bound together by rope. The foremost stalk rests against the remaining two, like a pyramid. The top of the stalks are cut at an angle. Pine branches and plum flowers are entwined in the rope which holds the stalks together. Pine branches symbolize happiness, bamboo symbolizes stability, and plum flowers symbolize health. Two sets of *kadomatsu* are placed at the entrance of the house, one on each side of the front door. Their purpose is to ward off bad spirits that are believed to be attempting to get into the home, and to attract the three desirable attributes of happiness, stability, and health.

Mochi is another familiar sight among the local Japanese during the New Year's celebration. It is sticky and is made of sweet rice. My family did not have the traditional mochi pounder and bowl used by the people of Japan. Instead, my dad used a modern mochi-making machine to replace the laborious job of kneading and pounding. He made three different sizes of mochi and colored each size a different color. The smallest mochi was red, the medium size was left white, and the largest was green. The three mochi were then stacked on top of each other, from largest to smallest with the smallest on top. The stacked mochi is called *san-dan mochi* or three-storied mochi. The color combination used for the mochi is representative of the specific region in Japan that one's family is from. Some Japanese accent the top of the stack with a tangerine; others suspend dried persimmons from the top mochi using bamboo barbecue sticks. The *san-dan mochi* was then placed

at our family altar.

While Dad and the children were busy cleaning and decorating the house, Mom shuffled from market to market in search of all the needed ingredients for the traditional New Year's food. Some items such as *kazunoko* or fish eggs were very costly and hard to find in Hawai'i. Once she had purchased all of the necessary ingredients, she began the task of preparing the *osechi-ryori*.

Osechi-ryori is a variety of foods placed into beautiful lacquered boxes called *ojyubako*. The *ojyubako* are stacked in twos or threes. The morning of January 1st, these boxes are presented and served to the family and guests. Everyone samples some of everything in the boxes. The menu is generally the same each year with only minor changes for variety. It is carefully planned to include foods that will not spoil quickly because it must last for several days. Traditionally, dishes for the *osechi-ryori* consist of black beans, seaweed, fish eggs, shrimp, fish cake, seasonal vegetables, and chestnuts. Japanese families cook and flavor these dishes in various ways, according to their prefecture of Japan. My parents are from the Kansai region, which includes Osaka, Nara, and Kyoto. In this region, food is flavored a bit stronger than in the Kanto region which includes Tokyo and its surrounding areas. Food is prepared in abundance so that the women of the household do not have to cook during the New Year's celebration. The *ojyubako* are refilled before serving at each meal during the first three days of the new year, however, meals are not restricted to only the *osechi-ryori*. Typically, foods such as soup and mochi accompany the *osechi-ryori*.

Just before mid-night on New Year's Eve, it is customary to eat *toshi-koshi* soba. This is practiced in both Hawai'i and in Japan. *Toshi* means "year" and *koshi* means "to cross over." Soba are buckwheat noodles that are traditionally dipped in sauce before eating. In Japan, *toshi-koshi* soba is eaten while the 108 bells of the Buddhist temple chime, ringing in the New Year. Unfortunately, in Hawai'i we do not have

loud temple bells for all of Honolulu to hear. Instead, we have loud fireworks. Following the bell chimes and till the next morning, everyone goes to the temples for *hatsumode*, which is the first prayer of the New Year. At this time, *osaisen* or offerings are given to bring good luck.

As we welcome in the New Year we finally get to enjoy the mochi made earlier. It is put into a soup called *ozoni*. The flavor and method of garnishing this soup varies according to prefecture. Some prefer to eat *dashi* (clear soup stock) or *miso* (soybean paste). New Year's morning, the first meal of *osechi-ryori* is served, accompanied by *otoso*. This is a must, especially in Japan. *Otosu* is the first drink of hot sake (rice wine) for the New Year. Everyone, regardless of age, must drink at least a sip for *kampai* (cheers) to ensure good luck throughout the year. Customarily everyone says, "*akemashite omedetoo gozaimasu*," as we drink the *otoso*. This translates into, "Happy New Year." I protested having to drink *otoso* as a child because I hated the burning sensation of the alcohol as it went down my throat and into my stomach. Though I detested it, I was forced to drink it by my father because it symbolized the spirit of the New Year. Sake is usually served hot and the cup is often hot and difficult to hold. For this reason, my dad taught me to grab my ear lobe when my fingers became too hot to hold the cup. He explained that the ear lobe is the coldest part of the body and would quickly cool my fingers so that I might once again be able to hold the cup. It works!

January 1st is a day to stay home and spend time with family and friends. It is not a time to go shopping at the mall or to the office to catch up on work. In fact, in Japan most businesses are closed for the first week of the New Year. It is believed that staying home on the first day of the New Year will keep you close to your loved ones throughout the year. We entertained ourselves with Japanese games and music while staying home. One of my favorite games is called *hagoita*. It is similar to badminton, with a wooden racket used to hit a feathered pebble

back and forth, but without a net. The object of the game is to keep the pebble from touching the ground. If you miss and the pebble falls to the ground, your face is marked with black ink. The person with the most marks on his face at the end of the game is the loser. The *hagoita* rackets are flat on one side and highly decorated on the other side with 3-D type pictures of Japanese women of the Edo period. When not in use, the rackets are displayed.

We also enjoyed playing *karuta* cards, also known as *hyaku-nin isshyo*. *Hyaku-nin isshyo* means one-hundred people. There are 100 cards in a single deck. On each card, a princess, emperor, or monk from the Heian period of ancient Japan is depicted. Beautiful short poems, written over six hundred years ago, are enscribed next to the pictures. The poems, written in Japanese, are a little difficult to read so the game is mostly played by adults. One person acting as the narrator reads the poems aloud from a master card. The rest of the players pick the matching poem from the pictured cards. The person with the most cards collected wins. Since my brothers and I could not read the poems, we improvised creating our own game that relied only on the pictures.

My mom also enjoyed entertaining us by playing the *koto*. The *koto* is a lovely Japanese musical instrument. Mom only brought out her *koto* on special occasions. She played it and sometimes even sang to us. She was certified in Japan to teach *koto* but she never seemed to have the time. I regret now that I never learned to play the instrument.

New Year's is one of the happiest times of the year for the children of Japan. Adults give the children allowance money in small decorated envelopes, a custom known as *otoshidama*. All children look forward to this time of the year. Those with many relatives receive as much as \$500 or more. This is one tradition that my parents did not bring with them from Japan. Since we celebrate Christmas in Hawai'i, my parents did not want to spoil us with both presents and money.

As the first day of the year draws to an end, everyone thinks good thoughts before bedtime to ensure a good dream in the night. The first dream you have the night of January 1st is called your hatsuyume. Should you dream of Mt. Fuji, an eagle, or an eggplant, you will be sure to have good luck throughout the year.

January 2nd we continue to play, relax, and be entertained. On this second day calligraphy is allowed. This is called *kakizome*, or the first calligraphy of the new year. Ink and brush sets are brought out and proverbs are written on calligraphy paper for good luck.

After three days of eating osechi-ryori from the oiyubaku, we return to our normal diet. But before we change over, we must cleanse our digestive system of celebratory foods. The san-dan mochi that was left at the altar is consumed. This custom is called *kagami biraki*. In order to cleanse our body, the mochi is eaten with seven different edible grasses found only in Japan. Since

these grasses are unavailable in Hawai'i, my family modified the traditional recipe wrapping the mochi in a combination of sugar, butter, soy sauce, and sea weed.

As my brothers and I grew older, the kimonos, which are expensive and impractical to wear in Hawai'i, were abandoned. Although Mom continued to make osechi-ryori for us with her special recipes, many of the items on the menu can now be purchased in Japanese food stores in Hawai'i.

Unfortunately, my parents have moved away to Australia for my father's mission once again. We no longer continue all of the New Year's customs although I observe the holiday in similar ways. Through the years the Hawaiian culture was slowly assimilated into my parents' celebration of the New Year. The preparation of foods, the wearing of kimonos, the monetary gifts have changed or disappeared. Now that my parents live in

Australia, they will eventually adopt some of Australia's New Year's customs and integrate them with a Japanese-Hawaiian flair.



Photograph by Michael L. Thompson

"Akemashite Omeditoo" – Happy New Year's banner in traditional Japanese characters.

The Sanshin and Okinawan Music

By Ivy Teruya

When I was a child, my mother tried to expose me to the music of Okinawa in hopes that I would somehow develop interest in it. She would periodically check to see if I wanted to take lessons of any kind, but each time I would emphatically reply in the negative. Something of embarrassment to me was my mother's conviction that I would be better at the sanshin, which is traditionally a man's instrument. She felt that I was not "ladylike" enough to play the koto, which is traditionally a woman's instrument. When my younger sister took up the koto, I was forced to attend her recitals. It was at these recitals that I developed a grudging tolerance to the music which later developed into true respect and appreciation of the sanshin and the culture in which it evolved.

The sanshin probably originated from a Chinese instrument called the san hsien, which arrived in Okinawa around the 14th century. Okinawa is the largest of the chain of islands that make up the Ryukyus, a chain of islands south of Japan. Some theorize that the people of Ryukyus were descended from either Chinese or Japanese people that migrated to the islands; others think they are of Ainu or Malayan descent. I think it is safe to say that the Ryukyuans are a mixture of different peoples and cultures that were mainly influenced by both the Chinese and the Japanese (Zabilka, 1917).

The sanshin is made of a wood frame and sort of resembles an American banjo in looks and sound. The wooden frame is lacquered black, and the sound box is covered in snake-skin. The sanshin is three-stringed. These strings are attached to wooden pegs which can be then moved/adjusted to different pitches. A pick,

bachi, is used to strum the strings to create music. Nowadays the bachi is made of wood and painted or shellacked, or made out of some kind of plastic resin. In older times, it was made out of animal bone or horn. The bachi is worn on the tip of the right index finger, sort of like a thimble. The thumb and middle fingers support the bachi and also guide the plucking.

Most of the time, the sanshin is played sitting in the *seiza* position: sitting with knees fully bent and feet tucked under. It is said that it is the most effective way of breathing. A sufficient amount of force is needed to carry the notes. I guess it is also the only practical way of sitting when one wears a kimono.

Classical music was an important part of the education of the children of noble birth. The boys were supposed to be proficient in the sanshin by age 15. However, commoners were not excluded from learning the arts, and musicians were highly respected, no matter what class they were born to.

A system of notation was developed sometime during the first half of the 1700s. The Chinese method of musical transcription was borrowed to record all the ancient songs. Prior to that, the songs were passed on from one generation to the next using through oral tradition. *Kunkunshi*, written music is still used today (Zabilka).

Around the 16th century, dance was choreographed for the music of the sanshin. This type of dance was called Kumi-odori, which is musical dance drama, and it was used to entertain dignitaries from other countries, mainly envoys from China and Japan. The formal court *odori* (dance) was mainly influenced by the Noh form of Japanese dance. The court dances were per-

formed by dancers wearing bright colorful bingata-style kimonos. The bingata cloth is unique to Okinawa because it is a fusion of the dyeing techniques of Japan, and places like India and Java. The odori is slow, with intricate movements, whereas other kinds of dance such as the folk dances are more lively and vigorous. The kimonos for folk dances were simpler and more drab because they were the attire of the common class.

In the past, the singing and dances served a purpose. The music was performed it seems, to satisfy requirements of certain gods. Hundreds of years ago, people depended on horticulture and agriculture for their means of living, and performing certain dances and songs was thought to help ensure a bountiful crop (United Okinawan Assn. of Hawai'i). An excerpt of a song, named *Yuratiku Bushi*, is a perfect example:

Medetaya medetaya kariyushi nu ashibi
Sa uchihariti karaya
Medetaya medetaya yunu akiti tida ya
Sa agaru madi madin

The dance to appease God has been accomplished.

Let us enjoy ourselves throughout the night, until the sun rises.

Through the lyrics of Okinawan music, it is evident that nature is very much admired and respected. Every song is full of the images of nature. This is probably due to the influences of the nature worship that existed before the advent of religions like Buddhism. All the different elements of nature were believed to be the result of nature gods. Appreciating the many beauties of nature was a part of every aspect of life. That appreciation is evident in another song called *Erabu Koi Uta*:

Nami ni uku erabu yo
Yuri nu hana dukuru
Miyarabi niwi kabasa

The Island of Erabu fighting upon the waves
 How beautiful are the lilies!

How fragrant are the women!

I was surprised to find forms of subsistence within the lyrics of some songs. It was quite an interesting discovery. Take this song, *Tanchame*, for instance:

Tanchame nu hama ni sururugwa ga
yutitindo hei

Schools of sururugwa (baby fish) are swimming towards Tanchame Bay

The dance for this song shows the scene in a small fishing community called Tancha, which is on the west coast of Okinawa. In the dance, the man makes movements to show the boat making it way out and then catching fish. Meanwhile, the woman dances with a basket to show the fish are being taken to the market to be sold.

Schools of Instruction

Until just recently there was just one school of sanshin instruction in Hawai'i, which is the Nomura Ryu School. The style that I study is Afuso-Ryu. There are differences between the two. In the late 1800s, the last king of the Ryukyus, King Sho Tai, ordered that the musical scores be simplified. King Sho Tai had his instructor, Ansho Nomura, do this, and thus was established the Nomura Ryu School. In the meantime, Seigen Afuso continued the music as it was traditionally performed and the Afuso Ryu School was formed.

As I understand it, the differences between the schools are that the Nomura style is somewhat more rigid and written notation relied upon more. The playing does not deviate from what is written and has not changed much since the school was started, so it is pretty much as it was 100 years ago. The Afuso style is more subject to change and is comparatively more flamboyant. If you were to hear the same piece of music performed by the different schools, there would be small differences in things as rhythm, number of notes, intricacy of fingering. The founders of Afuso Ryu had hoped that with each successive generation the music would change. It was their wish that each new sensei infuse some of his own creativity into the music so that it would always be more personal, more alive.

There are basically two types of music. The first is *koten*, which is the classical, traditional music. The other is *minyo*, which is the more modern type. *Koten* is more subdued while *minyo* is usually more lively.

A problem that faces students in learning the music is that of language. Although most of the students have some knowledge of the Japanese language, it does not really help when the lyrics to most of the songs are in *Hogen* (Okinawan dialect). The Japanese language and the dialects of the Ryukyu Islands are not mutually understandable. The dialect differs so much that a person who is fluent in Japanese would only understand bits and pieces of *Hogen*. Practically all of the younger generation only understand a few words and phrases in *Hogen*.

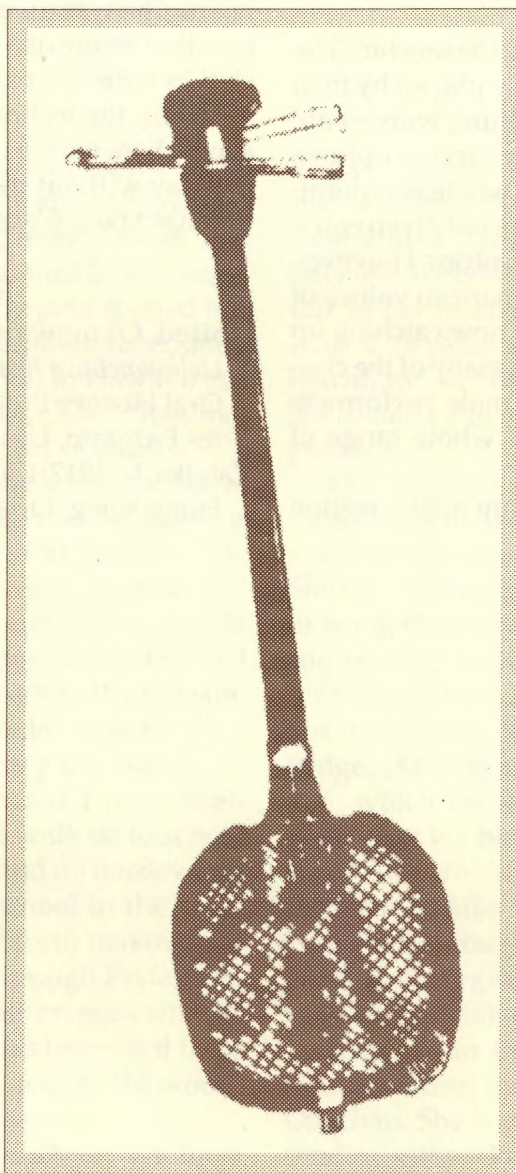
The language difficulty makes memorization of the lyrics especially hard. Part of the reason for the decline in the use of the dialect is due to the assimilation efforts made by the Japanese government during the first half of this century. My own mother has some remembrances of this as a youngster in school in Okinawa. She said that the teachers would punish anyone caught speaking *Hogen*, in other words, anything that was not standard Japanese. By today's standards, the punishment the teachers used were pretty cruel. Their methods were to either

physically punish or publicly humiliate the students.

Different levels of accomplishments in playing the *sanshin* are recognized. The tests are taken in Okinawa. The person taking the test must perform in front of a panel of judges, who determine if they are worthy. The first ranking is *shinjinsho*, followed by *yuushusho*, then *kyoshi*. Other ranks and certificates follow but technically after the third (*kyoshi*) certificate is achieved, one may teach.

Special attention is paid to the instruments as with any other. Whenever an instrument is in the way, we are told never to step over it because it is bad luck and does not show proper respect for the instrument. I was told by my teacher that the *sanshin* is a valuable item to each family because it sort of took the place of the family sword. The family sword was passed down from father to son, but when the Japanese declared that the Ryukyuan could not have weapons in their possession, the *sanshin* took its place.

Different types of dress are used when performing. For most performances a kimono is worn, but on formal occasions dark kimonos are worn. These kimonos are usually black with patches called *mon* sewn on. The *mons* are crests which symbolize a clan or group. On my formal kimono, the *mon* represents my group, which is Afuso Ryu Gensei



Kai. For festival performances the dress is more brightly colored. Also, the material is of lesser quality. The kimonos worn for festivals are sometimes made of cloth made from banana leaves.

Women are now able to play the sanshin. Traditionally, the sanshin was only played by men but due to the changes in culture, women are now able to learn without any kind of opposition. The Japanese culture as a whole was dominated by men and women were not given equal treatment, as in many other countries. However, because of the diffusion of American values of equality, Japanese women are now catching up in social status. Unfortunately, many of the classical songs were written for male performers so women can't perform the whole range of songs.

Diffusion was very important in the creation

of the music of the Ryukyus. The sanshin was an idea borrowed from a Chinese instrument. The written notes were also of Chinese origin. The court dances were influenced by those of Japan. The lyrics were also a result of influences by other countries like Japan and China. The clothes worn for performances were also influenced by the techniques of other countries. In short, there would not be Okinawan music as it is today without the kind of cultural diffusion that has taken place.

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Obachan

By Katherine Nakazawa

When I reminisce about my childhood, I am so grateful that my brother, sister, and I always had our Obachan (grandmother) there with us. She came from Okinawa, Japan almost 20 years ago, after my brother, the only boy (and spoiled rotten) was born. Because my brother, sister, and I are only the second generation in Hawai'i, our Okinawan roots are still strong. The values that are a part of Obachan are a part of us also.

At eighty years of age, she is only 4 feet 10 inches tall, but in her younger years, she was probably as tall as I, about 5 feet 2 inches. She used to be a hefty woman, weighing about 180 pounds, but now she's 120 pounds of mostly wrinkly skin and bones. Her face is tan and wrinkled from doing yardwork in the hot sun. When she smiles, it is so cute because her eyes get so small, they look like they are closed.

When my brother, sister, and I were in elementary school, she would walk us to school every morning, come home and do housework, and then pick us up from school in the afternoon. She walked back and forth making two round trips a day, Monday through Friday, until we were old enough to walk on our own. We would really enjoy those walks because if there was a store or a candy truck around, she would always buy us whatever we wanted.

Because Obachan lives with us, we have learned to speak Japanese and some Okinawan. Even most of my cousins who live in Okinawa cannot speak Okinawan. Also all of my friends whom I attended Japanese school with from kindergarten to high school still cannot speak that language fluently or understand it very well. When they come over to my house and Obachan talks to them, I always have to interpret Japanese to English for my friends, then

English to Japanese for Obachan. When the phone rings, Obachan is usually the one to answer with a "hello" because she is usually the only one at home during the day. People would talk to her in English, and she would respond with a "Kyatie, skooru," or "Edowin, aikane hausu, ya," or "Misharu, shigoto (work)." Then she would hang up the phone, leaving the caller puzzled.

Obachan loves to collect junk. She is a pack rat and doesn't want to throw a thing. She keeps everything, from old packages, to spoiled food. She believes that everything can be used instead of being thrown away. I think it is a value that she grew up with, and I'm sure she has passed it on to me because my room, like hers, is an absolute mess. When I am cleaning out the fridge, she makes comments like "Mottai nai, ne" which means what a waste in Japanese. Whenever we buy new things like clothing or shoes, she would often say "Zeitaku," which I think translates into unnecessary spending. However, through time and with the birth of her first great-grandson, she herself has gotten to be quite good at "Zeitaku."

Keeping in touch with her children and grandchildren has always been important to Obachan. She is constantly writing letters and sending gift packages which is called *kozutsumi* in Japanese. I (her gopher) am always going to the post office to send them for her almost once a month, usually for birthdays or special occasions. It is amazing how she knows all 14 grandchildren's, her great-grandson's, and her own children's birthdays by heart. She gets mad when her children don't reply quickly after they received the *kozutsumi*, or if they don't write or call in a while. She would always say to me

"Ima kara kozutsumi o okuranai yo, arigatai mo wakaran" which translates into from now on, I'm not going to send any more gift packages because they are not grateful (once the letter or phone call comes, she forgives them.) Therefore, I am always thankful for things that I have received from her, and I always let her know (I'm lucky. I don't have to send her a thank you card).

Her values for hard work were instilled in us at an early age. When my brother, sister, and I were young, about 5, 7 and 9 respectively, she used to always make us help her out with the yard work. We would all go out to the back of the house where there was a huge mango tree and a couple of tangerine and plumeria trees. We had to hand pick the leaves that fell on the ground because she would not let us use a rake. Her reason was that we would end up raking up the tiny rocks and dirt more than the leaves. So we had to follow Obachan's rules.

It's still the same today. We got rid of the big old mango tree, but instead of yard work, it is now about laundry. The clothes have to be hung in this manner: jeans, pants, shorts or anything thick that takes a long time drying goes up first at the Diamond Head end of the line. Then comes the t-shirts and tops. Towels and miscellaneous clothing go at the far opposite end of the line, and underwear gets hung on a separate line. The front of all clothing must face the sun in order for efficient drying. After they are half-dried, they must be turned inside-out, to ensure that they are absolutely, totally dried. In fact, they must be piping hot when they are taken down, as she says "achi ko-ko." That's the method to do laundry. I forgot to mention that you can never use the dryer unless you have a valid excuse, something like it has been raining for a month. She always complains

that we are frivolous for using the dryer when the clothes will dry out in the sun. (I guess it doesn't matter to her that I have other important things to do and can't spend the whole day doing laundry like she does.) So my sister and I nicknamed her "sentaku shiyacho," or laundry boss.

She always has some kind of snack or treats that she keeps under her corner of the table which she always sits at. Ever since she had reconstructive knee surgery, she prefers to sit on the ground because she cannot bend her knee as well and has to stretch her legs out. She is always offering her snacks to anyone who comes in the living room. My aunt says that in Okinawa most grandmas are always offering food to guests and family members. It is another tradition that she brought with her from Okinawa. Under her table she also has piles of "junk" with sentimental value, things she can never seem to throw out: little notebooks, letters, cards, receipts, stacks of Kleenex or napkins, saved from McDonalds or some fast food place that we might have gone to. She also keeps lots of pictures, some are very old, some are of her great-grandson in Okinawa, but nothing in order.

Her chronically aching back doesn't allow her to do as much housework as she used to. In the past, she would always cook dinner for our family because my mom and dad would come home late from work and be exhausted after a hard day's work. (My dad must have gotten that value from Obachan.) Once in a while, Obachan will cook us an authentic Okinawan dish, like spare rib soup, which we all enjoy. I have yet to learn how to cook Okinawan foods like she does. Obachan is the living roots to my culture. My brother, sister and I are very fortunate to have her under the same roof as us so that everyday we become closer and closer to our roots. One day, I hope I too can pass on these traditions to my grandchildren when I become the Obachan.

Jose Rizal and the Philippine Revolution

By Diana Bautista

The Spaniards ruled the Philippines for more than 300 years. During that long period of time, the rights of the Filipinos to live freely in their own country were suppressed. Not only did they lose their freedom but they also lost their lands. The Spaniards seized the lands of the people and claimed ownership. And ironically, they employed them to farm these lands. To the people of the Philippines, lands are very important because they are the source of their livelihood. Their lands are their life and money.

Under the Spanish rule, the Filipinos lost the privileges they used to enjoy. They were constantly harassed and abused by the Spaniards. On the streets, they could not walk without being harassed by the Spaniards. In the fields they were forced to work hard, and when they got too tired to continue on with their work, they were physically abused. They were paid less than their fair share of the profits. Because of this cruelty, Filipinos began to fear the Spaniards and resent them.

This resentment inspired one of the greatest

Filipino national heroes, Dr. Jose Rizal to express his negative feelings against the Spaniards. Through his writings, he peacefully sought for reforms. In his two famous novels, *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*, he describes the Spanish cruelty against and oppression of the Filipinos. As a consequence, he was arrested by the Spaniards and exiled in Dapitan. But that did not stop him from writing. He continued to show his opposition against the Spaniards and in the process, inspired Andres Bonifacio, the founder of Katipunan, a secret society of revolutionaries. They were not convinced of peaceful reforms. They wanted bloodshed.

On December 30, 1896, Jose Rizal was executed by firing squad. The Spaniards thought Rizal's death would stop the Filipino rebels from revolting. But they were wrong. Jose Rizal's death only made the Katipuneros more determined to fight for their freedom. On July 12, 1898, the Philippines received their independence from Spain.

Pasko sa Pilipinas

(Christmas in the Philippines)

By Aldy T. Fermin

Christmas in the Philippines, an experience all of its own, is celebrated the longest of Christmas celebrations throughout the world, from December 16th until January 6th. This time is called the Feast of the Three Kings. The spirit of Christmas in the Philippines is very much alive and strong. Christmas is about giving and sharing while celebrating the birth of Jesus Christ.

A unique tradition that Filipinos have that has been preserved and remains an essential part of the Filipino Christmas celebration is the "Simbang Gabi," or more popularly called "Misa de Gallo." Mass starts at 4 a.m. in some towns and in the cities, it usually starts at 5 a.m. It is a nine-day novena of prayers and recitations which commences on the 16th of December and ends on the 24th. Churches are always full to capacity. It is believed that if you attend these nine masses faithfully, you are granted one wish. On Christmas Eve, people attend the midnight mass. After the mass, everyone goes home to spend "Noche Buena," or Christmas dinner with their families and loved ones. This is a time of family reunion. Members of the family who have left "the nest" come home once again to enjoy and share the spirit of Christmas with one another.

Another tradition that Filipinos observe is the

Christmas caroling. People of all ages go from house to house singing a medley of both English and Tagalog Christmas songs. Children gather a group of friends and with their homemade instruments (bottle caps flattened and strung together with a chicken wire) sing carols in their neighborhood. Christmas tradition dictates that a small token of money be given to the carolers. The more mature carolers are more formal in their approach. They give notices to the families announcing the time and date of their arrival in order to make sure that someone will be at home to welcome them. After singing their carols, they are invited into the house for some refreshments. An envelope containing a donation is handed to the group leader and in appreciation, more carols are sung.

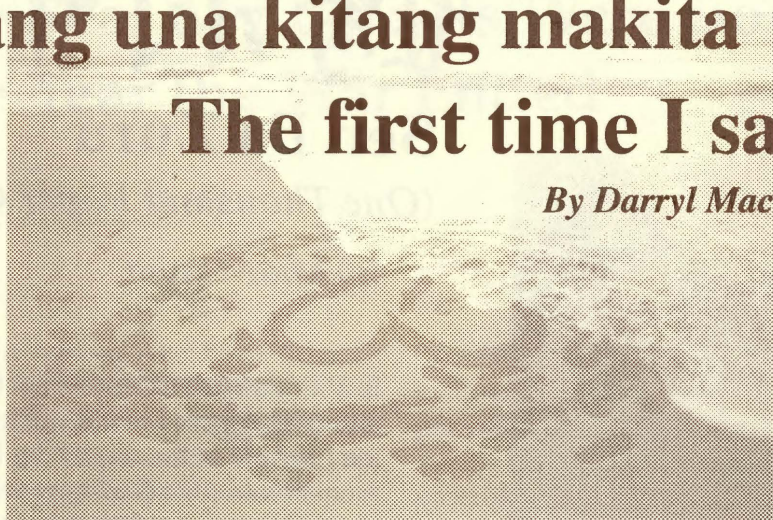
Lastly, Christmas in the Philippines is not complete without the "parol," or Christmas lantern. This lantern is formed in the shape of a star to symbolize the "Star of the East," which led the three wise men to the place of Christ's birth. At night these beautiful and colorful lanterns are lit, brightening the dark nights.

Christmas to the Filipinos is more than just festivities and gift-giving. It is a time for family reunions and, most importantly, a time to celebrate the birth of our lord Jesus Christ.

Nang una kitang makita

The first time I saw you

By Darryl Macha



nang una kitang makita
ako ay natulala.
nais kitang makilala
ngunit ako'y nahiya.

the first time i saw you
i was at a loss for words
i wanted to meet you
but i was too shy.

pangalan mo'y tinanong ko
hindi mo ibinigay.
sa iyong pag-aakala
ito'y biro-biro lang.

i asked for your name
but you did not give it to me.
in your assumption
i was just teasing.

araw-araw ay hanap ka
di kite magtagpuan.
puso ko'y handang ialay
magpakita ka lamang.

day by day i searched for you
but i could not find you.
my Love i'd offer you
if i could only find you.

nang una kitang makita
ako ay natulala
nais kitang makilala
ngunit ako'y nahiya.

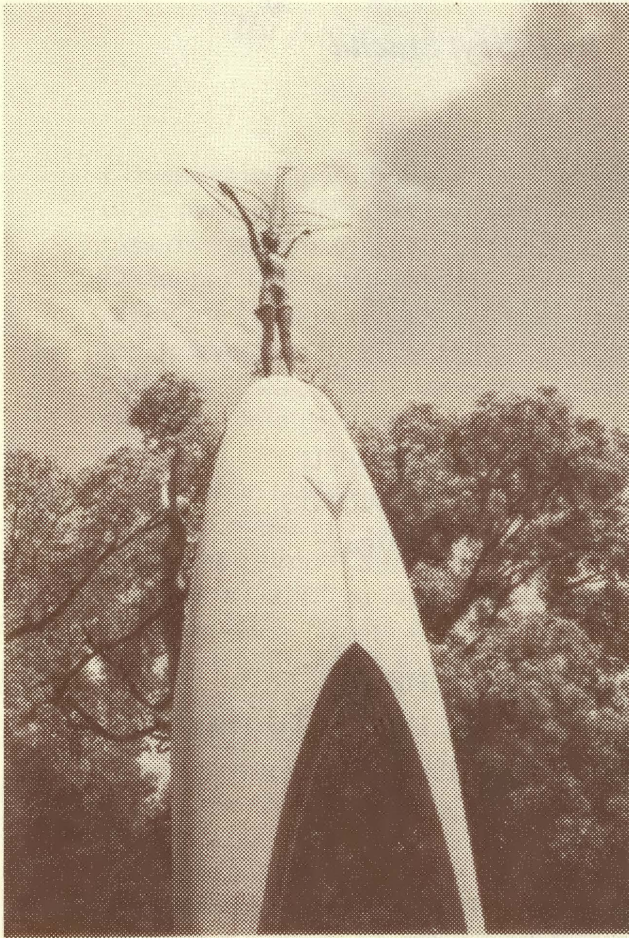
the first time i saw you
i was at a loss for words.
i wanted to meet you
but i was too shy.

鶴羽千

Sen Ba Zuru

(One Thousand Paper Cranes)

By Marc Guyot



Photograph by Marc Guyot

*Children's memorial to Sasaki Saddako-san at the Peace
Park in Hiroshima, Japan, 1997*

In the city of Hiroshima, there is a special memorial to a little 11-year-old girl. After suffering the horrible pains caused by leukemia from the atom bomb, she asked how she could relieve her pain. She was told that if she could fold 1000 paper cranes, her pain would go away. She folded 646 before she died. When her classmates heard that she died, they folded the remaining 354 cranes.

Soon the story spread throughout Japan. The children of Japan were so touched by this story, that they began to fold millions of paper cranes and send them to Hiroshima in honor of the little girl, Sasaki Saddako-san.

Today, children from all over the world are so moved by this story that cranes arrive from every corner of the globe as a sign of love and honor for a child who has suffered for the mistakes of adults.

As I finished telling the story I brushed away the tears, my friend Kimie-san wiped her eyes, and we promised to tell this story to as many people as possible, so that there will never ever be another child that needs paper cranes folded in their memory.

Inspired by a song from the band "Hiroshima"

The Year My Parents Were Born, The Year the War Ended

By Kaoru Shiki

In 1945, the year my parents were born, the cruelest and saddest events in the history of the world were occurring. It is no exaggeration to say that there were few pleasures for all citizens of the world because of their full-scale participation in the war. People would not forget this year because 1945 was also the year World War II officially ended, bringing with it not only the beginning of the rebuilding of many countries involved in the war, but also an era of peace in Japan, and for many, hope.

World War II broke out in 1939 when the Imperial Japanese Army overran much of China and the Germans invaded Poland. Adolf Hitler, the infamous leader of the National Socialist German Workers, or Nazi Party, had conquered nine countries in Europe and created an economic and social fabric based on fascism. Over 65 million Germans followed Adolf Hitler's leadership to build a greater German nation (Clifton 589).

It is estimated that Nazis killed over 6 million Jewish people in concentration camps. These camps were known as the "Final Solution" to eliminate the Jews. Typically prisoners were kept for six weeks, during which time their food was restricted and they were expected to lose 40 percent of their weight. Those who lived through the six week period were led to gas chambers. Their bodies were transported to one of six incinerators. Each furnace could burn three bodies at a time in about 20 minutes. The corpses were fully reduced to ashes, destroying all evidence of the previous human existence and the heinous crime (Clifton 590).

After I had learned more about the terrible facts of war I started to wonder what had happened in Japan during this time and how these events had affected both my grandparents and parents. I was fortunate to have the opportunity to talk with my grandparents about their life experiences during World War II.

As the war in Europe ended with Germany's surrender in May of 1945, the war in Japan was getting worse. At school most of the male teachers were called to support the war but the principal and female teachers remained at school. Eventually, most of the intermediate school students were forced to go to factories, farms or join the Army, Navy or Air Force. Even women were called upon to help their country. Single women and those under 25 years old had to work at the factories and some of them even joined the Army. Schools were not a place to study anymore, but were converted to barracks. The army made civilians build air-raid shelters underground to protect themselves from the bombing. Each family brought clothes, straw mats, candles, water, soy beans, rice, and other supplies into the shelter in case of emergencies. People would jump into the shelter every time the air-raid alarm rang. Many of the people were burned to death on the way to the shelter or suffocated in the shelter (Kamura Mar 23).

From 11:11 p.m. on June 19, 1945, to 12:53 p.m. on June 20, 1945, U.S. Air-Force B29s dropped 500 bombs on Fukuoka, my parents' hometown. About 56,000 people were injured and more than 20,000 people were killed and wounded from these bombs (Nishinohon

Shinbun Photo album). My grandmother described the moment she saw the bombs drop:

The moment the bombs were dropped, it was very dark like a moonless night. Then, the night became an illusion of a flower growing from the white heat in the blue sky. Houses were destroyed and blazed up here and there. The flames from the burning houses reflected and made the dark town bright. People whose bodies were swollen like a balloon from the burns were wandering the street making painful groaning sounds. Many of them were walking around with their skin peeling off and broken into pieces like the skin of a baked potato. I saw someone run away while chanting a prayer with a heavy step, and there was a man who covered his face with his hands and called out his wife and children's names. Little children whose bodies were shaking, lost their parents and were walking with bare feet in the town which was filled with an offensive smell of burning flesh. They had no place to go (Kamura).

Just remembering these scenes made my grandmother's body shake. Someone not knowing anything about the war who saw such a terrible situation would think he or she were in hell, but this was real, it really happened. I knew not only about the Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombs which are well known all over the world, but also about the tons of bombs dropped all over Japan in 1945. It must have brought great suffering to many people especially the children, elderly, sick, and handicapped.

Two months later the use of a new weapon of unprecedented destructive power led to the end of the war. Two atomic bombs dropped by the U.S. Air force only three days apart destroyed the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. About 15,000 people were killed or injured in Hiroshima (The Encyclopedia of Military History: 1198). In addition many more were dying

daily from burns sustained during the raid. The Hiroshima weapon is said to have had more power than 20,000 tons of TNT, 1000 times greater than the most powerful conventional bomb (The 1995 Grolier Multimedia Encyclopedia 42). William Parson, one of the weapon's designers who flew on the mission, said, "A bright, blinding flash was seen when the bomb was dropped and a minute later a black cloud of boiling dust and churning debris was 1,000 feet off the ground and above it white smoke climbed like a mushroom to 20,000 feet." A second bomb was dropped on Nagasaki on August 9, killing or wounding about 75,000 persons (The Encyclopedia of Military History 1198). Afterward President Truman warned the Japanese that the first use of the weapon was only a warning of things to come and that the United States would drop more atomic bombs until they completely destroyed Japan's ability to make war (Burne 1135).

Finally, on September 2, 1945, the Japanese Emperor addressed his nation over the radio saying that Japan had surrendered unconditionally because of the two atomic bombs. The total number of victims of World War II was estimated to be about 50 million. An exhausted world could finally pause to take a deep breath and hope that it would be the last.

However, after the war Japan was struck by a serious food shortage. Many people died of hunger. My grandfather's salary was 70 yen (about \$1). For a month only two cups of rice and one raw vegetable, a potato or raddish, were distributed for each family every day. My grandparents emphasized that to get food was the first priority for the people. My grandmother bore the knapsack to put food in on her shoulders and carried my mother in front. She went to a farming village by train everyday to buy food or barter items for food because distribution was not enough for her family and her little sister who had lost her mother. Only people who had money could buy food on the black market where commodity prices rose to many times their official levels. My grand-

mother said, "Without the black market more people would have died from starvation."

However, since my grandfather was a police chief, his family could not use the black market or participate in unlawful activities. They could get extra food only by selling their clothing or valuables. One day someone brought my grandfather some food but underneath it there was money. The person who brought this must have thought that my grandfather would help them somehow through using his authority as a policeman. My grandfather returned it to the person immediately. His position put his family in a harder situation during those already difficult days (Kamura).

To aid Japan in recovery and reconstruction, General Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander for the Allied Power (SCAP), was appointed as the leader. Policies implemented the American view that political, economic, and social reforms were necessary for Japan to rebuild a new society. The goal was to build a new state based on democracy, peace, and rationalism. The new constitution, which went into effect May 3, 1947, was clearly an American document and the Emperor became a "symbol of the state," but not a god descended from the Sun Goddess. The Emperor was regarded as an ordinary man on January 1, 1946 (Great Events 2: 584-589).

Since then, Japanese society has changed a lot and today Japan has become a great economic power. The average person is well off with an abundance of food and mass produced goods. The fact that over 13,000,000 people visit abroad every year shows that Japan is a country with an international flavor. It is a totally different country from what Japan was 50 years ago when many people died of starvation. But what do Japanese people today know about the war? Our generation, myself included, only know the war through our education but not from our own experiences, because we have lived in a world of revival and reconstruction.

In 1994, the NHK, Japanese Broadcasting Association, surveyed the Japanese people on

their thoughts of the war. The survey showed that today Japanese people have gradually forgotten the facts of the war and the hardship of our older generation. According to the survey, 52.1 percent of the general public thought that World War II was the Japanese invasion of all Asia; 19.6 percent answered that they felt the pain in their heart when they thought of people whom Japan had invaded. These people recognize the war should not be forgotten. On the other hand, 31 percent of the respondents, especially young people, think that they don't have any responsibility or that they aren't even concerned about it. There is a great difference between old and young generations. Moreover, 62 percent of people think Japan itself has not yet fully compensated other countries (Higashitani et al. 88-89). The Japanese government distorted the events of the past and has tried to rationalize the war of aggression for 50 years. That is why young Japanese have little knowledge or responsibility for the war and it is also why Asians of other countries have continued to request that Japan apologize to them. I remember the words of president Weizacker of West Germany on TV about 10 years ago. He said, "The person who shuts the door to the past is the person who shuts the door to the present." I think the future for the Japanese will be opened only when they face the past directly.

Japanese people have lived in a peaceful world without war since World War II because that was the lesson they learned from the war. I should appreciate the fact that I haven't experienced the hardships that the older generations went through, but has our prosperity brought us "happiness" or is this a facade? This will be the next question we have to consider. In spite of the fact that Japan has developed remarkably in many aspects, a lot of problems still exist. In today's world, the increase in crime rate, bullying at school, the fragility of human relations, and the corruption by power and money are terrible. Although the social issues may have been different, the concern for the problems that existed the year my parents were born were

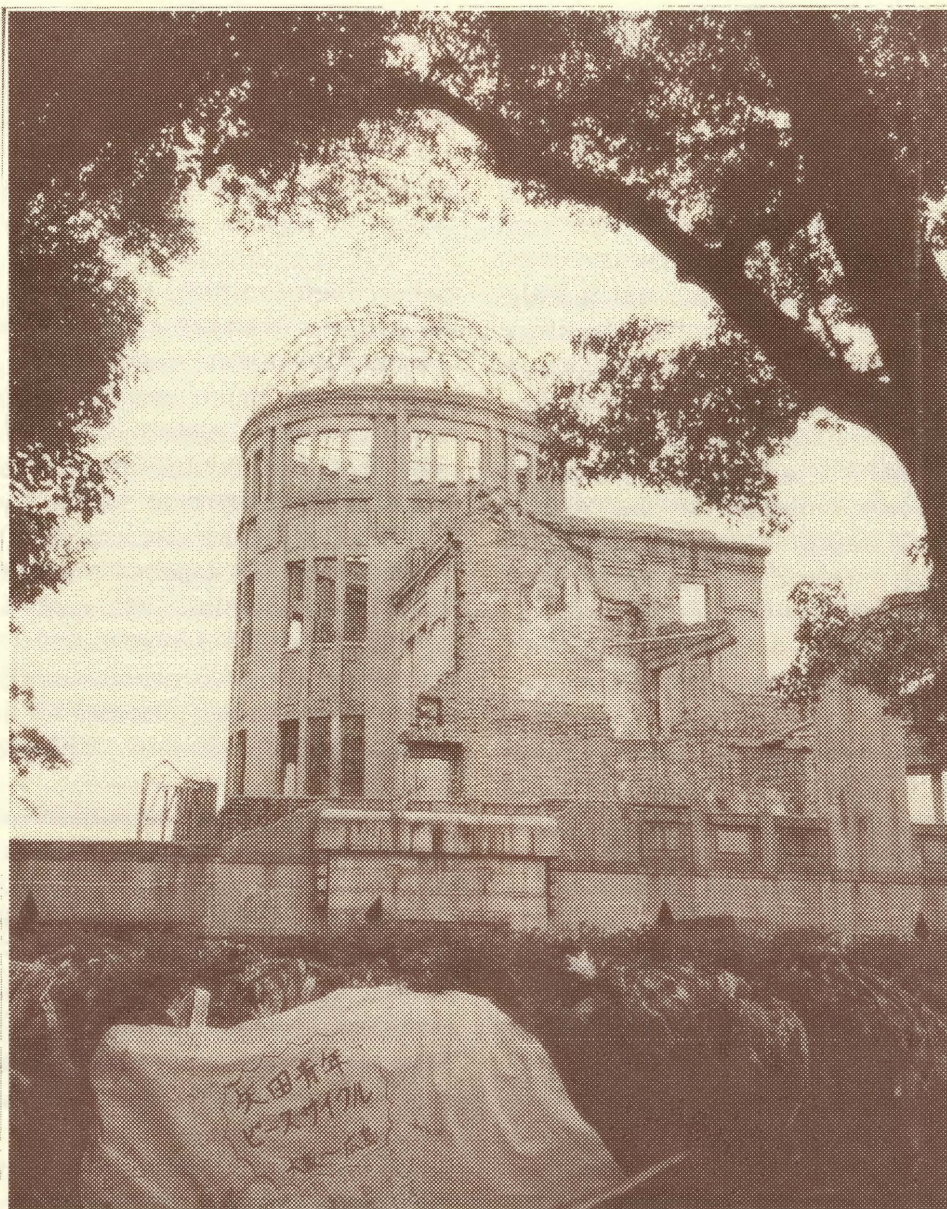
probably not much different from those today.

Through writing this paper I had a chance to talk with my grandparents. It must have brought back painful memories for them, but I learned many facts that I had not known before and was also able to think a lot about it. Now is the time to think through and appreciate the hardships and efforts of our older generation. We should learn a lesson from history

to not repeat our mistakes and to avoid war at all cost, while at the same time think about the real meaning of happiness. Just because we live in a peaceful era does not necessarily mean we are happy. I believe our generation should not forget the events that occurred in 1945, and should strive to continue this era of peace and hope which the end of World War II brought to our parents and grandparents.

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Photograph by Marc Guyot

"Gembaku Domu"—the A-bomb Dome, the only building left standing after Hiroshima was bombed in World War II

Comfort Women

By Diane Kawakami

The Japanese government has refused to fully acknowledge the plight of the "comfort women." It has refused to issue an apology and compensate these women who suffered atrocities brought on by the Japanese Imperial Army during World War II. It is estimated that about 200,000 women were forced into sex slavery during World War II and of those only 40,000 are believed to have survived (Chao). Only about 500 are believed to be alive today. The publication of the ordeals which these women suffered at the hands of the Japanese Imperial Army has caused the Japanese government to deny that any wrong doing was done against these women and now, there is much public outcry to try and force the government to issue an apology to each of the women and pay restitution. The victims feel that the Japanese government has a moral obligation to issue an apology and to compensate them for their suffering. While the government sees this issue as a problem resulting from the war, it has turned into a moral issue which will not be resolved until Japan can admit that the comfort women were forced into sexual slavery. The freedom and civil rights of these women have been violated.

The misfortune and disgrace which comfort women suffered at the hands of the Japanese Army cannot be easily forgotten. The women must relive the endless nightmares which they were forced to endure while at the mercy of the Japanese troops. The women were forced or tricked into "service" and were treated much like military supplies, being sent to the front line of the war to "comfort" the troops. Now that their agony has been brought into the public light, the Japanese government has once again caused further suffering by failing to issue for-

mal apologies to these women and conservative Japanese lawmakers have denied any responsibility for the women.

In pre-war Japan, prostitutes had to be licensed and were subjected to medical inspections. *Karayuki* or traveling prostitutes were found in many parts of Asia in the late nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century. The export of women for sexual service was, therefore, not a new idea for the Japanese (Hicks 27). Given that prostitution was state-organized and perceived with such openness, it then seemed logical that there should be organized prostitution in the Japanese Armed Forces.

The Japanese comfort system was similar to that of the Roman Empire. Founded on a system of slavery which made life more comfortable and pleasurable for the elite, Roman society always had a supply of captive females for the military brothels which were attached to every Roman garrison or campaigning army. These women provided sexual services 24 hours a day and also did female chores such as nursing, washing and cooking.

With compulsive enlistment into the army during the nineteenth century came greater problems in maintaining order, controlling venereal disease and preventing desertion. As a way to keep the troops contented and tractable and to keep the troops from raping civilians and controlling disease military authorities looked to military prostitution.

There was a Japanese superstition that sex before going into battle worked as a charm against injury. Soldiers would make amulets from the pubic hair of the comfort women or from something which belonged to the comfort

women. Deprivation of sex was believed to make one accident prone. Sex was thought of as a way to combat the stress of the savage discipline which the troops had to endure. It was also a common rationale that a soldier who had no previous sexual experience should have intercourse at least once before he died, and therefore troops would visit a comfort station before going into battle. Any man who refused to go to a comfort station would be forcibly taken there by his comrades who would watch through holes in the walls.

The first comfort stations under direct Japanese military control were founded in Shanghai in 1932, after 223 reported rapes by Japanese troops. In order to stop further rapes, Lt. General Okamura Yasuji requested that the governor of Nagasaki Prefecture send a contingent of comfort women to Shanghai. Thereafter, incidents of rapes were greatly reduced, which led to the reason for subsequent expansion of military prostitution. These comfort women were of Korean ancestry who came from a Korean mining community in North Kyushu. The women were forced into recruitment by police as well as the armed forces.

At the end of the war, as Japanese soldiers were killed in battle or killed themselves at the knowledge of invading allied troops, many comfort women were killed. The commanders of battle units about to be overtaken were doubtful that the comfort women would follow the troops and commit suicide, and therefore had hand grenades thrown into dugouts where the women slept. Surviving comfort women also reported that soldiers would gather the women into groups then sweep through the group with automatic rifle fire.

After the war, many women who returned to their families kept silent about their experiences. Many kept up the pretense that the job they had been recruited to do was waitressing or nursing. The women were silenced by their knowledge that their society was dominated by patriarchal views of chastity and morality and a lack of openness about sex (Hicks 165). The

loss of virginity made the prospect for a respectable marriage and family almost unreachable.

The women continued to suffer both mentally and physically. They were not able to talk with anyone about their sufferings which caused them severe mental anguish. Many of the women were also sterile, crippled by a variety of diseases and the brutality of their experiences, and sick from the drugs they were sometimes forced to consume to abort unwanted pregnancies or to prevent or cure diseases.

In 1948 trials were held in Dutch Indonesia for interned Dutch women who were made to work as comfort women (Hicks 168). The names of both the victims and those accused have been sealed and the archives are not scheduled to be opened until 2025. This issue did not come to international attention until 1992 when the records held in The Hague were made public.

In the early 1990s media attention to the comfort women prompted a growing number of former comfort women to reveal their stories such as these that follow:

A 15-year-old Chinese girl living in British Malaya, was kidnapped by Japanese soldiers. She was raped on the kitchen floor in front of her parents and brother. She was later put in a large room with a double bed. She was fed two simple meals a day and the sheets to the bed were changed twice a day. She was forced to have sex with ten to twenty men a day until she was continuously raw—red raw. Sex was excruciatingly painful, but she had to remain gentle and serve every soldier well or she would be beaten.

An 18-year-old Korean girl was approached by a Korean man named Song, who was accompanied by a Japanese man named Matsumoto. He offered her a good job in a restaurant in a warm country some distance away. Lured by the good salary which would enable her to send money home to help her impoverished family (an important consideration in a society where

Confucian values of filial piety were deeply important), she changed her name to a Japanese one. She was shipped to Rangoon in Burma in a hold with about 200 other girls. When they departed the ship, they realized they were to become comfort women—one committed suicide. This young Korean woman had to service more than 30 men a day in a cramped thatched hut partitioned by hanging mats which did not quite reach the ceiling. Health measures included weekly disinfecting of the rooms and a venereal disease inspection by the unit medical officer. These women had to service men even during their menstrual period. They had to use absorbent cotton and frequent douches (Hicks 12).

The changing attitudes of men towards women in Asia were an essential precondition. Then as now, rape was never an easy charge to sustain. Given the high moral value attached to chastity, the comfort women invariably emerged from their wartime experiences defiled, yet unable to accuse their abusers. They had everything to gain by keeping silent and everything to lose by making accusations. It was seen as kindness to the comfort women to pretend that this systematic brutalization had never taken place. These atrocities suffered by the comfort women may never have come to light had it not been for some brave women who spoke out. The courage of former comfort women who came forward to condemn Japan for their wartime abuses and demand redress from Japan made possible such landmark initiatives as the 1991 Tokyo lawsuit and the 1992 Asia Solidarity Conference on comfort women in Seoul.

The Taiwanese Comfort Investigation Committee, by the end of 1992, had received 66 cases of complaint from former comfort women. The investigation revealed that there was a minimum of 766 former Taiwanese comfort women. The committee found that the women involved

had been between the ages of fourteen and thirty when they were "drafted into service." The majority of these women were not aware of what they would be doing when they were drafted. The women reported that they serviced as many as thirty to forty men in one day. The women interviewed during this investigation report that most of them had never been compensated for their services (Report on Taiwanese Comfort Women Oct. 19). The women reported that after the war many of them hid their shameful past and tried to lead normal lives, but many of these women were unable to bear children due to long-term and intensive sexual activities.

The Japanese government has been mixed on the issue of comfort women. On June 22, 1996, Japan's Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto apologized for Japan's involvement in the forcing of South Korean women into sexual slavery during World War II (Chon). South Korean officials felt that this was an improvement because a formal apology from the prime minister is tantamount to the admission of government responsibility. However, critics state that the wording and context of Hashimoto's statements are lukewarm and do not differ from the past attitude of the Japanese government. The government still denies involvement in the sex enslavement and refuses to make direct reparations to these women.

Hashimoto's sentiments differ from those of Chief Cabinet Secretary Seiroku Kajiyama. On the eve of the summit earlier this year between Hashimoto and South Korean President Kim Young-sam, Kajiyama had remarked that Japan's use of women as sex slaves during World War II was justified under the mores of the times. Kajiyama subsequently apologized, however, he did not retract his earlier comments that women sent to the front-line brothels were simply trying to make money and were no different from Japanese prostitutes who were operating legally in Japan at the time.

This view is also shared by Upper House member Tadashi Itagaki of the Liberal Demo-

cratic Party (LDP). Itagaki believes that the forcible recruitment of women by the Imperial forces was, "not a historical fact." He and other members refuse to admit that Japan waged a war of aggression. This group's opinion remained, "We cannot stand for the self-humiliating historical recognition and mean apologizing diplomacy. We have tried to regain what we have lost after World War II and raise healthy Japanese."

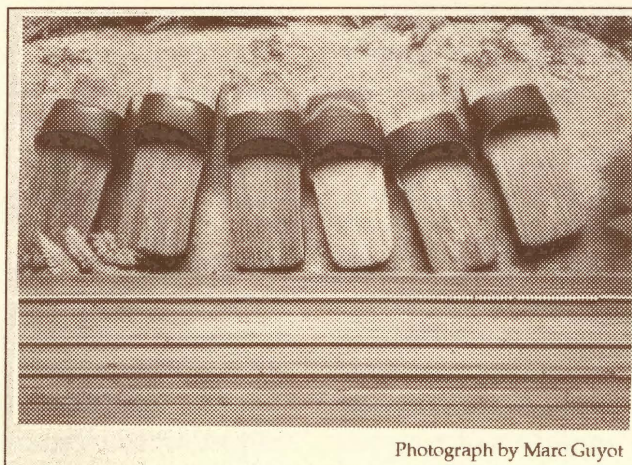
It would be hard to fault these politicians when you look at the historical status of women in Japanese history. It is perceived that "the great life-long duty of a woman is obedience." These words were taken from a classical volume used as a textbook for the training of Japanese girls during the past two hundred years which make clear the subordinate status of women in Japan. Their main duty is to serve men in what is known as the three obediences: obedience to a father while unmarried, obedience to a husband after marriage, and obedience to a son when widowed. It is clear that women are expected to provide services to men, therefore, explaining how these thoughts are prevalent in the minds of today's politicians who refuse to believe that the forcing of women into "service" for the troops was anything but expected of them.

In an attempt to avoid further demands for government compensation the private Asian Women's Fund was set up under the adminis-

tration of former Prime Minister Tomoiichi Murayama. This fund was to provide each of 300 recognized surviving victims, 2 million yen (\$18,600) by August 15, 1996, which is the anniversary of the end of World War II. However, the comfort women have refused to accept the money because it is pooled from private donations and not from the government. Therefore, the issue may never be resolved.

These women were victims of the war, but until the government can admit that the comfort women were morally wronged there cannot be a compromise. The government continues to deny any wrongdoing and feels that their position on financial compensation issues was settled in the 1951 San Francisco Peace Treaty. The restitution paid during this time was \$15 per prisoner of war. Sukasa Uemura, a spokesman for the Japanese Embassy in Washington said, "All legal issues with respect to compensation are settled."

The Japanese government should take notice of the United States Civil Rights Act of 1988, which provided a national apology and a symbolic monetary compensation to Japanese Americans who were confined to internment camps during World War II. After the bombing at Pearl Harbor, Nisei (second generation) Japanese Americans were forced into internment camps where they were mistreated. The reported mistreatment included individual beatings while under restraint, threatening of intern-



Photograph by Marc Guyot

ees with unsheathed bayonets by guards, orders to cooperate with questionable rules and regulations made by camp commanders, camp physicians giving questionable and unrequested injections to internee patients, and the use of solitary confinement. The internees suffered loss of freedom, property and pride.

The Japanese government needs to re-evaluate the whole situation of the comfort women of World War II. Some government officials

have already acknowledged the existence of comfort women. They need to realize that the freedom and civil rights of these women were violated and that the Japanese government should compensate these women for their suffering at the hands of the Japanese army. It would be only then that the comfort women can finally be at peace and stop blaming themselves for the misery that they have suffered.

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The Changing Status of Women in Taiwan

By Meng-Chieh Wu

Taiwan is an island located off the southern coast of China. Home to an indigenous people, the island during this century has been under the political rule of China, Japan, and once again, China. The population is a mixture of ethnic Chinese and Taiwanese people. Although the main language is Chinese, Taiwanese language and customs still exist. Taiwan is a society in transition. For most of the first half of this century, Taiwan was mostly an agricultural society under the foreign rule of Japan. After World War II, Taiwan became the refuge of the Chinese Nationalists who fled the Communist takeover in China. The agricultural society slowly was transformed into an industrial society, and in the 1960s, Taiwan's cities grew larger and more modern. The result was a rapid growth in the urban population and a rapid rise in an urban middle class. The forces making the changes in the society were economic and political. Despite the modernization, Taiwan's rural society and its values continue to exist.

The traditional rural society of Taiwan is mainly focused on the culture of men. Therefore, the family's line of descent is based on patrilineal principle. In any generation, only males transmit their membership in the group to their offspring. In addition, the men are the ones who have the right to take over the family's name and title.

Margery Wolf, in her book, *Women and Family in Rural Taiwan* (1972), points out "a man is born into his family and remains a member of it throughout his life and even after his death" (32). Moreover, the man's place is always in the line of his ancestors and remains the per-

manent setting no matter what happens.

On the contrary, women are not as secure as men—they can't keep their father's name forever, and there is no place for them in the line of their ancestors. Moreover, either as an infant or as an adult, the woman might be forced to leave her household and enter another family, where she might be treated with suspicion or hostility. "To a woman's family and father, she's only a temporary member of the household, and she is a useless girl to be put in charge of her two-year-old brother" (Wolf, 32). Moreover, as young children, women are taught that they are worthless simply because of their sex.

In a rural Taiwanese family, most of the girls had to stay home to help the parents, unlike most of the boys who attended school. For example, during Japanese rule, there were few female students who attended school. For many families, the idea of girls going to school was a waste of time because girls should stay home and take care of the other children. Those girls who had the opportunity to attend school did so because their parents considered reading and writing skills to be useful for their families, although those skills were more necessary for boys than girls.

My mother was born in 1947 and grew up in a rural village in Taiwan. As the eldest of eleven brothers and sisters, instead of continuing her schooling she had to stay home and work at the family restaurant after elementary school like her older brothers. Even after other girls were born into the family, my mother continued to have to work and take care of her siblings, and support her siblings' education. My mother

said, "Being an oldest child, a girl doesn't have much choice in making decisions on her own, but has the responsibilities of taking care of the family."

In rural Taiwanese families, most parents arranged the marriage for the girls. Even up until 1968, Wolf found that most rural marriages were still being arranged. And those women who chose their own husbands "had in most cases sacrificed their families' support and caused most older people to question their reliability" (102). A woman who chose her own mate would usually lose the emotional and social support of her own family. With nowhere to go, a woman's mother-in-law would often take advantage of this situation to pressure the woman. As one Taiwanese woman observed, "... the main difference between marriages arranged by parents and those arranged by the children is that a girl will choose a man to marry whereas her parents will choose a family" (103).

In the late 1960s, Wolf observed that the distinction between an arranged marriage by the son's parents and the son choosing his own wife was beginning to blur in rural Taiwan. A go-between would still negotiate the marriage arrangement, but the older traditions of the arranged marriage were being relaxed. The opinions of the young people previously were not considered. Still, the opinion of the future mother-in-law regarding future daughter-in-law had not changed very much. What was of importance to the mother-in-law was the "three degrees of obedience [to her parents, to her husband, and to her son] and the four feminine virtues [proper behavior, demeanor, speech, and employment]. Prettiness is not useful" (115).

The coming of the mainland Chinese to Taiwan did not have much impact on the customs of the rural Taiwanese. For much of the 1960s and 1970s, there was a clear social distinction between Chinese (those whose families came from mainland China after World War II) and Taiwanese. Wolf observed that for the displaced mainland Chinese, the wedding ceremony usually simply ended in a feast, but the Taiwanese

follow the wedding rituals more closely. However, even those rituals are being discarded. Wolf gives the example of the custom of the groom kicking the side of the pedicab when the bride first arrives at his home. This custom was meant to frighten the bride and make her obedient. However, Wolf observed that "this custom has been dropped completely now because the cabdrivers get very upset about grooms kicking the sides of their cars" (137).

For the bride in rural Taiwan, pleasing her husband is the least of her concerns; it is her mother-in-law's face she must watch. The relationship between daughters-in-law can also be tense. To show a family's social status, a family may often spend up to a year's income on the wedding. The first daughter-in-law may feel resentment toward the new bride for making the family spend so much money to take her in. Moreover, the new bride is likely to feel isolated in this new family. Her relationship with the men of the family is usually very limited. She is not supposed to be alone in a room with any adult males of the family, and even her husband will try to avoid spending much time alone with her. In public, she was not supposed to speak to her husband if it could be avoided.

With not much else in her married life, the woman often looks to her own uterine family. It is not uncommon for families to become divided as daughters-in-law seek to secure their own uterine family's share of the family estate. And while brothers may eventually reconcile their differences with each other based on their shared experiences of pleasant times growing up together, daughters-in-law have no such bonds and will often remain enemies with each other.

In addition to this personal pressure to save herself from loneliness in her husband's family, there are many other pressures on the woman to have a baby. Young women are told that their reason for existence is to produce babies. Grandfathers want to see their family line continue before they die, and grandmothers want the personal pleasure of being able to love and spoil

babies with impunity. A woman's position in the new family would be under constant pressure to produce a male child, especially if she is married to the eldest son. Moreover, if the woman does not become pregnant soon after marriage, mothers-in-law often go to the *tang ki* (spiritual healer) for assistance.

The *tang ki* will read the flower fortune of the woman. The flower fortune is the woman's childbearing potential represented by a flowering tree. If after visiting the *tang ki*, a woman still cannot get pregnant, often the mother-in-law will arrange for her to adopt a baby girl, "not as a substitute for her own children, but to 'lead in a son'" (151). Wolf notes that there may be some evidence to support this idea that it is easier for a woman to conceive after adopting a child. And even if the first-born child is a girl, the husband's family will relax, for at least the woman can bear healthy offspring. The relationship between husband and wife becomes much stronger if the woman gives birth to a son. The birth of a son will make the husband's status higher in the village.

On the other hand, a woman can actually have a great influence on her husband through social pressure by causing him to "lose face." In a society that values social status and correct behavior, to have people gossiping about you lowers your sense of self worth. Men try to avoid putting themselves in that situation, so they pay close attention when their wives start talking to others about their husbands. Wolf points out that the successful Taiwanese man must learn and obey the rules of his society, while the Taiwanese woman must also learn the rules, but to be successful, "she must learn not to stay within them, but to appear to stay within them; to manipulate them, but not to appear to manipulate them; to teach them to her children, but not to depend upon her children for her protection" (40-41).

The traditional social values in Taiwan focused mainly on the men in that culture, although some traditional customs and thoughts still remain in modern Taiwan. Now there are

many visible changes in the status of Taiwanese women since the 1960s. Based on my personal experience of living in rural Taiwan since the 1970s and my conversations with women like my mother who went through those transition years, I have a number of examples documenting the process of change.

In the area of education, since about 1973 both boys and girls are required to have at least nine years of schooling. It is not at all unusual for women to attend the university and to have professional jobs such as doctors or professors. The number of women college students more than doubled from 1958 (18.8 percent) to 1987 (43.6 percent) (Biher, et.al., 1990).

This increase in the level of education among women has had a positive effect in the area of work. Women no longer are only limited to sales clerk or low skill jobs, but many women have their own careers, including holding political office. However, Bih-er, Clark, and Clark point out the many things in Taiwanese society that contribute to make women less interested in politics than men, including the woman's subordinate position within the family, the view that women's primary importance lie in their contributions to the family, and the inhibitions Confucian norms generate against women venturing beyond the private sphere. Still, women are no longer being taught that they are just "the worthless girl," existing only to produce sons. There are many successful career women in modern Taiwan. Even though in 1989 women had less than twenty percent of the elected offices, it is about three times higher than the worldwide average for national legislatures (Bih-er, et.al., 91).

The influence of Western entertainment and culture on Taiwan has increased the level of awareness for women's rights. American magazines, movies, and television shows are readily available throughout Taiwan. Women in Taiwan today choose their own husbands, and there are very few arranged marriages. The makeup of the traditional Taiwanese family is moving more towards the Western nuclear family, with many

young people living apart from the husband's family. However, the social ties with the extended family remain strong, and filial piety is still considered a virtue.

Economics seems to be a driving force in the changing status of women in Taiwan. As Taiwan moves its economy from predominantly industrial to one of high tech manufacturing, the educational skill level of employees also needs to be raised. Today, the government sponsors training for learning about computers and software, with many women being trained for and getting these high skilled jobs. Moreover, as the standard of living rises, and more consumer goods become available in Taiwan, the role of the woman in consumerism and advertising is changing the concept of a woman's role. Where before the virtues of a woman were judged on how she related to her family, today's woman is being told she must be thin and look pretty.

There are still many traditional ideas about the role of women in Taiwan. Men still carry the ancestral line, and women still marry "into"

the husband's family. But the society in Taiwan today offers many opportunities to women that were not available to women of my mother's generation. By the time my children reach adulthood, the role of women in Taiwan should be less like the patriarchal society of China and more like the status of women in Western cultures. But, even with all the changes to Taiwan's culture, my mother will still spoil her grandchildren and my mother-in-law will always criticize me for not taking good care of her son.

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Okinawa, 1996

By Mie Sanders

There have been many political issues about Okinawa's rights. I personally do not agree with the Japanese government's placement of a vast U.S. military base in Okinawa. I would not appreciate the central government's plan if I lived in Okinawa. I would feel invaded, especially about the use of the land for the U.S. military.

One reason Okinawa is much different from the other parts of Japan is that Okinawa used to be a kingdom all its own, apart from central Japan. Until the Japanese government took over the kingdom of Ryukyu (Okinawa), people there followed their own rules and spoke their own language, Ryukyu. When Okinawa was invaded by Japan, the people were forced to speak the Japanese language and accept its rules. The Okinawans were never invited to join the Japanese government.

During WWII, Okinawa became one of the most severely attacked places in the whole country and lost many people as well as their historical monuments. After WWII, the United States built a base in the city of Okinawa. The city soon became infamous for noise pollution and some GIs' notorious behavior. I understand why Okinawans are asking the government, "Why us?"

There have been many critical issues over native Okinawan lands that involve the central Japanese government's law over the use of private lands. It must be terrible to lose one's ancestral properties, family history, and cultural landmarks. Because Okinawa is a strategic place, one-fifth of the main island is occupied by the U.S. military. That means one of

the smallest prefectures in Japan is sacrificing its limited land. Furthermore, this sacrifice comes with other fringe disbenefits such as noise pollution from the bases and GIs committing criminal acts upon the civilian community. No wonder Okinawans have been protesting against the Japanese government for the return of their lands.

There was a case of an 11-year-old girl being kidnapped and raped by three U.S. Marines in 1996. The girl and her family decided to bring charges against the soldiers. Although the little girl was ashamed about confessing her tragedy in public, she wanted everybody to know these incidents happened in Okinawa, and she wanted to stop them. I admire her courage very much. There have been forty-eight other officially reported rapes committed by U.S. soldiers in Okinawa in the last fifty years.

The U.S. government should enforce stiffer penalties when their soldiers commit crimes abroad, because soldiers are diplomats of their country. Shortly after the Okinawan girl's rape, a U.S. sailor attacked a young Japanese female for money in Sesebo, Nagasaki. The victim's throat was cut with a knife as her purse was stolen. The U.S. military quickly responded with compensation for the victim and brought the thief to trial for this particular case. The Okinawan girl's protest must have contributed to the U.S. government's prompt action. Clearly, her voice was heard. It is time to hear more of the voices of Okinawa.

If the U.S. -Japan Security Treaty is for all the people in Japan, all Japanese should be equally responsible for Japan's protection by the United

States, and the U.S. military's activities in Japan. The Japanese government should scatter the bases to other parts of Japan. For fifty years, Okinawa has put up with its own government's problems, and the problems of the U.S. base. Okinawa should no longer have to sacrifice for all of Japan, when there are bigger spaces available in other parts of Japan.

Indeed, there have been some proposals for moving parts of the Okinawan bases to other places in Japan. Sure enough, people in all the places the government nominated as candidate sites began to strongly protest against the plan right after its announcement. I wonder if they know that Okinawans do not want the bases

anymore than they do?

To support each other in a better way under the U.S. -Japanese Security Treaty, both countries cannot ignore the agony of Okinawa. Japan needs to change Okinawa's status. Both countries should take the pressure off of Okinawa, and start fairly distributing responsibilities to other parts of Japan. The Japanese must remember that the treaty benefits both countries. Both countries can remind each other of the importance of the relationship between the soldiers and civilians. Okinawa is teaching us the key to improve relations between Japan and the United States.

How the Vietnam War Affected American Public Opinion as Reflected in Popular Cinema

By Ineko Nishihara

According to Sidney Lens, author of *Vietnam: A War on Two Fronts*, the Vietnam war began in the 1940s and was rooted in circumstances that reached back to the 19th century. French colonial influence in Vietnam grew gradually from 1959 to 1984, and ultimately the country merged with Cambodia and Laos to form the French colony of Indochina. Like many colonized people (including Revolutionary War era Americans), the Vietnamese wanted to free their country from foreign rule and government. They wanted an independent country ruled and governed by their own people. In the 1930s, the Vietnamese National Party and Indochinese Communist Party led by Ho Chi Minh tried to achieve their independence but were crushed by the French colonial authorities. In 1940, while Nazi Germany was invading France, Japanese troops occupied Indochina. During this time, the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, and a student group at Hanoi University formed the League for the Independence of Vietnam (or Vietminh). The leader, Ho Chi Minh, had gained great prestige as a strong nationalist fighter during the 1930s. They were prepared to resist both France and Japan, and they had the support of the United States at this point. The United States gave them arms and supplies and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency worked closely with Ho Chi Minh and his partisans.

In 1945, the Vietminh succeeded in establishing a national government free of foreign domination for the first time in its modern history,

but a wartime agreement among the Allies (the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union) deprived the Vietnamese of the right to rule the country by themselves. The British, who were responsible for "law and order," allowed the French to rebuild their army and use it to force the Vietminh out of Saigon. France was willing to grant the Vietminh a minor role in governing the country, but they insisted on controlling the army, currency, and foreign relations. The Vietnamese were angry and tensions escalated. Within 24 months a long war of attrition had begun between an estimated 70,000 Vietminh and 166,000 French troops; the Vietminh are believed to have enjoyed the greatest support of the people.

By this time, the United States and the Soviet Union were engaged in an intense Cold War. France was Washington's ally in its continuing confrontation with the Kremlin. President Truman, and later President Eisenhower, gave France full support in the colonial conflict in Southeast Asia. Even though President Roosevelt had promised that France would never again be permitted to rule Indochina, this was soon forgotten. America's interest in the French war and its own future involvement were justified by President Eisenhower's now infamous "domino theory" -- the idea that if Vietnam fell to communism, other Asian countries would also fall one after another.

In 1954, the French were defeated decisively by the Vietminh in the battle of Dien Bien Phu.

In April of that year a peace conference in Geneva was convened by France, Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union, China, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (headed by Ho Chi Minh), as well as the government recognized by France (headed by Emperor Bao Dai). At this conference it was decided to divide the country into two zones, one above and one below the seventeenth parallel. This was to be a temporary measure until free elections could be held in 1956 which presumably would reunite the nation under a single government. In August 1954, the Eisenhower administration ordered urgent economic and military aid to maintain a non-Communist South Vietnam in order to prevent a Communist victory in the elections, but elections were never held.

President Eisenhower allocated hundreds of millions of dollars to Ngo Dinh Diem (prime minister of the South) in order to train his troops and police. By 1956, the United States was contributing \$270 million a year to Diem's treasury. The U.S. military was training the Vietnamese army, and Wesley R. Fishel of Michigan State University was reorganizing the police and civil guard. Diem's lack of popularity among peasants who sympathized with the Vietminh hindered Diem's consolidation of his regime. He relied heavily on wealthy landlords for political support; therefore, he could not offer much relief to the peasant and working classes. As a result, tribesmen and former Vietminh fighters retreated to the forests to wage a new guerrilla war. Thousands of former Vietminh were still present in the South. The resistance groups united to form the National Liberation Front (NLF). Their aims were national independence, democratic freedoms, improvement in the people's living conditions, and peaceful national reunification. The Vietnamese viewed the United States in its growing involvement as an occupying colonial power since Diem had used U.S. support of his 600,000 man force to control the peasantry.

In 1963, disaffected Buddhist monks and militant students who opposed the U.S.-sup-

ported Diem government were beaten, tortured, and in some cases killed. Diem himself was ultimately murdered in a coup by a group of ambitious military generals. America was unable to establish a strong non-Communist government in South Vietnam. By 1964, 15,000 to 20,000 American "military advisers" were in Vietnam to support a series of weak governmental regimes. Before the U.S. presidential campaign of 1964, many Americans had never even heard of Vietnam and more than a few did not know where it was (5-15). Lens says:

"The Vietnam war is the most bizarre conflict ever covered by the press. There are no fronts, no rear areas or secure sections. Officially, it isn't even a war; historically there is not an official date when it started, nor is there a definite objective ... There are no campaigns, glorious victories, clear defeats as there were in World War I and II and Korea" (23).

Until 1966, most Americans gave the government full support in what was now a rapidly escalating war involving over one half million American troops. As people started to see terrifying pictures on TV, however, such as the moment of a murder, Buddhists and students' self-immolation, and piles of dead bodies, a growing sense of unease began to grow. It was the first war to be seen on TV in the United States; the pictures were real, grotesque, and shocking. The uncertain situation in Vietnam prompted many to ask why the government had become involved in the first place. As a result, popular support weakened not only among the radical pacifists and students who were burning draft cards, but also in Congress and other moderate and conservative circles. Even though many people had passion and a desire to believe in the war, the unfolding catastrophe divided the nation and left negative impressions which have persisted to this day.

Four movies *Full Metal Jacket*, *Platoon*, *The Deer Hunter*, and *Born on the Fourth of July*, which I reviewed for this assignment, clearly and

strongly demonstrate a great deal of confusion about the War both on the battlefield and at home. All of them were made between 1986 and 1990, and are therefore retrospective.

In the opening of "Full Metal Jacket," the drill sergeant tells brand new Marines:

The free world will conquer Communism with the aid of God and a few Marines. God has a hard-on for the Marines because we kill every thing we see. He plays his game, we play ours. To show our appreciation for so much power, we keep heaven packed with fresh souls. God was here before the Marine Corps. So you can give your heart to Jesus, but your ass belongs to the Corps.

Since the American colonial era, many in the United States have (perhaps unconsciously) have believed that God is behind us and that we are the chosen people of Jesus, and because Americans are chosen people, we will therefore triumph over evil in any battle. Especially in the Cold War era, people in the United States looked at Communists as evil people and their government as an evil empire. Therefore, this dialogue emphasizes the good vs. evil philosophy—i.e., the United States vs. the North Vietnam and the Soviet Union. Killing evil people does not violate any moral code.

The sergeant also tries to brain-wash his soldiers by telling them that "You are Marines. You're part of a brotherhood....Most of you will go to Vietnam. Some of you will not come back. But always remember this, Marines die ...that's what we're here for. But the Marines live forever. And that means you live forever." The government tries to produce single-minded soldiers by appealing to their sense of patriotism and most people respond to this kind of appeal.

Some of the soldiers in *Jacket* go to Vietnam after their psychologically and physically harsh training. After a Vietnamese civilian steals a camera from one of the Marines in Saigon, he says to his friend, "You know what really pisses me off about these people? We're supposed to

be helping them and they shit all over us every chance they get." His friend responds, "Don't take it too hard. It's just business." These dialogues address the fact that many in South Vietnam did not appreciate having American soldiers occupying their country. Most Vietnamese are poor peasants and they did not want to have a war or foreign intruders. The soldiers were sent there because of the "business" between the United States and South Vietnamese governments.

The military press often exerts control in wartime situations. In *Jacket*, a press officer orders his subordinates, "In the future, in place of 'Search and Destroy' substitute the phrase 'Sweep and Clear,' 'Sweep and Clear,' got it?" He continues:

We run two basic stories here—grunts who give half their pay to buy gooks tooth brushes and deodorants (winning of hearts and minds), O.K.? And combat action that results in a kill (winning the war). Now you must have seen blood trails

In reality, the situation in the war was ugly, so the military press needed to make the situation look better in order to control opposition to the war at home. Military journalism attempted to control the image of the war.

In another scene, a journalist questions a helicopter gunner while he is shooting civilians from the helicopter asking, "How can you shoot women and children?" The gunner says, "Easy. You just don't lead them [as they run] so much. Ha-ha! Ain't war hell? Anyone who runs is a VC and anyone who stands still is a well-disciplined VC." This illustrates the reality that many civilians were killed in cold blood without remorse. The war brought out some soldiers' latent sadism.

There was a famous incident in the village of My Lai in the late '60s. American soldiers had walked into the village and gunned down 347 civilians (most of them were women and children) without provocation. "A photographer had taken pictures of screaming women, dead

babies, and a mass of bodies piled up in a ditch" (FitzGerald 463). FitzGerald says:

Young men from the small towns of America, . . . found themselves in a place halfway round the earth among people with whom they could make no human contact, . . . they knew everything about military tactics, but nothing about where they were or who the enemy was(464).

People at home were shocked to hear and see this kind of incident and thus questioned the government and its account of the war more and more insistently.

Jacket shows that the heat, boredom, terror, and death made American soldiers suspicious of all Vietnamese. They were often confused and terrified in battle, and were themselves questioning certain aspects of the war and the government's role in putting them there.

Platoon, set in 1967, is a story is about conflict between two sergeants (Elias and Barnes) in battle and emphasizes the demographics of who was sent to fight the Vietnam War.

Elias is aware of what is going on in the war and thinks logically. For example, he senses that America will lose the war and thinks that killing civilians (especially women and children) is taboo. In the end, he is shot by Barnes and left in a skirmish alone among the Vietcong. Unlike Elias, Barnes is extremely radical and a dictator-like figure who feels no guilt about murdering women and children. He believes in the war and in victory for America. Barnes says, "Elias is a 'water walker' like the politicians in Washington -trying to fight this war with one hand tied around their balls. Ain't no need or time for a court-room out here." There is no rational thought in his mind only a passion for killing the enemy which for him means all Vietnamese. The film does not clarify whether Barnes' personality is inborn or shaped by war, nevertheless it is clear that our soldiers were not only fighting with the Vietcong—they were fighting within and amongst themselves.

Taylor, the narrator in *Platoon* (played by

Charlie Sheen), comes to Vietnam voluntarily after dropping out of college. He says, "I just want to do my share for my country. Live up to what my grandpa did at the first war and Dad did in the second." When two black soldiers hear this they are amazed and call him crazy because they were forced (by the draft) to join the war. Taylor writes to his grandmother:

. . . I am with guys nobody really cares about. They come from the end of line—most of them from small towns you never heard of... Two year high school is about it. Maybe if they are lucky a job waiting for them back in the factory. But most of them got nothing. They are poor—they are unwanted. Yet, they are fighting for our society. It's weird isn't it? They are the bottom of the barrel—they know it. Maybe that's why they call themselves 'grunts.' Because grunts can take it, and they are the best I've ever seen.

This dialogue illustrates the fact that boys from rich families were in large part able to avoid serving in the war -- by attending college and obtaining deferments, but boys who lived in the small towns and could not afford to go to college were drafted and sent off to fight the war. In a very real and tragic way, the poor were taken advantage of by the rich. People who supported sending thousands of soldiers one after another to be slaughtered in the jungles of Vietnam sent their own sons to college, they did not want their sons to be in the war. Instead, they directly and indirectly manipulated millions of boys who had just graduated from high school and did not know much about foreign relation, who were naive, but proud to be Americans and answered the call. The narrator ends "Platoon" with a haunting thought, "The war is over for me now. But it will always be there for the rest of my days as I'm sure Elias will, fighting with Barnes for... "possession of my soul."

The Dear Hunter is a story about how the Vietnam war changes three young men through horror and tragedy. Michael (played by Robert

De Niro), Nick, and Steve are happy in their small town in Pennsylvania where they are deeply attached to their families, friends, and traditions. All of them work at the steel mill and are sons of European immigrants who are almost universally religious. This shows again that (especially in the case of Vietnam), working class people go to war and the middle and upper class do not. It also reveals that new immigrants are often eager to prove their patriotism and in this case, with tragic results.

The film begins with a traditional orthodox wedding which portrays everyone as happy and O.K. In the middle of the ceremony the emcee introduces the three friends, including the groom, who are going to Vietnam soon. The crowd cheers when he says, "They are serving God and country." The bride and groom drink red liquor—symbolic as it spills on the bride's white dress because it looks like blood and sounds an ominous note. When a veteran Green Beret shows up at the adjoining bar during the celebration, Michael asks him, "Tell us what it's like over there." The guy says nothing but, "Fuck it!" This is also a forewarning.

Michael is the leader who is bold, courageous, and strong-minded. When they become prisoners of war and experience terror in Vietnam, he saves both Nick and Steve. Steve is severely injured in a fall from a helicopter, loses his legs, and decides to stay at a hospital for the crippled because he does not want to go home and he is afraid of facing his family and friends because of his physical condition. He says to Michael, "I don't fit!" Meanwhile Nick has become insane and is lost in Vietnam after the U.S. pull-out. He lets a Frenchman use him as a Russian roulette player and ultimately shoots himself. Only Michael emerges unscathed going home as a Green Beret and welcomed by people in the town.

One day, Michael goes deer hunting with other close friends. Hunting was something he used to enjoy a lot, but it is not fun to be silly with friends anymore and he cannot bring himself to shoot a deer that is in his sights. He real-

izes that life is precious and should not be destroyed, and then feels distanced from his friends who have never gone to the war.

The movie ends with Nick's funeral which is a stark contrast to the opening scene of the wedding. One of the three heroes has died, another one is crippled, and the last seems fine, but is in reality deeply hurt. This story emphasizes how the war and the governments which continued it, ruined the lives of thousands of innocent young working class men who were trapped and made perfect victims.

The author of *Born on the Fourth of July*, Ron Kovic, was born on the Fourth of July of 1946 in a small town in New York. He was raised by very religious parents. His father worked very hard to support the family and his mother was extremely patriotic. Ronny was a natural athlete in his youth and a popular figure among his friends in the town. He loved God, President Kennedy, and his country very much. Everything was fine with him, but he had a wish to be someone special by the time he became seventeen—he wanted to make something out of his life. Watching his father working twelve hours a day, six days a week, caused him not to follow that life style.

He jumped on the idea of become a Marine when two Marine recruiters came and spoke to his senior class in the last month of high school. Their blue uniforms, magnificently shined shoes, and statue-like figures made them look like the heroes in war movies. Ronny was impressed and attracted to the powerful admonition, "The Marines take nothing but the best, but if any of you do not think you are good enough, you should not even think of joining. The Marine Corps builds men—body, mind, and spirit." He liked the idea that he could serve his country like President Kennedy had asked Americans to do. Moreover, Ronny was reminded of John Wayne in *The Sands of Iwo Jima* and Audie Murphy in *To Hell and Back* when he shook the Marine recruiters' hands. Young Ronny thought that this was his chance to do something and to be a part of American history.

Soon after he joined in Marine Corps., he was sent to Vietnam. While he was in the war his only thought were to not let his President, or family down, so he encouraged himself that he could take any pain and withstand any terror for them because he was tough. In only his second time in battle, he was shot and paralyzed from the chest down. This incident completely changed his life and beliefs. He felt that the war had sucked his life out because his physical condition affected his soul and attitude toward life. Also, being treated like an animal in a filthy veterans' hospital made him "confused, uncertain, and blind with hate" (85).

When people at home spoke very beautiful words about sacrifice, patriotism, and God, this made him all the more confused:

These people had never been to his war, and they had been talking like they knew everything, . . . like he and Eddie didn't know how to speak for themselves because there was something wrong now with both of them. They couldn't speak because of the war and had to have others define for them with their lovely words what they didn't know anything about (107-108).

Ronny lost many of his close friends in Vietnam. One day, he saw Steve who did not believe in the war and had become a successful businessman after college. Ronny was shocked and confused when Steve said that people in the town did not care about a war which is a million miles away, that the government "sold us a bill of goods," and that he was a fool because he bought the lie that Communists were going to take over the world. He also heard another friend comment:

When I saw that girl lying in the pool of blood in the parking lot at Kent State, I kept on thinking of the poster of the children who were killed at My Lai and I kept on thinking about you over there and all the boys who have died sacrificing their bodies and minds. War is so wrong Ronny! So wrong!

Ronny started observing Vietnam's history, American foreign relations, and its government from a distance for the first time. He concluded that he had wasted his body, soul, and time by believing politicians' lies and distorted reasons for the war. He felt his country had deceived and betrayed him and his fellow soldiers.

At the end of the movie, Ron Kovic (played by Tom Cruise), seated in his wheel chair starts speaking to the crowd on the floor of the Republican National Convention in 1972. Ronny gets a TV reporter's attention when he says, "This war is a crime!" The reporter asks him, "Why are you here tonight? What do you have to say to these people?" He introduces himself on national TV and says:

I'm here to say that this war is wrong. This society lied to me, it lied to my brothers. It deceived the people of this country—tricked them into going 30,000 miles to fight a war against a poor, peasant people who have a proud history of resistance and who have been struggling for their own independence for a thousand years—the Vietnamese people. I can't find the words to express how the leadership of this government sickens me. People say if you don't love America, then get the hell out. Well, I love America! We love the people of America very much, but when it comes to government, it stops right there. The government is a bunch of corrupt thieves, they are rapists and robbers, and we are here to say that we don't have to take it anymore. We are here to tell the truth—they are killing our brothers in Vietnam. We want them to hear the truth tonight!

All the movies I reviewed stress that the Vietnam war was wrong and confusing and that the government may have deceived people in the United States and in the end wasted thousands of innocent working class boys' lives.

The Vietnam War has been a sensitive and controversial subject in America, and separated people emotionally and politically. Consequently, the United States took time to decide

to send troops to Bosnia. According to the December 3, 1977 edition of *The Honolulu Advertiser*, President Clinton will soon start to send soldiers who are based in Germany to Bosnia. It states, "...the President wanted to speak to the troops because he thought he owed them a face-to-face explanation of the mission and because he hopes that their willingness to shoulder the duty will rally support at home. There were some soldiers and their families who responded with enthusiasm and others with solid resignation to the president's speech"(A3). Many people in the United States are now skeptical about war.

The December 10, 1997 edition of *The Honolulu Advertiser* (B1&4) includes an editorial warning about Bosnia—that President Clinton and the Republican-led Congress should look at former Secretary of Defense Weinberger's six guiding principles for employing military force before sending American troops into Bosnia. The author asserts that the present plan would fail four of the six tests. Here are the four principles which do not apply to Bosnia's case:

1. American forces should be committed only to defend a vital national interest.
2. America should have clearly defined political and military objectives.
3. There must be reasonable assurance we will have the support of the American people.
4. The commitment to U.S. forces to combat should be a last resort.

The president's explanation to the U.S. Army unit in Germany that "Your mission: to help people exhausted from war make good on the peace they have chosen and the peace they have asked you to help them uphold," fails four out

of six of the Vietnam-era guiding principles.

I hope that the U.S. military will be able to remain as peace keepers only and that all the soldiers will come home soon. It sounds selfish and inconsiderate to the fate of the people in Bosnia, but I know that I am not the only one who thinks this way. Moreover, there are things in the world which cannot be resolved intelligently, rationally, or logically. In Bosnia's case, people have been fighting because of racial and religious sentiments as well as deep-seated grudges. No one can understand or stop the conflict except perhaps the Bosnians.

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La'au Lapa'au

By Shirley Nagatoshi

The art of Hawai'ian healing, *la'au lapa'au* is not just based upon the use of herbs to treat the body, but has a deeper significance of healing that touches both the patient and herbalist psychologically and spiritually at the same time. Only a few people have been trained in the art since childhood. Those healers have become increasingly busy with the acceptance of herbal treatment in today's society.

My resources include Kupuna Merryman (personal communication, Oct. 11– Nov. 24, 1997), who has been involved in the revival of the Hawai'ian culture. Throughout her life, she and her relatives have used the benefits of Hawai'ian plants for healing, through her grandmother who did the preparations. The second resource is Mokihana Kayatani (personal communication, Oct. 17–Nov. 22, 1997), who has worked with the Department of Education for several years and also takes part in promoting the renewal of the Hawai'ian culture. The third resource is Joe Gomes (personal communication, Nov. 23 1997), whose grandmother was versed in the use of *la'au lapa'au* while she was alive. He remembered some of the treatments that she had used on him as a child and shared them with us.

The legend of the beginning of *la'au lapa'au* comes from a chief named Lono of Ka'u, Hawai'i. One day while he was digging earth in a *kalo* (taro) patch he pierced his foot with the *o'o pahu* (digging stick) he was using. He became very ill. Upon the instructions of a visiting chief named Ka-maka-nui-'aha'i-lono, a mixture of *popolo* leaves and salt was made into a paste to heal his foot. Once he was cured, Lono became a disciple of Ka-maka-nui-'aha'i-lono and learned to become a *Kahuna lapa'au*. Thus Lono

or Lonopuha became the head of this medical specialty (Gutmanis; Kahuna, 11; Mokihana).

Another important healing power is held within the *Kumulipo*. This is the creation myth chant that explains the origins of the Earth and all its various forms of life (Mokihana). This genealogy is important because it holds the names of all things and their connections to one another. Everything has *mana* (spiritual power). Names of things can hold more than one meaning if understood correctly, and can be used for positive or negative outcomes. This brings us to the belief that because everything has *mana*, there is a delicate balance between you and something else. If that balance were broken, you could suffer from it. You could also pass on the suffering from one person to another if you were not careful.

Many of these beliefs went underground in the 1800s when Hawai'ian healing methods came under fire by the missionaries that were living here (Judd, 42-43). These beliefs were replaced by Christianity. This conversion was evident in the types of prayers that are used exercising *la'au lapa'au*.

Even today, it is believed that healing needs to be accomplished spiritually, mentally, emotionally, and physically. Sometimes once the patient has the freedom to speak to an unbiased source, or to go through a ceremony of some type, the physical ailments disappear. It is the concept of the body acting negatively towards unresolved mental or emotional issues.

The following are a general set of steps that are usually taken by the healer and which vary depending on family background, training, district, and island. Once the healer has been told of the ailments of the patient, the healer will

begin to pray and fast and then with the patient, conduct a cleansing. This cleansing is not only for the body, but for the mind as well. It creates within the person a frame of mind to commit to being treated and to search within to find possible roots of the problems. If the patient is too ill to perform the cleansing, someone from the person's family may do it instead. For the healer, it permits the opening of channels to whomever the healer worships to receive guidance.

The cleansing for the healer may entail going to the beach every single day at the break of dawn for either five to seven days in a row. (For various religious reasons, things are done for a certain odd number of days.) While there, the healer submerges his/her entire body in the ocean to help clear any negativity that may linger. Salt is a very powerful substance that has the ability to dispel negative influences and the motion of the waves moves the negativity out and away from the body. It could also include *ho'oponopono* (the correction of things through confession or mental clearing) or *mihi* (the asking of forgiveness from yourself, whomever you worship, and those you do not get along with) from both parties. At this point, the illnesses sometimes disappear. This is usually the result of releasing negative feelings that have been held within the body for too long. If the problem persists, the practitioner will prepare to collect the plants he or she needs.

The healer gathers the plants in silence even if he or she is praying on the inside. The belief is this time of quiet aids in keeping the human ego to a minimum. It is not the human that is doing the actual curing, nor is it the human that created the plants that can heal. Thus, being humble shows respect to the true being that has given us the ability to do the healing. In their silent prayers the healer asks for permission to pick the plants needed and for the guidance to use them well in the recovery of the patients.

Most prayers of old are not shared with anyone outside of the family unit. Thus I was unable to find out how some of the prayers from

their families are worded, and in what sequence things were said. The more contemporary prayers ask the Christian God to give his blessings to be able to use the plants being picked and for the person's recovery.

"Ancient Hawai'ian Prayers" contains chants that June Gutmanis was permitted to publish (*Na Pule Kuhiko*, 34). Here is an example of ancient prayer that is still being used today. This chant is used for the picking of the *popolo*, and will be written in English only, out of respect.

I have come here to request you, O Kane-in-the-*popolo* medicine that (patient's name) eyes may be healed

That grew above

That stood above

That branched above

That budded and leafed above

That opened its flowers above

That full bloomed above

That flowered above

That bore fruit and matured above

That ripened above

(Person picks what is needed from the plant, then continues the prayer.)

Grant the healing power of your medicine, o Kane, for my eyes.

It is finished. I have been healed.

When all the plants needed are collected, the healer would then create the concoction needed and give it to the patient to take for a certain amount of days. Prayers of thanks would then be given once the patient was well. One of the most important things to remember with the art of *la'au lapa'au* is that the treatment needs to be accepted wholeheartedly by the patient. Any complaints about either the treatment or medication can cause the healing process to be broken. Those types of actions show rejection towards the *akua* (God) and the love and caring involved in the process of *la'au lapa'au*.

The types of plants that are most sought after are the ones that have not been contaminated by insecticides and other pollutants. For this reason, many that practice the art of *la'au*

lapa'au will have their most commonly used plants in their yards. If a plant is needed that they do not have, they will go to areas where the plants grow wild and virtually untouched.

Various species of plant life thrive on each of the three levels of the islands: ocean, flat lands, and mountains. Each specie has a counterpart that can be found on the different levels and used for similar treatments. Many of the plants used for today's La'au Lapa'au have been introduced to these islands by the assimilation of different peoples into the culture.

Most of the dosages are established by the persons' body weight and the potency of the plant. Potency of the plant is usually determined by the plant's original location. For instance, the best *noni* is to be found on the island of Moloka'i in Kawela. Because the dryness and heat in that area tends to keep the fruit small, and by doing so enhances the juice of the noni. The amounts of the plant needed are then generally measured by handfuls, or number of individual buds, root, or leaves.

Noni

(Indian mulberry)

Morinda citrifolia

Description: The noni is usually found as a large bush with a round fruit with a honeycomb pattern on it. The plant likes dry climates.

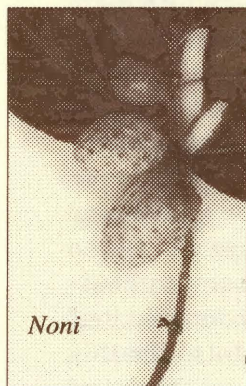
Uses: to treat cancer, tumors, heart problems, high blood pressure, kidney problems, skin infections; to cleanse the system; to heal muscle strains; to remove lice and fleas; treat hair loss in children.

Preparations: For external use on skin infections, heat the leaves of the noni over an open flame or an electric burner until the leaves are soft. Place the

leaf onto the affected areas.

The leaf can also be torn into small pieces and added into a bottle of rubbing alcohol and left to steep for about seven days. Solution can be used on muscle injuries. (Joe).

The juice of the noni was used for the treatment of lice and flea removal, hair loss, and skin infections by rubbing it into those areas.



Internal use dosage is about a tablespoon of the juice for the treatment of cancer, high blood pressure, kidney problems, and to clean out the body's system. The best time to take it is prior to bed.

To acquire the juice needed from the noni, place the ripe fruits into a glass jar. Seal the jar and then place it outside where it will be able to receive plenty of sunlight. The jar needs to sit for six or more weeks. The contents within should darken in color. When the juice is ready, pour off the accumulated liquid and strain well. Keep both the juice and the pulp refrigerated (Kaiahua, 18 /Merryman).

A word of caution. Recently the Board of Health stopped the promotion of the use of noni due to the fact that it can become poisonous in large amounts taken at one time.

Popolo

(Black nightshade)

Solanum nigrum

Description: Popolo is a small bush that usually stands about four feet tall. It produces white flowers and shiny black berries that are filled with seeds (Judd, 82).

Uses: to treat cancer, high and low blood levels, upper respiratory conditions in infants; to aid in strengthening the immune system.

Preparation: The juice is used for the treatment of all of the above except for respiratory conditions. The leaves and berries need to be crushed and strained well. The juice from the mix is then either taken with water or straight. The dosage is one to three tablespoons three times a day or more, depending on the ailment (Kaiahua, 21).

Treatment for upper respiratory conditions in infants consist of using a poultice made from the leaves, stems, and berries of the popolo. After the ingredients were heated, it was applied to the top of the head at the fontanel to release clogged mucus (Judd, 85).

Ha'uowi

(Hatuo, oi, oi)

Verbena litoralis

Description: The leaves of the ha'uowi are very



similar to large mint leaves. There are blue to lavender flowers that grow on numerous thin spikes above the leaves. Uses: to treat broken bones; injured or damaged tendons and ligaments; bruises; sprains; boils and infections of the skin; scrapes, cuts; relief of insect stings and bites

Preparation: Mash the leaves, stems, and flowers into a pulp and apply to affected areas (Kaiahua, 4). To seal the pulp onto the area for cuts and scrapes only, use pia (arrow root) (Merryman, personal interview).

Wapine

(rapine, Lukini, Lemon grass)

Cymbopogon citratus

Description: The Wapine has extremely long thin leaves that give off the scent of a citrus fruit. Its leaves begin from the base of the root.

Uses: to treat stomach, colon, liver, bladder, and bowel problems; steam bath

Preparation: For all of the above disorders except the steam bath, a tea is made with the leaves after it has been thoroughly cleaned. Apparently there is a high content of acid within the leaves that help to relieve these problems (Merryman, personal interview).

La'au lapa'au promotes the well being of the spirit as well as the mind and body. This can be seen in the way that the whole procedure encompasses the use of religious, psychological, and herbal factors to give aid to the patient. God is incorporated to appeal to the person's devout beliefs. Conducting ho'oponopono helps to ease the mind, and the plants take care of the body itself.

Some of these ideas are now being used in the medical fields of today. There is an emphasis on studying how the body reacts to negative environments and or to the retaining of nega-

tive thoughts and feelings. More of the medical professions are also investigating the healing properties of plants. Most of them have already been incorporated in some way into the everyday lives of the people here whether they know it or not. This can be reflected in even the smallest belief of asking a plant if it can be picked before touching it, or going to the beach to bathe in the ocean to rejuvenate one's self. It is in this way that La'au Lapa'au flows from the medical field into the spiritual aspect and into modern local life.

Glossary

Definitions according to Judd, 218-223; Kaiahua, 4,18,21,24; Gutmanis, Kahuna 93.

Akua - God

Ho'oponopono - To set right, correct

Kahuna La'au Lapa'au - Master herbalist

Kalo - Taro

Ka-maka-nui-'-aha'i-lono - God who introduced the healing arts to the Hawaiians

Kumulipo - Name of Hawaiian creation chant; also, Origin, source of life

Kupuna - Elder of the community

La'au - Plants

La'au Lapa'au - Medical treatments with plants

Lapa'au - Medicine, to treat with medicine

Lonopuha - God of healing

Mana - Spiritual power, supernatural ability

Mihi - Forgiveness

O'o pahu - Digging stick

Pia - Arrow root

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A Calling to Face Death

By Angela N. Pond

Few would make a decision to surround themselves with the dying, but I have. Most people would not choose a career that required them to work closely with death. I have chosen to answer a calling to work in the field of pediatric oncology—the treatment of children with cancer.

In high school I did volunteer work at Kapi'olani Medical Center and was assigned to that ward. One of my "patients," a two-year-old Japanese girl, died from her illness. Throughout her sickness and at the time of her death, she was surrounded with family members. Later, I came in contact with two Filipino children. In contrast, neither of them was visited regularly by any family. In fact, one little girl's family seemed to deliberately avoid her. The manner in which these families dealt with death fascinated me, and I knew right then that I would one day have to understand my own views of death and those of my patients. It was with this thought in mind that I undertook a Service Learning Project for my Anthropology 200 class during the fall of 1997. I volunteered for the HUGS (Help, Understanding, and Group Support) Program and worked with many terminally ill children at Kapi'olani Medical Center. From my observations and accompanying research I concluded that depending on what cultural group a patient belongs to, views of death vary greatly.

In my anthropology class we studied about taboos, meaning sacred and forbidden beliefs and practices, as they differ from culture to culture. In my research I came upon a few interesting taboos that I thought would coincide with my field study. In some cultures, for example, dwelling on death is a taboo. This is true

to the extent that if a patient were reading a flat line on a monitor, the hospital staff would respect the rights of the patient regarding CPR and other efforts which are not at all considered appropriate in that particular culture. In fact these attempts to save the patient's life might be considered taboo (Vernon, 9). In American society death is a taboo because it is not a normal part of every day speech regardless of one's attitudes towards the subject. It is considered forbidden because our society is not comfortable with death (10).

In the Samoan society, Margaret Mead reported "All children had seen birth and death" and "had seen many dead bodies," besides having "often witnessed the operation of cutting open a dead body to search out the causes of death" (cited in Vernon, 12). I also found that in hunting and gathering societies, a *shaman* (witch doctor) is responsible for driving out demons and other causes of an illness. Death was feared in this society (Wass, Berardo, & Neimeyer 160). Death was also very common which made life expectancy short. People surrounded the dead with an aura of terror. The dead were buried quickly, and procedures were used to erase the names so that there would be no memories left for the survivors (159).

Throughout my field work and research, I continually looked for material that dealt with issues that I had encountered in my experiences at Kapi'olani Medical Center. As I wrote my journals and researched the subject of death and dying, I found a reference that I could easily relate to a particular episode while working in HUGS. On November 18 I observed two patients whose families were unable to deal with their child's illness. The parents didn't know

how to comfort and care for their child because they were afraid of death. The subject of death was simply not a part of their everyday conversation. Later, from my research, I learned that the knowledge of how families are supposed to care for or even relate to a dying person has been lost from our culture (Kearl, 443). There have been studies that consistently show that terminally ill patients do not want to know about the severity of their illness. Such information, they believe, could destroy all hope and may even cause death to be accelerated (427). The entire notion of dying among people of different cultures varies. Some worship death; others worship life. Death can be a rite of passage from one life to another or a transition to another form of existence. Individuals have an understanding whether to live in order to die, or to die just because they have lived. It's entirely up to the beliefs of the different cultures (27). Death, and its actuality and inevitability, have become something that is hidden. American society today has become obsessed with youth which is understood to be a way of denying the existence of death (47).

Cultures are either death accepting, death denying, or even death defying. One of the doctors I spoke with said, "Patients respond to diagnoses and the dying experience in a way that is intimately connected to their beliefs in a God as well as to their beliefs about what is going to happen to them after they die." Following is a general breakdown by cultural group on the notion of death. The Latin Americans, Buddhists and Muslims focus on after-death expectations. Islamic people prepare for the next life as a process. Buddhists seek perfection for a state of nirvana. Jewish descendants stress the here-and-now point of view.

Patients respond to diagnoses and the dying experience in a way that is intimately connected to their beliefs in a God as well as to their beliefs about what is going to happen to them after they die

Rituals I have noted in the research which are often performed before a dying person by different cultures include the following: family and friends of Latin Americans gather at the bedside awaiting the death of a loved one, keeping a vigil to assure a peaceful death; Jews have farewell rites, times for confession, forgiveness and expression of hope; Buddhists focus upon the mind-set of the dying, chanting sutras and pursuing other rituals to introduce the dying person to the transition from life to death; Muslims read the Koran and believe that Satan and angels are also present at death (Irish, Lundquist & Nelsen, 74).

In each culture there is a death system which is the way in which death and life are comprehended by that culture. There are two elements which make up these systems. They are experiential, which is having limited experience or attitude, and theoretical, which is shaped by individual and cultural philosophies (Wass,

Berardo and Neimeyer 13). While I may have only seen one dead body in my life (experiential), I know how my religion, culture and family deal with

death and dying (theoretical). Understanding this, I shall explore some common death systems.

Buddhists are concerned with the state of mind of a dying individual. Death is thought to be an influence on the rebirth process. The better the state of mind, the greater the chance of having a favorable rebirth. The teachings of Buddha, otherwise known as sutras, are chanted along with the burning of incense which is thought to have a calming effect on the mind of the dying person. It also protects the person from evil spirits. The ceremony serves as an initiation of the dead or dying so they can go through the transition from death to rebirth.

I was invited to participate in one such ritual for a thirteen-year-old Japanese girl. Incense, pictures, and personal possessions were burned, and chants were said aloud. Through this ritual, death becomes a highlight and an opportunity to realize enlightenment through the mind of Buddha. Everything is done to ensure that the dying takes place in a calm and peaceful environment. The care giver is concerned about the state of mind and the comfort of the dying person. It's important to be able to say that the person died peacefully. Many refrain from treatment by drugs. Later, that same girl stopped all medication to be more relaxed and calm. Even though there was a great amount of influence from the nursing staff to continue her medicine, she followed her beliefs. In some extreme cases, a person who is uncomfortable may use drugs as long as it does not affect the state of mind (Irish, Lundquist & Nelsen 130).

Vietnamese believe a person should have the right to die at home surrounded by family and friends. It is considered to be a misfortune to die out of the home and a taboo to carry the deceased home. Those who do get sick are taken to the hospital to try and get the best possible cure. If all fails, the person is brought home so that death may occur in the home (131). Indeed, one of my patients went home to be with her family where she would be allowed to die peacefully. She was Vietnamese, and her family fully believed in the death system just described.

The Islamic frequently discuss the topic of death. It is viewed as a natural process of life. The last moments of a dying person are spent with a close relative who says prayers to God and asks for His blessing. The Koran (holy book) is read to remind the person about being reunited with God after death (139).

In the African American community, death is perceived as a celebration of life, a testament to the fact that life has been lived, that the journey of life here on Earth has been completed. Family members and friends gather in large

numbers to pay respect for the dying and the deceased (54). Mexican Americans also perceive death as a celebration. They are known for their celebrations on October 31 (Hallow's eve) and November 2 (All Souls Day). The extended families are also united as a whole (76).

I did some further research into different cultural practices just for my own interest and learned a great amount of helpful information that I may use one day as a nurse. The Lakota (Native American) tribe believes in a balanced universe. Death is natural and is connected to birth. Both are considered sacred. In this tribe, death is not feared; it is understood to be a natural part of their existence (105). As a medium, prayers are chanted through which a dying person might be able to accept the outcome of the illness, whatever it maybe. Unusual spiritual and physical events are forecast to be a sign of an upcoming death. A serious illness may also be thought of as a sign that an ancestor is in need of something in the spirit world. To negotiate a sacrifice for the ancestor, a witch doctor is called (107). Valuables and goods are gathered near the dying person when death is imminent. These items are then distributed to family and friends for the purpose of acknowledging the impending death and appreciating and respecting the life of the patient. Right after death, there is a big gathering of the family and friends of the newly deceased. A doctor noted that hospitals need to be flexible in allowing extended family members to be present in intensive care units (111).

A person who practices Judaism emphasizes the idea "to hold close to life, but with open arms, to embrace, but loosely" (115). The dying are offered a chance to confess to their God. This act is called the rite of "confession" or commonly known as a person's last rite performed by a rabbi (priest). This ritual enables the dying person to ask for forgiveness of sins, to express a hope for family members and provide a blessing upon them. Providing this simple act allows families to say their last goodbyes and recite prayers of affirmation (117).

The Hmong (found in the countries of China, Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, and Burma) believe that when a person dies, he/she is sent back to the spirit world to be with ancestors. If the deceased is not sent back properly, the souls of the dead can harm the living. Offerings of incense and paper money are made in temples for the dead and the dying. The Hmong also sacrifice animals such as a chickens or pigs to call upon the ancestors for help with the dying person (61)

From this field study and combined research I learned a great deal about how different cultures handle the social aspects of death and dying. There is much information to be found on the subject of cultural attitudes toward death and dying, but I ask myself where in my training for the nursing profession will I receive education on this subject? Nowhere in the curriculum do I see such courses. One common complaint

made by the nurses at Kapi'olani Medical Center was, "Nothing I studied in college adequately

prepared me to deal with a dying child and his/her family." As a nursing student, I can clearly understand this feeling. I hope to be able to do something about it.

Barbara Meyer, M.D. reports that "there is no standard training of physicians on the subject of a patient's individual or cultural...beliefs on death and dying" (164). Yet, it appears that hospital staff members are indeed learning what they need to know. It was the sensitivity and awareness of hospital staff that eventually allowed a local, ethnic healer to visit a young girl in the hospital in an attempt to keep her parents from removing her from the hospital to seek such help (165). Similarly, hospitals have developed means to get most Jehovah's Witness patients through even major surgery while still respecting their wishes that no use of blood products be tolerated (167). Nurses at

the Cleveland Clinic learned that while working with Italian patients it was always the women who were most involved with day-to-day discussions with doctors. However, once a critical decision regarding whether a patient was to have an operation or whether resuscitation was appropriate, male family members, who had previously been invisible, suddenly appeared and took charge of the discussions (168).

Nurses also report little more than occasional, informal, in-service workshops are provided explaining the beliefs of a particular group of patients of a different culture (171). A retired obstetrics nurse said, "the more knowledge we have of the client's culture, the better we can serve that person and the family" (171). If a patient's rituals and beliefs are seen as unimportant or even foolish by the hospital staff, then it can be only described as unkind treatment of the patient (171). Given the lack of formal,

cross-cultural training for doctors and nurses, I feel that minority staff in a hospital can become a valuable resource in broad-

The more knowledge we have of the client's culture, the better we can serve that person and the family"

ening the education of all hospital employees. From nurse's aides to orderlies, these employees can be drawn upon to provide cultural orientations for the entire hospital staff, but most importantly, for the doctors and nurses.

A non-Indian doctor in a Phoenix, Arizona hospital reported on an incident in which an infant child died in the emergency room after being brought in with breathing difficulties. Immediately after the child's death, an Indian orderly convinced the doctor to allow the family to bring in a relative who burned sage in the emergency room while family members, doctors and nurses took turns holding the child while the sage smoke was stirred around them with eagle feathers as was the custom in their culture. The physician reported being impressed with the way the family honored those who had tried to save the child and how they included

the hospital staff in the grieving process that was appropriate to their culture (172). I can only wonder if these family members were ever brought in as resource persons to help train the hospital staff in understanding the Indian way. If they were not, a valuable resource was lost.

As a future nurse, I will be called on to face death regularly. I must understand how my patients' culture feels about death and dying, how grief and other feelings are expressed and what behaviors are considered "normal" by the various cultural groups I will encounter. If my formal nursing education does not give me the opportunity to understand this, then I will learn to depend on my patients and their families to teach me what I need to know and show me what kind of support I can offer. "Unfamiliarity with another culture can cause misunderstanding...and bring communication

to an end leaving the health-care person a stranger, an outsider, instead of a trusted friend and counselor" (171).

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A Chinese Buddhist Funeral

By Wai Yee Wang Choi



Although there are many religions in Hong Kong, most of the Chinese in Hong Kong are Buddhists. I don't follow any particular religion, but my family is Buddhist. My grandmother, when she was alive, followed all the rules that good Buddhists follow. Most of the experiences and stories I knew about Buddhism were told to me by my grandmother when I was a small girl. She believed that the cow is a beast of burden, and so she didn't eat beef. She didn't eat meat on the first and fifteenth of each month on the Chinese calendar. She told us not to sweep the floor, take a bath, and wash our hair on the first day of the Chinese New Year. When she died, she was given a Buddhist funeral. Although it has been seven years since her death, I still remember the day she was in the hospital and the death ritual our family did for her.

When a patient is dying, the Chinese like to watch the last breath of their loved one. One day we were told by the doctor that my grandmother's vital signs were very poor. Our family was gathered in a special room in the hospital where we could stay until my grandmother passed away. We called this vigil *sung-chung*, meaning that we watched her last breath, the point at which her soul had left her body. Although she was unconscious, we stayed there so that we could wail. We were relieved because not many people are able to watch the last breath of their relatives. The Chinese believe that the dying person is a kind-hearted person, so his or her descendants could stay and watch until the last breath. Since our grandmother was 85, wailing was voluntary.

Although we were in Hong Kong, we had to follow the death ritual as it was done in

China. Since we all had to work, we modified the traditional death ritual. In

China, most patients stay at home and all the relatives are called to wait for the person's death. After the person dies, the son notifies the public by pasting white banners on the house of the deceased and hanging blue lanterns from the eaves. I had participated in my husband's grandmother's death ritual in China few years earlier. The dead body was kept at home where ritual bathing was performed. The clothes were changed to ones suitable for the journey to the otherworld. This kind of ritual bathing is called *mai-shui*, and is the responsibility of the eldest son in the family.

In Hong Kong my grandmother had to die in the hospital because we didn't have a big house as is customary in China. When my grandmother died, her body had to stay in the mortuary of the hospital. My father had to contact the mortician to arrange the death ceremony for my grandmother. We notified our relatives by telephone. This is called *pao-sang*. My father also informed our relatives as to when and where the funeral services would take place. We lit a white candle in the corridor near the door of our apartment to inform our neighbors that we had a family member who passed away.

In China, funeral services are held in the home; in Hong Kong funeral services are held in a special place called "Universal Funeral Parlour" or "International Funeral Parlour." The death ritual is almost the same: all the mourners wear white clothing, shoes, and hoods which are made of sackcloth or hemp. I put on colored string flower on my hair while my husband pinned a small piece of black cloth about one

by two inches in size to his shirt. This was to tell people that we had a family member who passed away, and we were not allowed to visit or participate in any wedding party until the mourning period was over.

The mourning period is forty-nine days. After the forty-nine days, another ritual is held at the temple to end the mourning period. The colored string flowers and the black cloths are burned to announce that the family has finished the white affair and are allowed to visit and attend red affairs again. In China, the ritual to finish the mourning period is done in the house.

The Funeral Services

Before grandmother was placed in the coffin, she was put in grave clothes. She looked as if she was sleeping in the coffin. This is called *hsiao-lien* (dressing the corpse). The coffin was placed at the back of the spirit altar waiting for time to go to the graveyard.

The funeral service for grandmother was in the Universal Funeral Parlour. A spirit altar was set at the back of the room with my grandmother's picture in the middle. Our family sat at the left side while the funeral priest stood at the right side of the spirit altar. On the altar were placed many foods such as rice, meats, and cakes. The funeral service took two days. The first day started at five o'clock in the evening.

The first day of service was called *tso-yeh*, which meant keeping the deceased company during the night. We prepared paper goods and spirit-money for the burial in the next day. All the grandchildren wore white shirts, white pants and white shoes. We also put a white cloth around our waists. My father put on a special white hood which looked something like a crown. The hood indicated that he was the eldest son in the family. Our uncles put on white cloths around their foreheads and our aunts, including my mother, put on triangular hoods. We sat on the floor to the left of the spirit altar. We stayed there until the next day.

While we were sitting beside the spirit altar, a group of Buddhist nuns called *shih-ku*

were chanting *fo-ching* (Buddhist sutras) during the night. The Buddhist sutras were said to have a calming effect on the spirit of the deceased. The nuns chanted to the spirit through the night and continued the following day, right up to the moment when the coffin was covered with earth.

The second day was called *sung-pin*. That is when the corpse handlers carry the coffin to the graveyard. That day our friends and relatives arrived. As the guests walked towards the spirit altar, music would play from a funeral pipe called a *di da*. The priest told our relatives to stand in front of the spirit altar. When they stood in front of the spirit altar, the music stopped. The guests followed the direction of the priest by looking at the picture of our grandmother and bowing to the picture three times. After bowing, some relatives offered three pieces of incense to our grandmother. We knelt down and bowed to our relatives in return as soon as the guests finished the third bow.

Some of the relatives gave money to us which is called *pak-gum*. The money was put in the white envelope which was called *pai-shih* (white affairs). We gave back a small envelope with a coin and a candy inside to show our gratitude for their concern. Before the guests went home, they had to eat the candy. The coin had to be used to buy sugar, because the coin was not allowed to be brought home. Some people liked to use leaves of grapefruit to wash their hands and bodies after they went to the funeral in order to wash away bad luck.

During that second day *ta-lien* (encoffining) is done. This meant that a series of death rituals before the burial had to be done. We did them according to the instruction of the priest because the priest calculated the time for the burial according to the birthday of our grandmother. The exact time for the burial would benefit the dead and the living. The coffin was moved in front of the spirit altar. The priest kept chanting as he is responsible for dealing with deities and ghosts. He led the passage of grandmother's soul through the underworld. He burned paper

"passports" so that grandmother would be met and led through hell by a god and would not have to suffer hell's bitterness. We hoped grandmother was not getting lost through the journey in the underworld, so we followed the priest's instructions.

The progression of the soul toward salvation was reflected in a set ritual sequence that included feeding other hungry spirits, breaking out of hell, seeing the lantern and the bridge to rebirth. The priest told my father to hold a white stick and to walk around the coffin. Sometimes the priest instructed him to sit down, other times we were told to walk with father around the coffin. The priest also told my father of some restrictions during the burial. By the calculation from the date and time of grandmother's death, those who were born in the month of May were not allowed to watch during the burial. My brother was born in the month of May, so he was not allowed to watch when the coffin was put to the grave and covered by earth.

All the goods such as spirit-money and a paper house were burned for the benefit of the deceased seven days after burial. Burning the paper goods meant that the money and house were transferred to the underworld so that my grandmother would receive them. The priest said that grandmother's spirit would come back on the seventh day of after her death to see her descendants; therefore, the priest would do the ritual after each seven days until forty-ninth

day. This was called "doing the sevens." After the ritual sequence, the coffin was moved to the graveyard and buried. After the burial, we returned to the temple.

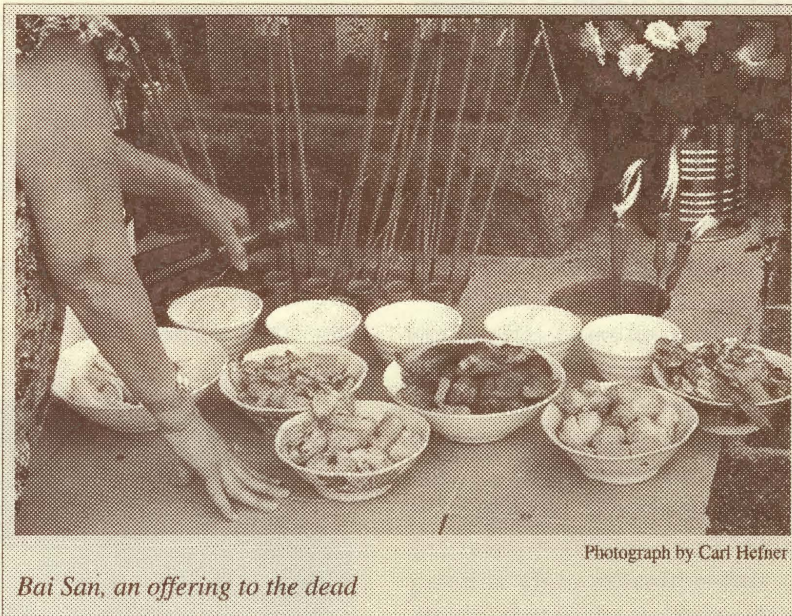
Buddhists believe that life and death form a repeating cycle, called *samsara*. The nature of a person's rebirth, or return to life, is determined by his or her actions during their previous life. There were two stories about the soul which were told by my grandmother and by the priest.

My grandmother told me that there are three levels of life in the universe. We had to be a good person in this level of our life, the level we live in, which is called *yang-chien* (human

world). Our life in *yang-chien* was determined when we were born. We could extend our life if we did good, but we would be punished after death and could not return to life again if we did bad. The highest level is that of the Jade Em-

peror, who is held to be the ruler of the entire cosmos. The Jade Emperor holds court over the other gods and was the highest rank in the higher world of the gods.

The last level is called the underworld (*yin-chien*), which is a place where the soul of a person will go after death. The underworld is ruled by many dogs. There are eighteen levels of hell and each level has a king. The soul would be placed in different levels of hell according to what it did in *yang-chien*. For example, the person in *yang-chien* who always cheated people



Bai San, an offering to the dead

Photograph by Carl Hefner

and told lies would be sent to the level of hell where the punishment is hooking the tongue.

When a person dies, the two prison guards called cow-head and horse come from hell to arrest the soul of the dead. The soul will be judged in front of the king of hell named Yen-lo lilang. If the soul goes to one of the seventeenth levels of hell, he is able to return to life again, but if it goes to the eighteenth level of hell, the soul is unable to return to life. The soul would be punished every day since this person was a bad person in the human world. Sometimes, if the bad person made minor mistakes, he or she might return to life again as an animal, not a human being. After the judgment, the spirit was released for rebirth or paradise (Watson, 1990).

I asked the priest about the context of the chanting and the meaning. He refused to answer and said that only the dead would understand the meaning of the funeral chants. He said that the piping (*di da*) attracts the spirit of

the deceased, making certain that it does not wander away or get lost in the confusion following death. The funeral ritual is used to lead the deceased spirit and corpse together, from the moment of death to the burial. The funeral rites concentrate on settling the spirit immediately after death.

During funeral, the spirit would not become a threat to the living if the rites were performed properly. Everyone dies, and every death produces a potentially dangerous spirit. The funeral rites are performed to convert the volatile spirit into a tamed, domesticated ancestor. The grave is the shelter of the soul. The soul would suffer from an improper burial and the living may also suffer.

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The Core of Taoism and Confucianism

By Shawn Ford

To the unenlightened, Taoism and Confucianism may appear to be very different, even contradictory. To the enlightened, it is realized that Taoist thought and Confucian thought are very much in line with one another; the two philosophies are just expressed differently. The main points where the two seemingly different philosophies find reconciliation are the three ideas at the heart of each philosophy: filial piety, education, and enlightenment.

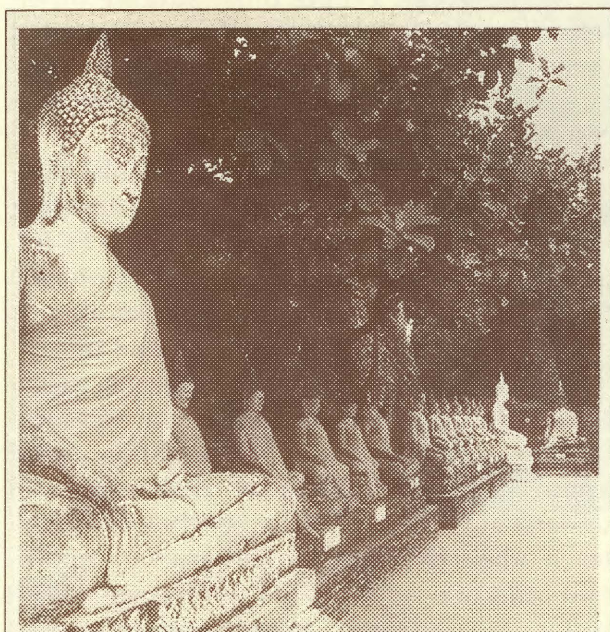
On the surface, it appears that Taoist thought and Confucian thought regard filial piety in very different ways. Lao Tsu once said, "When there is no peace in the family, filial piety begins" On the contrary, from passages five to eight of Book II of Confucius' "The Analects," we are instructed to behave, to never disobey our par-

ents, and to remain filial to our parents even after their deaths. This may seem like a conflict until we look at the deeper meanings of filial piety from the two philosophies.

According to Lao Tsu, if filial piety begins after a conflict has occurred in a family, that is going against the true nature of what it is to be filial. This implies action to correct a situation: action that is not coming naturally from the heart. If natural filial piety were expressed in the family from the beginning, conflict would have no means to arise. Thus, filial piety exists naturally; it is through the expression of filial piety using non-action, known in Chinese as "wu wei," that its true nature can be understood.

In addition, filial piety exists not only within the family; it also naturally exists between members of the extended family that is humankind and between all beings that make up the universe. Lao Tsu once said, "the Master is available to all people and doesn't reject anyone." He also said, "Every being in the universe is an expression of the Tao." These two passages point to the realization that all people and all objects that make up the universe are connected. There exists between all beings a naturally reciprocal filial piety that binds them together. It is through the realization of this that we can come to a deeper understanding of what it truly means to be filial.

According to Confucius, being filial to our parents is the utmost expression of respect. This is an essential element in obtaining the title of *chun-tzu*, or noble person. However, filial piety is not a one-way street. Parents must also be filial to their children and to their parents. Both parent and child have a natural position and responsibility in the family; therefore natural fil-



Temple garden in Thailand

Photograph by Carl Hefner

ial piety is reciprocal. It is through recognizing and practicing filial piety in the family that a person will know how to act outside the family. For in the Confucian tradition, it is realized that filial piety also exists between all beings. This is evident in the Confucian Golden Rule: "Do not do unto others what you would want them to not do unto you." As in Taoist thought, filial piety is something that naturally exists and is reciprocal in nature. To force filial piety into being or to intentionally practice reciprocal filial piety would be going against its true nature. Filial piety must be freely expressed for it to be truly realized.

When we look at the deeper meaning of filial piety as viewed from both Taoism and Confucianism, we see that the two philosophies do not differ very much. Filial piety is an essential part of both philosophies. We must realize this in order to understand Taoism and Confucianism more clearly.

With regards to education, it may also seem that Taoist thought and Confucian thought differ greatly. Lao Tsu said, "The more you know, the less you understand." He also said, "Not-knowing is true knowledge..." How can this be? It would seem that Lao Tsu was telling us not to think. On the other hand, Confucius once said, "If one learns but does not think, one is lost; if one thinks but does not learn, one is in danger." Again, these two traditions seem to contradict one another until we take a deeper look at how each philosophy regards education.

In the Western world, when we think of education, we generally think of schools and universities. These are the institutions through which we achieve our learning. In the Taoist tradition, institutions are regarded with suspicion. They are looked at as going against nature by forcing people to be what they truly are not. However, education for the Taoist is a solo quest, without walls and boundaries.

The Taoist seeks to understand the naturalness of everything as it exists in the present. Instead of trying to know each separate piece,

the Taoist tries to understand the whole, for the whole is the Tao. We can say that we know someone, but we do not understand them. But to say that we understand someone, is that not better than saying that we know them? In Taoism, the key is not to know something; the key is to understand it. One goes about this through self education and transformation. This kind of education is also natural; it just needs to be recognized. In addition, the Taoist is an educator in a sense. The Taoist teaches by example. Lao Tsu said, "The Master, by residing in the Tao, sets an example for all beings." Naturally, when others see one who is enlightened, they will realize it, and they will learn.

In Confucianism, too, it is self, and not institutional education, that is important. This may seem to contradict the stereotype of the Confucian scholar who studies the classics for years, takes the exams, and works on society; and it does. However, according to Confucius, people must first recognize themselves and their potential. This is at the heart of Confucian education. Confucius believed that in order to know about anything else in the world, we must first know ourselves. People must educate themselves as to how they fit into the world around them. This is Confucian knowledge; it is obtained by both the learning and thinking processes working together.

The Confucian master, like the Taoist master, is also a role model for society. By knowing his place in the world around him, and by following the way of the chun-tzu, the Confucian teaches by example. Others recognize him as such and will learn from being around him.

Therefore, when we look at the deeper meaning of education, we see that Taoism and Confucianism are very close in thought. We must know the importance of self realization and understand how we fit into the whole. We must teach others by example. This is a very important form of education. In this way, we will be better prepared for the greater education that is life itself.

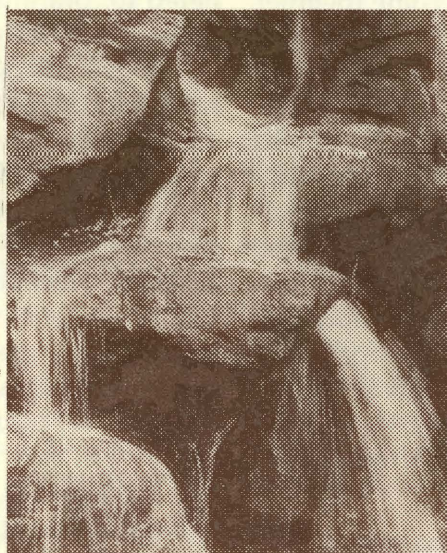
Regarding the last main point, enlighten-

ment, it may again seem that Taoist thought and Confucian thought differ greatly. For the Taoist, enlightenment is a process of realizing, following, and becoming one with the great Tao. On the other hand, Confucianism is generally thought to not deal with anything that is not concretely in this world; its concern is humanity. When we take a deeper look at what it means to be enlightened, we find that these two philosophies are seeing eye to eye. In taking this deeper look, let us look at transformation as a way to enlightenment.

To the Taoist, enlightenment is a continual, constant process. This enlightenment is first obtained by gradual transformation of the self until the Tao can be realized. Gradual transformation is obtained by following the way of the Taoist as passed down from generation to generation. The same is true in the Confucian context. Confucianism is not a static, unyielding philosophy concerned only with human interactions and the workings of good government.

These are merely aspects of that which lies at the center of Confucian philosophy. At the center you will find that transformation of the self gives rise to all other Confucian ideas and, ultimately, to enlightenment. In Book I of *The Analects*, Confucius says, "It is upon the trunk that the gentleman works. When that is firmly set up, the Way grows." This "Way" is the same Taoist "Way": the Tao. Confucius himself recognized that the attainment of the Tao is the ultimate enlightenment. Therefore, both Taoist thought and Confucian thought place the Tao at the center of their philosophy and as their goal. The difference between Taoism and Confucianism is seen in the words chosen to express enlightenment.

Enlightenment through transformation is an essential part of Taoism and Confucianism. Only through gradual transformation of the self can one obtain enlightenment. In this way, nature will take its course, and we will realize the "Way."



Hinduism and Buddhism in Nepal

By Babita L. Upadhyay

Among the top ten religions in the world, Hinduism and Buddhism boast over a billion followers. Most people know that there is a vast difference between the Hindu and Buddhist religions. But Nepal¹ is a unique place where Hindus and Buddhists exist side by side and borrow freely from each other's rituals and rites. Nepal is the only country whose constitution makes Hinduism the state religion. But it is also the birth place of Siddhartha Gautama, who later came to be known universally as the Buddha.

Both Hinduism and Buddhism co-exist throughout the country, but in Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal, both religions come together for a blend that is unique in the world. Hindus celebrate Buddhist festivals and Buddhists celebrate Hindu festivals. Hindus visit Buddhist stupas (bell-shaped relic chambers) and chaityas (small stupas housing holy scriptures) and Buddhists visit Hindu temples. Many Tibetan Buddhist monks in Kathmandu, refugees of Chinese atrocities, believe that the only god who can provide a safe haven for the growth of Buddhism is the popular Kathmandu god, Pashupatinath, who is an incarnation of Lord Shiva. Several Nepalese festivals are celebrated by followers of both religions. Many people think that in Bud-

dhism there is no caste system. In Nepal, however, the Buddhists also observe the caste system, although during the Buddha's time many lower caste Hindus were attracted to Buddhism because it didn't recognize caste.

In Hinduism there are four major castes: Brahmin (priest/scholar), Chhatriya (warrior), Vaishya (merchant), Sudra (menial laborers). Brahmins have the strictest rules and regulations regarding diet and clothing. Although the caste system is still observed in Hinduism, in Nepal's cosmopolitan cities it is not observed rigidly. That's why these days intercaste marriages are common and societal roles are not rigidly adhered to: Brahmins operate shops, Chhatriyas become intellectual leaders, and Vaishyas are army colonels and celebrated soldiers. The older generation, however, still likes to be particular about caste, which puts them in conflict with some younger, more Westernized people.

The caste system in Kathmandu gets more complex because the Newars, the city's original inhabitants belonging to the merchant caste, also follow a caste hierarchy of their own. There are many subcastes among Newars: Shrestha, Amatya, Karmacharya, Vajracharya, Shakya (Buddha was born as Shakya), and so on. A majority of Newars practice a mixture of both Hinduism and Buddhism. The Vajracharyas, the highest class of Newars, correspond to the Hindu Brahmins in terms of status. Vajracharyas undergo an anointing ceremony and are marked with a special black mark between the eyebrows known as *Tilak* or holy mark shaped like a diamond. The Shakyas, who come from a lower Newar caste, are not initiated into Vajrayana

¹ Nepal is a small independent country in between India and China which never suffered colonialization. Only three countries in Asia were never colonized: Thailand, Japan and Nepal. When India was under the British rule, the British became impressed with the bravery of the Nepalese Gorkha Army and started recruiting the Gorkhas in British Army. At present, Nepal is a fully democratic country with the King as a figurehead.

Buddhism even after they follow the Vajracharya rules. In Newari Buddhism, people are born into a caste for life. The Manandhars, merchant caste Newars, can never be a Shrestha or a Vajracharya.

Why do Hindus worship Buddha?

In Hinduism there are three major gods: Brahma (creator), Vishnu (preserver) and Shiva (destroyer). Vishnu has ten *avatars* or incarnations: fish, tortoise, boar, lion, dwarf, Narayana, Rama, Krishna, Gautama Buddha, and the King of Nepal². Since Buddha is considered as an incarnation of Vishnu, Hindus always worship and visit the Buddhist stupas and chaityas. There is also a tremendous fondness for the Buddha among the Nepalese Hindu because he was born in Nepal.

Why do Buddhists worship Hindu gods and goddesses?

Manjushree, a manifestation of the Buddha, is known as Saraswoti, the goddess of knowledge in Hinduism. So on a day devoted to Saraswoti known as Shree Panchami, all the Hindus and Buddhists go to the Saraswoti temple. In the Swayambhunath temple in Kathmandu (a major stupa for Buddhists) both Hindus and Buddhists line up from two-o'clock at night to pay homage to Saraswoti/Manjushree.

Common festivals among Hindus and Buddhists:

Buddhists usually observe all the *samskara* (rituals) and celebrate most of the festivals with

the Hindus, including major Hindu festivals such as Dashain (festival for the goddess Durga who killed the demon Mahishashoor Mardini) and Tihar (festival of lights). Buddhists celebrate other important festivals, such as Machhendranath Jatra (Rato Machhendranath representing the god of rain and Seto Machhendranath, the god of war), Mother's Day, Father's Day, *Sithina Kha* (Kumar's (reincarnation of Vishnu) Birthday), Gaijatra (festivals of the holy cow),

Indrajatra (festival of harvesting), Shree Panchami (Saraswoti Puja—a manifestation of Buddha and goddess of literature) are celebrated by the Buddhists too.

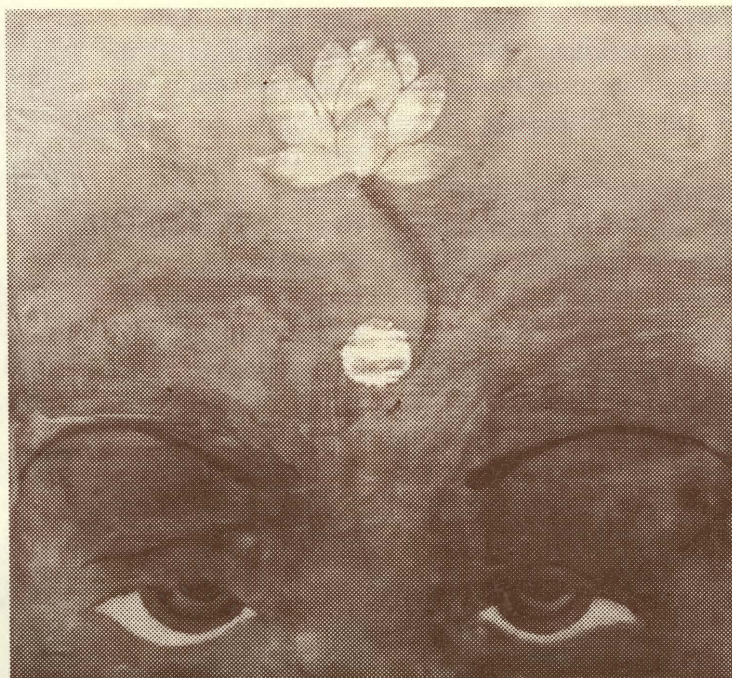
Most of the Buddhists in Nepal eat meat. During the goat-sacrificing festival of Dashain, for example, the Buddhists participate with the Hindus in the ritual killing. In fact, in Nepal at times it is hard to distinguish who is a Buddhist and who is a Hindu because they participate in the festivals with equal enthusiasm and dedication.

The main Buddhist festival, Buddha Jayanti (the day when Buddha was born and achieved nirvana, or enlightenment), is celebrated by both Hindus and Buddhists. In Boudhanath, the world's largest Buddhist stupa, people carry in their procession the picture or sculpture of Bud-



Opening the Lotus, detail
Jinja Kim

² The King of Nepal is considered a Vishnu avatar even in India. Whenever there is a Hindu conference or other important functions, the Shankaracharys of India always invite the King of Nepal as chief guest. Recently, there was a program for Global Peace organized by the World Hindu Federation in Haridwar, India. The King and Queen of Nepal were the chief guests of the program. There are certain temples in Nepal and India where, after a certain line, nobody is allowed to enter and touch the God and Goddess except the King of Nepal. In the past there has been many functions in India where priests and the Shankaracharys washed the King's and Queen's feet and used the water as Ganga water (which makes it holy water for Hindus).



Something Change, detail
Noe Tanigawa

dha on top of an elephant, whose head is actually the head of the Hindu god Ganesh.

The Nepalese observe official holidays during Buddha Jayanti (Buddha's Birthday) as well as during major Hindu festivals. In every neighborhood, there are community temples where statues of Hindu gods and the Buddha have been put up because most of the Nepalis worship both gods. Buddhists also invite the King

for their major ceremonies or conferences and the King also visits the Buddhist temples. Even though Nepal is influenced by its neighbor India, it has never seen religious conflicts like those that take place in India every few years. In fact, most of the Buddhists follow the Hindu samskara (rituals) and like in Hindu families, Buddhists also have Hindu priests.

Drowning in Honor

By Kathy Smith

The exhibit shown in the Lama Library recently documenting the life of Joseph Heco, exemplifies a long tradition of honor in Japan. Honor is a highly prized value of the Japanese culture. The importance of honor begins with the family and extends into every aspect of society. This Eastern tradition contrasts with the Western value of individualism. Though honor effectively motivates people to lawfulness and productivity, the individual often drowns in the sea of societal pressure created by this tradition.

After spending most of his life in the United States, Heco attempted to return to his homeland. Seeing him dressed in western clothing and speaking English, the Japanese people no longer considered him as one of them. His appearance, mannerisms and speech had become Western and this did not bring honor to Japan. Estranged in his native country Heco was lonely and soon returned to Hawai'i, but not before making an important vow. He said, "I do not wish to end my life as a foreigner in my own country. My wish is to learn to read and write Japanese fluently and become Japanese again. Further, I wish to contribute to the relations between the United States and Japan, since I stand between the two nations, and thus return my debt to both."

Heco eventually returned to Japan and successfully carried out his mission, acting as liaison between the United States and Japan. This brought honor not only to himself but to the two countries he had become a part of.

The word Honor stirs deep feelings of emotion. It implies such characteristics as honesty, fairness, and integrity. Certain aspects of honor are culturally unique but, in general, it is a universal ideal perceived as good and desirable.

Though Heco eventually overcame rejection, many Japanese are not so fortunate. Some live in alienation. Others are forced to endure extreme pressure to bring honor not only to the family, but to their work place, and the country as a whole. Parents are responsible for seeing to it that their children do the same. This pressure leaves many with a feeling of inadequacy. It burdens both the physical and mental well being of the people. Honor becomes a qualifier for love and acceptance and this is not right. True love is unconditional. When actions are motivated by the fear of rejection, they are no longer genuine and the true individual is sacrificed.

In Japan, non-conformity brings dishonor and dishonor brings about rejection. This is not unique to Japan. It is typical of societies where honor and conformity are so vigorously emphasized. What is important is that people to work together toward a shared goal, thus conforming for the good of the whole, while maintaining their individuality. A blending of the two values is key.

Honor and the importance of the family as a cohesive unit can not be overstated. It is the break down of the family that has hurt America. The ideal is achieving harmony within the family, society, and world as a whole, while maintaining and nurturing individuality. Heco was a unique individual who helped to bridge the gap between East and West. In doing this he touched many lives, bringing honor to himself, and to both Japan and the United States. His life is a lasting example of the beautiful blending of the Eastern tradition of honor and the Western value of Individualism.

because they will be placed in a small pit. The kettle of water will be placed over the coals, allowing the water to boil just prior to the arrival of the other members. Each task was done carefully. He was not racing against the clock to accomplish his tasks. He was thoughtfully going through the preparation.

The flowers were brought by a different student. She explained to me that the flowers she was using in the arrangement were flowers of fall. The ceremony they were practicing was for the Moon Ceremony that would be taking place Saturday evening in the middle of October. She told me the arrangement would complement the scroll being used for the ceremony. She took great care in arranging the few pieces she put into the vase. How simple, but how elegant they looked.

Since the Moon Ceremony was to take place soon, this practice was done without interruption. The students took turns playing the role of host and guest. Whether making or receiving a bowl of tea, participation requires complete concentration, both mentally and physically.

After the practice, I was asked if I would like to taste the tea. I was honored that they would ask me. Before taking tea, I was presented with a sweet (*okashi*). I took a small bite of the sweet since it was very small in size. The taste of it was nothing like I had ever tasted. It was absolutely wonderful. The bowl of tea was placed in front of me. It was the color of the green in the garden, a very rich green. A layer of green foam that covered the tea had been created by whisking the tea powder and water together with a bamboo whisk. I've had green tea before, but not from the powder. The taste is much different from the leaf tea in a bag. It is mild, but still has the essence of green tea. The tea was extremely refreshing, and a perfect compliment to the sweet. Part of my reaction to these flavors came from the fact they were so unexpected. Because I felt completely focused on the presentation, I believe that made my sense of taste more acute, and therefore I

had a total appreciation for what I had experienced.

There were a few things of interest that caught my attention. I was able to ask questions after the practice about them. Each of the club members carried a small fabric case. I was told that each guest invited to a tea ceremony is responsible for bringing such a case. The case contained a slightly dampened cloth, a folded pad of white paper, and a small folding fan. The fan is used when making a formal greeting. The fan is placed in front of the guest. After the formal greeting is made, the fan is carefully placed directly behind the guest on the mat. The guest goes through this ritual when making the greeting. The paper is used to accept the sweet being served. It can be placed on the mat while finishing it. The cloth is used to wipe the rim of the tea bowl after finishing the drink.

Another question I had was about the cloth that was tucked in the obi, or belt. I was told that the cloth is used to wipe the utensils clean before using them and before serving the tea. The ritual of taking the cloth out, folding it properly, and wiping the utensils is done with great care. It is done more for the presentation than the cleaning. It signifies the purification of the utensils being used.

When presented the bowl of tea, the decoration is placed facing the guest. Before drinking the tea, the cup is picked up and turned 180 degrees, or twice, in order to have the decoration facing the other guests while drinking the tea. This is done, I was told, in order for everyone to be able to enjoy the beautiful design on the cup.

During the ceremony, the conversation was done strictly in Japanese. Mr. Ogawa, the teacher, told me the conversation consisted of compliments to the utensils, the flower arrangement, and the hanging scroll. Because old and valuable utensils are used, it is customary to discuss them. Conversation does not go beyond the elements of the tea ceremony. I was told the reason is that it keeps the guests in harmony. The use of the language adds to the harmony.

Although the tea club practiced in their own clothes, I was told the guests and host would dress in kimonos for the ceremony. The kimonos were to be as plain as possible, preferably in a grey color. Sometimes, the host would provide the dress. The reason for the standard dress is again, to provide a harmonious atmosphere. It gives everyone equal rank among themselves. On their feet they wore clean white socks, or tabi, which symbolize purity.

The tea ceremony maintains its popularity today, but not as the art it was intended to be years ago. Schools are teaching it with different interpretations of thought, and allowing a broader interest in the ceremony. Instead of small gatherings, a ceremony can consist of as many as three thousand people (Tanaka, 175). It is also taught to young women who look to it as an asset for marriage. Without studying the history of the art, they miss the spiritual side of the ceremony. A few men learn the ceremony because it has become fashionable to own a tea house. Like the women, they don't study the philosophy and history. Very few learn the ceremony

and study the philosophy as well.

Japan, being a country of tradition, the Japanese hold the tea ceremony in high esteem. However the Zen basis for this tradition seem to be lost, and only the mechanical aspects are being taught. While the ceremony itself is beautiful to watch, if one is able to clear one's mind and become one in the tea house, the experience is much more enjoyable. I believe that is the message that the monks and Sen Rikyu had in mind when Chanoyu was being developed.

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Image is Everything: The Culture of Japanese Travelers

By Ann Kitagawa

The majority of customers on flights between the United States and Japan are Japanese. In part, this is due to affordable tour packages offered by travel agencies at wholesale prices. However, another reason for this trend lies within the culture itself. The Japanese have always found reasons to travel within their country. They travel during the first days of the New Year, visiting shrines and temples to pray for a prosperous year. During the spring, they travel far to view the newly blossomed flowers. Throughout the year, the Japanese travel to enjoy the many festivals and pleasures that the seasons have to offer. In recent decades, however, the focus of travel has moved to international locations.

International travel is largely a result of Japan's changing economy and work culture. Recently, overseas trips center around sports and other recreational activities. They visit many friends and relatives living abroad. The Japanese government has begun to encourage overseas travel by its citizens in an effort to reduce the huge surplus in balance of payments and to promote better international relations (Nishiyama, 1989).

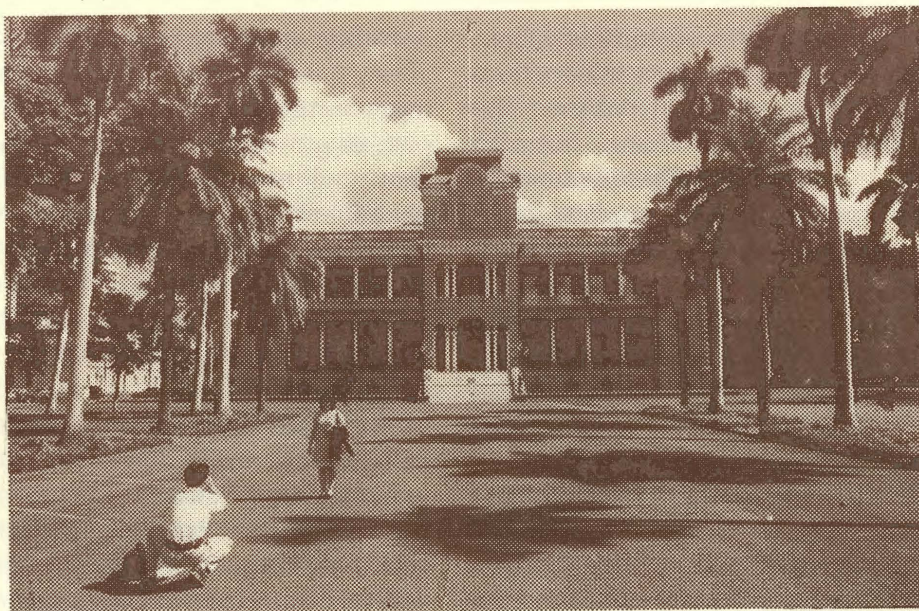
The healthy economy in Japan allows its citizens to travel to many faraway destinations. They reach these destinations mainly by air. With so many hours spent on airlines, much can be learned about the people and culture of Japan by observing and talking to these travelers during flights. Their habits and behavior give insight to the Japanese culture.

Japanese travelers can be divided into several groups according to gender, age, and pur-

pose of travel. Within each gender and age group are similarities that make them distinctly Japanese, but there are also several differences that make it necessary to place them in subgroups. These are like the generation and gender differences that occur in many cultures, very much like the generation gap between parent and child in the American culture.

Honeymooners are one group of travelers. They can be seen wandering onboard airplanes in pairs often dressed in similar clothing, known in Japan as, the pair look. They are usually exhausted from all the activities of the previous day. When these couples take their seats on the plane, they appear almost as strangers. In the Japanese culture it is improper to show physical signs of affection in public, so newlyweds are likely to refrain from hugging or holding hands while on Japanese soil. Arranged marriages, an old tradition in Japan, is sometimes the reason for their apparent awkwardness toward one another. In this case, couples don't know how to act toward one another because they do not know each other very well.

Though arranged marriages, for the most part, are a thing of the past, some still choose to find their mate through an *omia*i, or marriage meeting. The *omia*i ensures a match with a mate of the right social group who shares similar goals. Often, these couples have less time to get acquainted because their courtship is guarded and monitored by a go-between. Any act deemed improper by one of the families is grounds for breaking the union. As a result, couples are on their best social behavior while courting.



Photograph by Michael L. Thompson

Visiting Japanese couple taking each others' pictures at I'olani Palace , 1997

When the aircraft doors shut, the honeymooners breathe a sigh of relief knowing that they are away from the watchful eyes of Japanese society. They become much more relaxed with one another. During the flight to their honeymoon destination, they begin to make plans for each day of their trip. A major priority is shopping. Much time is spent reviewing their wedding gift list in order to determine how much time they need to allot to shop for return gifts for everyone who gave them a wedding gift. They also must determine what gifts are appropriate, as societal pressure dictates that they purchase gifts comparable to what they received. For example, Japanese honeymooners who receive generous monetary gifts from their parents must buy expensive brand-name souvenirs sure to be appreciated (Nishiyama, 1989).

During the flight, the couples try to be attentive to the needs of one another. Mr. Honeymooner makes sure he and his wife get their choice of meal and drinks. If not, Mr. Honeymooner lets it be known that he is very displeased with the service, many times raising his voice, or scowling. If one of them is sleeping when a drink or snack is offered, the other

will often wake their spouse to determine whether he/she wants something. Good service is extremely important to honeymooners, as couples have stated that it is essential to an enjoyable trip. When service is bad, or their trip does not go the way they want, Mr. and Mrs. Honeymooner worry that it is a bad omen for their marriage. Of course, the honeymooners are very happy when their trip goes well.

Another group are Japanese businessmen. They are a dominant group of men who bring their culture wherever they go. One might expect them to be culturally sensitive because of their broad spectrum of travels; however, while they are onboard airplanes, these men seldom use proper etiquette. In a male dominant society, the average Japanese businessman tends to be rude and inconsiderate, especially to Japanese women. He also looks down on Americans for what he calls "their lack of etiquette." Many businessmen learn to speak English, but are seldom heard saying *please* or *thank-you*. This is probably because they do not feel that Americans are deserving of their respect. Businessmen traveling in groups have little regard for those around them. They expect individualized attention, even at the expense of diminish-

ing the service quality to other customers. When a problem such as a drink spillage occurs, a major apology is expected from not only the person responsible for the problem, but also from the airline's Chief Purser. These seemingly insignificant problems, for the Japanese businessman, are grounds for boycotting the offending airline.

Japanese businessmen love to drink and smoke. They drink beer and scotch during their trip, and open snacks of dried squid and fish that they bring along with them. The business trip, to an outsider, seems more like a big party as they gradually get louder and happier from the effects of the alcohol. Drinking after hours with co-workers is a common practice in Japan called *otsukiai*. It is expected and sometimes required of the businessman. Businessmen traveling in groups adhere to this tradition during their travel.

In the Japanese culture, men do not treat women as equals, and this is evident in the way that businessmen treat women when traveling. They do not like it when female attendants ask them to adhere to rules and regulations. If a woman asks a Japanese man to stop smoking in a restricted area, he refuses to listen. However, if asked by a man, he will immediately extinguish his cigarette. Japanese businessmen feel that it is an insult to their ego to have a woman tell him what to do.

Another larger group of travelers are the young Japanese women, usually office workers, or *OL* (office ladies), as they are called in Japan. These young women travel quite frequently because they have no financial responsibilities. They usually live at home until they are married, which frees them from many obligations. These young ladies buy inexpensive package tours and travel to many international destinations. They arrive at the airport dressed in brand-name ensembles and spend much of their vacation shopping. These young travelers take advantage of their freedom now because they know that marriage will someday bring many obligations and societal pressures.

While en route to their travel destination, young women consult their travel guides selecting activities for their vacation. Of course, shopping is a must for these women. They carry shopping lists with the names of everyone who gave them a *senbetsu*, or monetary gift for their trip. They must buy a return gift, called *omiyage*, for everyone on their list. They also include the names of close friends. Brand-name items are very popular gifts because of the prestige associated with them.

It is often said that some Japanese shoppers satisfy their vanity by buying one or two very expensive items at a famous store. When they return to Japan, they will tell their friends and relatives about their shopping experience. They will also carry around a shopping bag bearing the famous store's logo to show that they have patronized the store (Nishiyama 1989).

Image is so important to these young ladies. They spend much of their time, in flight, grooming. During the flight many of these young ladies have curlers in their hair. However, as they prepare for landing, make-up is reapplied, curlers removed, and much time is spent styling their hair. While dining onboard, young ladies eat very slowly and often leave food on their plate as over indulgence is unladylike. Being considerate toward their fellow traveler, they always wake the others when anything is offered. Ladies speak softly and do not look strangers in the eye when speaking or being spoken to.

There are, however, exceptions to this image. A new, bolder breed of young ladies are coming of age. They are much more aggressive, which is probably a result of Western influence. Having been submissive in the past, many young women admire the assertiveness of American women and want to learn from them. However, many Japanese women confuse assertiveness with aggressiveness, thinking that being rude and impersonal will get them what they want. Many Japanese women have concluded that raising their voices, gets them what they want.

Other groups of Japanese travelers include families, students, senior citizens, and middle-aged women. Although there are many different kinds of travelers, with varying needs and personalities, their culture binds them together. The behavior of the Japanese traveler is a window to their culture. Regardless of age and gender, image and social reciprocity are of utmost importance.

According to one explanation, the omiyage shopping practice can be traced back to the fifteenth century, when rural villagers started to organize pilgrimage groups. Known as *ko*, the village organizations chose a representative to travel to certain shrines, such as the Ise Grand Shrine. If the village is located in a remote area, the trip could be long and costly for the farmers. Thus, the *ko* functioned as a supporting and financing organization by providing funds collected as annual fees from its members. The money given to the traveler is called *senbetsu* (sending-off money). Hidetoshi Kato (n.d) discusses this historical practice of *senbetsu* and how it is related to omiyage: "The receipt of 'senbetsu' established an obligatory relationship; i.e., the representative was obliged to bring something back from his trip. He usually brought some small things bought at the shrine with the 'senbetau.' These small items were known as *miyage*, which literally means *shrine box* but is synonymous with souvenir." Today,

regardless of whether or not *senbetsu* has been received, Japanese tourists buy omiyage for family members, friends, neighbors, and colleagues (Keown, 1989; Nitta, 1992).

The Japanese emphasize the preservation of good relations with family, friends, and acquaintances by continuing the practice of gift receiving and giving when on their travels. Wherever they may go, the Japanese are always expected to uphold their image by looking their best, to avoid *losing face*. Their attitudes, which stem from the social hierarchy, go with them as well. From the actions of Japanese customers on flights to and from Japan, it is evident that Japanese society has great influence on their behavior. Few stray from conforming to the Japanese traditions and principles instilled in them from early childhood.

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E ho'i i ka 'olelo o nā kūpuna: Return to the Language of the Elders

By Catherine Gante

Over the past decade there has been a resurgence of interest in the Hawai'ian language. The number of Hawai'ian language students, from pre-school to college, has steadily risen since 1986, with the inception of the Department of Education's Kula Kaiapuni, an immersion program in which all the students are taught in Hawai'ian (Ramirez, G1), and was furthered by Governor Ben Cayetano's declaration that 1996 be "The Year of the Hawai'ian Language" (Kresnak, F7).

This popularization of the Hawai'ian language has not been without criticism. Some of the criticism has come from a most unlikely source—the *kupuna*, or elders. A *kupuna* named Tom, whom I speak to on occasion about things concerning Hawai'ians like the Hawai'ian language, said that although it is wonderful that the mother tongue now has a lot of *haumana*, or students, the way in which these *haumana* speak sounds like English to him. When I asked him why, he replied that the 'ano' of the language is not conveyed by today's new generation of Hawai'ian speakers. He explained that for the Hawai'ian language, 'ano is everything. He said that the *haumana* speak a different Hawai'ian than the *kupuna* (March–June 1997).

Being a member of this new generation of Hawai'ian speakers, I was thoroughly dismayed at the fact that my Hawai'ian lacked 'ano. I wanted to know why my Hawai'ian was different than my *kupuna*'s. Most importantly, I wanted to find out if it was possible for my generation, as well as those to come, to recapture that 'ano and return to the language of our *kupuna*.

Through my field and library research, I found many differences that go beyond the lack

of 'ano between the Hawai'ian language then and now. I narrowed these differences to three main categories under which all other differences could be placed. These categories are: 1) 'ano, 2) grammar, and 3) use of the language. These differences exist because Hawai'ian is now taught as a second language and not as the primary language as the *kupuna* were taught. But, I discovered deeper reasons for these changes that perhaps none of us have ever realized. For a detailed discussion of the various changes to the language and a historical look at the events in Hawai'i's history that ultimately changed the Hawai'ian language, I interviewed Kanalu Young who teaches Hawai'ian Studies at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa and has a Ph.D. in Pacific Island History (June, 1997).

I was invited to his home in Kapahulu to conduct this interview. From the street, his yard looked like any other yard. But, as I neared the driveway I noticed a pile of rocks on the grass. They were piled on each other in a pyramid-like shape. "Wow, I thought to myself, an *ahu*. An *ahu* is an altar. I made a mental note to ask Kanalu about it.

As I approached the doorway, I could see inside was a shelf full of books about Hawai'i, everything from Hawai'ian dictionaries to books about sovereignty. When Kanalu, who was in another room, heard me knock he called out, *E komo mai* which means "Come inside."

After we greeted each other with salutations and kisses on the cheek, I asked him, as someone knowledgeable on the subject of Hawai'ian history and as a native speaker himself, what he thought are the differences between the language then and now. He listed a number of differences.

Under the 'ano category, Kanalu explained differences in emotion and the tone of the language. He explained that the kupuna spoke with emotion. This was echoed by Kupuna Tom who said that you have to speak from the *na'au*², or gut. Both Kanalu and Kupuna Tom said that the haumana have no emotion when speaking Hawai'ian.

Kanalu said that the tone of the Hawai'ian language is supposed to be smooth and melodic. I remember Kupuna Tom describing the speech of the kupuna as *nahenahe*³. Kupuna Tom said that if you were to listen to a native speaker, a person whose first language is Hawai'ian, you would not be able to recognize, for instance, that a person was scolding a child. The tone of voice would still be *nahenahe*. But, the haumana tend to use the tone of their first language, English, when speaking Hawai'ian. The tone of these two languages is very different. In the English language, you know when a child is being scolded.

The second major category involves the differences in grammar of the Hawai'ian language and deals with the syntax and vocabulary of the Hawai'ian language. It is explained in *Pedagogical Grammar of Hawai'ian* (Hawkins, 1982), a workbook that discusses the recurrent grammatical problems of the Hawai'ian language. Because the kupuna are native speakers, they learned the language in a natural and holistic way. They did not worry about whether the correct verb markers were used. According to Kanalu, this was partially due to the fact that the kupuna like to use situational context when conversing. For example, if one person asked another, "*He aha ka hana au e hana nei?*" or "What are you doing," when the kupuna was eating, he would reply "*Ai 'ana*" which literally means "eating." Because of the situation and the question, this short reply is enough. But, a haumana would reply with a more formal "*Ke 'se nei au*" which means "I am eating." One reply is not better than the other, but the kupuna are more likely to use abbreviated sentences when engaged in conversation. We use similar short

cuts, such as contractions, in English.

But when a situation presented itself in conversation or when the kupuna told stories, sang, recited poetry, or chanted, another style of speaking was used. In these situations, the kupuna were masters at using flowery speech and liked to use words and phrases that had *kaona*⁴. Flowery speech involves the use of things like intensifiers and directional words to give the language a smooth flow and a more sophisticated sound. The intensifiers *no*, *ho'i*, and *wale* are the most common used among the kupuna. They can't be translated into English. Intensifiers give more emotion or meaning to a word or phrase. According to Hawkins, when using these intensifiers, the haumana are often uncertain of what intensifier to use so they delete them completely from their speech and writing to avoid making a mistake (145). This is also true for the directional words⁵ *mai*, *aku*, *iho*, and *a'e*. To Kupuna Tom, the use of directional words is very Hawai'ian. He noticed that a lot of haumana leave them out.

The use of *kaona* was demonstrated by Kanalu when he sang and explained the words of a song rich in *kaona*. He sang the first verse of a song entitled "*Maika'i Ka 'Oiwī O Ka'ala*." This verse is as follows, accompanied by its literal translation:

Maika'i ka 'oiwi o Ka'ala
The form of Mt. Ka'ala is fine and attractive
 Molale i ka malie
Clear there in the calm
 Malo na kipo'ohiwi
Straight and firm are the squared shoulders
 O Kamaoha i ka nani
Of Kamaoha in its beauty

Kanalu explained that a person looking at the literal translation of this verse may think that it is talking about the beauty in the nature of Mt. Ka'ala and Kamaoha. But, if one looks deeper for the *kaona* of this verse, one will see that this verse is actually talking about two lovers, symbolized by Mt. Ka'ala and Kamaoha,

preparing to make love. To be a master of kaona, Kupuna Tom contends, one must first be a master of the Hawai'ian language. This, he says is the reason haumana cannot or do not use kaona in their speech.

Perhaps the greatest change to Hawaiian grammar can be seen in the vocabulary. Over the years, the lexicon of the Hawaiian language has grown considerably from the time of the kupuna. Kanalu points to the fact that a lot of things we are exposed to were never heard of by the kupuna. But, this is true for all languages. This, Kanalu believes, is the only change that has not hindered the language. In fact, he sees the coining of new Hawaiian words as keeping the language relevant for our world today. For example, a new Hawaiian word for computer is *olouila*. This literally means "electric brain."

The third category involves the use of the language. For the kupuna Hawaiian was the only language used and they used it every day. It was used like the English language is used today. We speak it without questioning how or when to use it. We just do. For the haumana, on the other hand, there are many ways in which Hawaiian can be used. Some use it to fulfill the two-year language requirement for college. Others use it when they do not want others to understand what they are saying. While others speak Hawaiian because they want to converse in the native tongue.

Kanalu noted that four historical events had affected the Hawaiian language: 1) the decision of the Hawaiian people to become literate in Hawaiian, 2) economics and politics of the time, 3) ban on the Hawaiian language, and 4) Hawai'i becoming a United States Territory.

In 1820, the Hawaiian people made a conscious decision to become literate in Hawaiian. This decision marked the beginning of the evolution of the Hawaiian language. Kanalu explained that when this decision was made, the language changed from being an oral language to a written one. Because of this, no one knows how accurate the written language is when

compared to the oral one because spelling, pronunciation, meanings, and various other things like that could have easily gotten lost in the transition. Nevertheless, it is the native writings from 1840 to 1920 that today's standard Hawaiian is based on (Hawkins VII).

The change in the economics and the politics in Hawai'i furthered the change in the language. For example, when the land was taken from the Hawaiians, a whole base of words and cultural practices were also taken. Also concerning the land, cited Kanalu, is the idea of land ownership. With this new idea came new words associated with it.

Then, in 1896, the most influential event took place, the ban on the Hawaiian language from schools and government. This ban made it virtually inevitable that Hawaiians learned and spoke English instead of Hawaiian. The ban lasted for ninety years. During this time, Hawaiian nearly became extinct (Ramirez G1). The impact of this ban was two-fold. First it created generations of Hawaiians who could not speak the language. And secondly, it made English the first and, in most cases, the only language spoken by generations of Hawaiians. The impact of English-speaking-only Hawaiians is best described by the Whorf-Sapir hypothesis which implies that the language you speak influences your perceptions and thought patterns (Peoples and Bailey 51). Applied to this situation, the Whorf-Sapir hypothesis is helpful in explaining how the desire to learn Hawaiian diminished over the period of the ban. Hawaiians who only spoke English possibly shared the same perceptions as other English speakers, such as the missionaries, educators, and politicians. These people perceived Hawaiian as an inferior language to English, and Hawaiians began to share that view. In fact, an article by Tino Ramirez entitled "Speaking the Language" tells how some people felt ashamed to speak Hawaiian when they were children, so their parents never taught them (F2).

The last event with major impact on the Hawaiian language was Hawai'i becoming a terri-

tory of the United States. When this happened, the ban on the language was further enforced. Hawai'i was becoming more American. This led to the desire of the Hawaiians to "fit in" and assimilate with what was perceived as the higher culture. According to Kanalu, then the desire to learn Hawaiian was almost completely gone.

I wondered, could the haumana return to the language of the kupuna? Drawing from his journey back to the mother tongue, Kanalu stressed that a haumana must have the desire to learn the language as the kupuna spoke it. This would involve more commitment than taking a few Hawaiian language classes. He also said that one must immerse himself in the language. This means using the language daily, especially outside of the classroom, "talking story" with a kupuna who speaks Hawaiian, listening to Hawaiian programs on the radio or watching them on the television, and teaching others who want to learn. This last piece of advice Kanalu takes to heart because he teaches Hawaiian to some of his family members every Sunday in his home. He calls this *'Ohana Kama'ilio* which means "family conversation." He invited me to attend one Sunday and I gladly accepted.

When I arrived one Sunday at Kanalu's house, I saw six people standing outside. Their ages ranged from late twenties to early seventies. I approached the group and introduced myself. They were all very friendly. At that moment, I remembered the ahu and asked about it. One of the older women said that they built it about three months before and dedicated it to the god of fresh water, Kane. She explained that she was going to teach the members of the *Ohana Kama'ilio* how to make leis. Because flowers and plants are needed to make these leis, they thought it was appropriate to pay homage to the god of fresh water who makes the flowers and plants grow, by construction of the ahu.

Then I asked why they were standing outside of the house. Another woman explained that they have to chant to enter the house. This,

I understood to be the way in which Hawaiians ask for permission to enter someone's house. Because I was a newcomer, one of the women chanted for me when Kanalu gave them the okay to begin. One by one, they chanted the entrance chant Kanalu composed.

It is as follows:

E komo aku au	Please let me enter
He leo wale no	I am but one voice
Eia ka hue	Here I am, the fruit
Hua o ka 'aina	The fruit of the land
'Aina uluwehi	The lush and verdant
	land
Wehi no ka pua	Lush is the flower
Ua onaona	Fragrant is the rain
O na kai 'ewalu	Of the eight seas
Ia Kane me	Dedicated to Kane
Kanaloa	and Kanaloa

From this entrance chant, one can see the use of *kaona*. In this chant the word *pua*, or flower, is used as a poetic way of saying child. *Kaona* is also used in the second to last line, which literally means "of the eight seas." This refers to the eight Hawaiian Islands.

After each person chanted, Kanalu replied with a chant, thereby giving permission to enter the house. When everyone was in the house, seated in the room I had interviewed Kanalu in earlier, the class began. The participants' Hawaiian Language skill level is roughly the equivalent of the Hawaiian 102. Kanalu started with some basic drills to refresh their memories. Then he introduced new material. He explained the use of "break through" sentence patterns, because once you learn these you can begin to converse. These patterns are *pono*—have to, *hiki*—can, and *makemake*—want to. They rehearsed oral drills, making up their own sentences using these new patterns. They also translated sentences that Kanalu made up. After one hour, they took a break and I used this time to mingle and ask questions.

I was curious to know why the two elder women, who are sisters, did not know how to

speaking Hawaiian. They said that their mother was fluent in the language, but she did not see the importance of teaching it to her children. Another woman, who is about fifty years old and first cousin to the sisters, said that her father and maternal grandmother were both fluent in the language but also saw no importance in passing on the language. She attributed this to negative stereotypes and experiences associated with the Hawaiian language that her father and grandmother had endured.

At the end of the second half of class Kanalu gave a closing prayer in Hawaiian. As I was walking down the driveway, I thought about all I had just observed. I realized that it is truly possible for me, for my generation, and for those to come, to return to the language of our kupuna. If the haumana take the language into their hearts and use it everyday, teaching it to others, it is possible to obtain that 'ano and everything else that is uniquely Hawaiian about the Hawaiian language.

Endnotes

- ¹'ano - nature, meaning, type, character (Puku'i & Elbert, 24); further described by the kupuna as the feeling or essence something.
- ²na'au - Hawai'ians believed that emotion, intelligence, and everything else that Americans or Westerners say can be felt by or comes

from the heart comes from the na'au.

- ³nahenahe - soft, sweet, as music or a gentle voice; gentle-mannered, soft-spoken (Puku'i & Elbert, 238).
- ⁴kaona - hidden meaning in Hawai'ian poetry; words with double meanings that might bring good or bad fortune (Puku'i & Elbert, 153).
- ⁵directional words: *mai*-movement towards the speaker; *aku*-movement away from the speaker; *a'e*-upward or oblique movement *iho*-downward movement; (Hawkins, 16).

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*What More is Lost?
Puu Loa Petroglyph Field
Island of Hawai'i*

Photograph by Michael L. Thompson

"Hae,,, What chu said?"

By Christy Maeda

As an adult living in Hawai'i we have a choice to speak pidgin English or standard English. But our children don't appear to have that choice since they are surrounded by pidgin daily as they hear it reverberating throughout the school yards, the malls, the streets, and all the places where kids gather. This tongue is something that a lot of local people seem to slip into when they are in their informal mode, saving standard English for the more formal setting of doing business in the workplace.

While volunteering for Service Learning an after school program called Kokua Kalihi Valley at Kam IV Housing, I had a chance to interact with many children from low income families. These children are from many different ethnic backgrounds and their ages range from about four to twelve years old. These children all speak pidgin including one of their supervisors who grew up in this area. I was surprised when I first heard her speaking pidgin to the children, but over time I found that she related to them well, probably because she was able to communicate better with them. From my observations, I concluded that this was the accepted speech and means of communication for this area.

The families that lived in this area are first and second generation immigrants from places like Samoa, Thailand, Vietnam, Tonga. I could see how pidgin would be useful among the many different languages that are spoken in that area.

A friend with three children lives in this housing complex. I wondered why her children were not involved in the after school program where I was doing my Service Learning. She said that she didn't want her children to be badly influenced by the other children. I explained that the program was really wonderful. However, after thinking it over, I could see where she was coming from. Speaking with a heavy pidgin dialect could influence and may limit

the future and type of jobs her children could aspire to. The children at Kokua Kalihi Valley use phrases like, " You no mo nothing" " You like ack, eh?" "Come dis side" "Wat song we going sing?" "You doono how fo play!" "Come ova heal!" "She stay down dea!"

The children speak this way because their parents and peers speak this way. Some of the people I spoke to say it is difficult to get out of this rut. These kids are brought up hearing their parents speak in this manner, so it is only natural for them to speak this way. "Some children never see students like you," one of the volunteers said to me, "It is good to show them different perspectives." At first I didn't understand what she meant. Now I believe she meant that seeing students trying to better themselves might give the children some motivation to change. By showing these children that there are many different types of people and that these people can do many different things may give them the incentive to better themselves.

I couldn't help but compare these children to my niece and nephew who attend Kahala Elementary and attend Kumon as an after school program. The big difference is they hardly speak any pidgin. When I visit them at their grandparents' home, I noticed that when they lapse into pidgin, someone would correct them on the spot. My niece and nephew are no different from the kids at Kam IV housing; however, they know when they are not speaking proper English. I don't think that the children I work with know that they are not speaking properly. Since they probably are not able to compare the differences between proper and pidgin English, they probably feel that this is the proper way to communicate with everyone.

I have grave concerns about these children growing up and finding suitable employment without the basic skills of communication.

In public schools where there are strong military influences like Moanalua or Mililani, students tend to have better language skills because military children are brought up speaking more proper English, probably because that is the one and only language the military recognizes. Children who attend private schools speak standard English because their parents are probably more educated and require their children to use acceptable English. These children are not raised in a vacuum so they also are able to speak in pidgin English when the need arises.

Pichaske (1993) pointed out that of the 21 states in which at least half the graduating high school students took the SAT, Hawai'i was tied for fourth on the math portion and ranked 20th in the verbal part. *Honolulu Advertiser* editor, Gerry Keir commented, "The official policy of the Board of Education is to encourage the use of standard English, not mandate it" (1995).

Most people believe that schools should only teach "proper" English. They feel students have to compete with their mainland counterpart and if they don't, then they may be unable to get that lucrative corporate job. A business consultant, David Ushiro, says, "It is also important for students to learn English and communicate in the language of the country and the world. In terms of future ability, I can't stress enough the importance of being articulate in the English language" (Harpham, 1995).

But others believe that we may lose our culture, for pidgin plays a very big role in Hawai'i. A research consultant, Millicent Y.H. Kim, said, "Part of our culture is pidgin and all that goes with the importance of a language to a people—it's the glue that holds all our multicultural society together. State programs are there to promote and maintain our cultural heritage and sense of identity" (1995).

Both sides have just reasons. When I asked some college students about this debate, the

majority felt that standard English should be stressed in school. They probably know the value of speaking standard English when applying for that job which may lead to a climb up that corporate ladder. Kelly Lee, a UH Mānoa student, said, "Kids learn Pidgin from their peers. They don't have to teach it" (Harpham, 1995). Some students say that they are bilingual because they speak both pidgin and English. They are able to use both languages in its proper element. A Waianae High School teacher, Lisa-Anne Lung, says both are equally powerful:

My students know when to use appropriate English and pidgin English. I don't agree with authority dictating what will or will not be spoken in school. I believe that as long as true learning takes place, no matter through what vehicle, that the student has gained through the experience (1995).

Pidgin, Hawai'i's Creole language, is uniquely Hawaiian. We have people mimicking pidgin because it's a fun way to communicate. Pidgin has winged its way to the mainland, too; some of California's choicest Valley Girl talk—"to the max," "bag it," "so radical"—comes from Hawai'i's beaches (Kasindrod, 1983).

Have you ever heard a tourist trying to speak pidgin? It sounds very strange and funny. Especially if they use the wrong word, put a phrase in the wrong place, or even using the wrong intonation. The locals use pidgin to try to keep foreigners out. It acts like a secret language, a code that gets you in with a certain crowd. If you speak it fast enough, those around you who are not as familiar will not know what you're talking about.

As for me, I believe that speaking pidgin has added to my communication skills. Working at Kokua Kalihi Valley, I used my pidgin to get in with the staff and the children. Once I started to talk like them, I knew that I was accepted and a certain amount of respect was given to me. There was a volunteer who didn't have that ability to speak pidgin and who wasn't local.

She had a hard time getting along with the staff. Pidgin gives a sense of belonging, an identity and connection between people. There is a certain kind of strength of being local and speaking pidgin that you can't get when you speak standard English. I love the ability to be able to use my dialect for fun stuff and to turn it off when it is inappropriate. It's funny, but when I speak to someone for the first time and I hear a little of pidgin in her/his voice, I feel close to that person and I respond in a similar fashion to alert her/him that, yes, we are locals under this skin. This is one of the common bonds we establish as we hunt for more like, "Weah u from?" "Wat scoo u wen grad from?" "You from Kalihi?" "Oh u know...?," This type of background grilling is so very cultural to Hawai'i.

Working in the tourist industry, I often catch myself trying to find the right word to fit into a casual yet formal conversation. I find that words seem to stumble about rather than flowing smoothly like a river. I've also noticed that I feel like I'm speaking with a foreign accent. I guess it's the way I accentuate the words and the use of different intonations that gives proper English that particular politically correct sound. If I were speaking to a local person, I wouldn't have to think twice about what I would have to say, probably because we have a common background and our local demeanor is very casual. So even if a mistake is made it could be easily overlooked.

As an adult we do have a choice to speak pidgin or not. However, I know I am surrounded with local friends and family whose predominant communication choice is pidgin. Sometimes I feel that by speaking so informally so often I may have ruined my credibility as an educated adult who has more worldly views. Stereotypical comments such as, "Wow what a pretty girl, but wen she open her mout, ho, u no she's one tita!" have been used to describe me. I could understand and accept that statement in my adolescence when I knew everything and being a tita was a plausible and obtainable goal. Today, I still say "no moar noth-

ing," then I quickly correct myself and say, "we don't have anything." Ahhh, progress and wisdom.

There's also gender and class bias in the use of pidgin. When my male friends get together to drink a couple of beers and talk story, the pidgin is thicker than normal. They seem to enjoy exaggerating the use of pidgin in their conversation. If a male speaks pidgin, it's more acceptable because it may be a local, macho thing and society doesn't expect him to have superior verbal skills. If a woman speaks pidgin, she's labeled as having no class, as not being brought up properly or from the wrong side of the tracks. This is another example of double standard in favor of the male species.

The stereotypical image of those who speak and don't speak pidgin may be divided into certain classes of people. Those who do speak proper English are usually more educated, have professional jobs and may be the leaders of our community. Those who only speak pidgin may be those of blue collar backgrounds and beach bums. However, in Hawai'i everyone speaks some pidgin.

Pidgin can be used to our advantage. O'ahu Lawyer Hayden Burgess, who recalls "I had to learn English sort of as a foreign language," is polishing up his pidgin these days. Like many of his legal colleagues, he sometimes uses the native tongue to dramatic effect in closing court arguments (Kasindrof, 1983). Local stars like Andy Bumatai, Frank Delima, and Bu La'ia have made thousands of dollars by exaggerating their local ways and their pidgin language abilities. It's funny to see real life situations of local people exaggerated for comedic relief.

Pidgin is here to stay even if it is banned from the school system. As long as we have a large immigrant population, pidgin will have a place in our everyday communication skills. Hawai'i is a melting pot and people from all over the world flock to our famous beaches. Communication is a must and sometimes the only way to communicate is through the use of pidgin. Pidgin is here to stay. Generation after generation

gin is here to stay. Generation after generation of our people use it because it is part of our culture, it is unique and it will not be forgotten. The one thing we must not forget is we must teach our keikis standard English so they may have the choice to compete and communicate with the world at large.

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The editors

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photograph by Marc Guyot

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