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THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF  
RACE RELATIONS AND EDUCATION  
IN HAWAII AND FIJI

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

This thesis is an attempt to study the connection between education and race relations. It is a comparison of the racial and educational climates of Fiji and Hawaii, in particular concentrating on the Indians in Fiji and the Japanese in Hawaii although such a concentration will not preclude consideration of the other racial groups in each area.

Fiji and Hawaii can usefully be compared. Both are island groups and their economies, although at very different levels of development, have similar bases, with considerable reliance on the production of sugar. Both have multiracial populations developed through the arrival of Europeans -- first as explorers, traders and missionaries, and later as a dominant group of administrators and entrepreneurs -- and through the importing of Asian labourers. But despite these similarities there have arisen considerable differences between the two areas. While Hawaii has developed a modern economy, Fiji still exhibits an economic structure typical of most under-developed countries. Changes in race relations have varied in the two areas also. While both had large numbers of Asian labourers who were virtually controlled by the sugar companies and treated as semi-slaves, Hawaii is now often lauded for exemplary race relations while in Fiji interaction between the races is still very strained, creating an ever-present potential for intergroup conflict.

## SCOPE OF THE STUDY

One of the basic laws of sociology is that people who are alike tend to be attracted to each other and also to reinforce their similarities by their interaction. This holds particularly true for race relations where a division of the community along ethnic lines will help to reinforce the differences between groups and reduce the likelihood of integration. An attempt is made to analyse the way in which an education system can affect race relations either by providing a basis on which people of different ethnic backgrounds can grow alike or, on the other hand, can act as yet another agent in the process of differentiation. While it is not argued that an education system alone can change a society's racial patterns it is contended that the behaviour, beliefs and values of an individual are all firmly grounded in the groups to which he belongs and that the group with which he has his education is particularly significant in this respect. It is further argued that change in one area will have repercussions in other parts of the culture; that a racially integrated school system may affect race relations at other levels.

A resume is made of the history of education in both territories to discover where similarities and differences have occurred and in an attempt to see whether Fiji is following a pattern similar to Hawaii's but at a slower rate. However it is suspected that, although early education in both Hawaii and Fiji was similar, in the sense of being in the hands of missionaries, the later influences of the respective administrative power and their different educational philosophies have

resulted in different systems having evolved.

For example, although the first missionaries to work in Fiji arrived in 1830, only ten years after Protestantism was established in Hawaii, the influence of this group of educators has differed considerably in the two territories. The first public school legislation was passed by the Hawaiian Monarchy in 1840 but it was not until 1912 that any governmental interest was shown in Fiji to educational matters and mission schools play an important part in Fijian education to the present day. Differing missionary attitudes towards integrated schools may also have helped to lay foundations for the later systems. Missionaries of a different type also played a part in Fijian education: these were the men imported from India to minister to the various Muslim and Hindu sects. For many years schools staffed by these Indian teachers were the Indians' major source of formal education. In the case of Hawaii Japanese teachers, interested in keeping alive a consciousness of Japan, did not have such an influence on education although Japanese Language Schools, a supplementary source of instruction, were established and are of significance. [The language of instruction in the various schools is also of considerable importance for as long as two races study in languages which are mutually unintelligible they will reduce the possibility of communication -- a factor of the utmost significance in the process of integration.] Therefore the relative use of English in the schools of the two territories is considered, along with the influence of the English Standard schools in Hawaii.

It is further hypothesised that the role of government in its interaction with the various mission groups and the extent to which government has integrated established schools into a government education system has had considerable effect on the present day educational and racial situation. In Hawaii the American ideals of education for all and of equality of opportunity have resulted in a different school system from Fiji's where government has played a part in supplementing rather than superceding the work of the existing educational agencies -- a policy also carried out in Great Britain.

The thesis not only examines the education systems of Fiji and Hawaii. It also compares -- although in less detail -- the occupational structures and population patterns of Fiji and Hawaii. Occupational mobility, it is hypothesised, is affected by the types and amount of education being received. For example, [if all of one race were in agriculturally-oriented schools while all of another were taking classical courses, it would be unlikely that the individual occupational positions in the society would be filled in equal proportions from each race. In such a case education would clearly be providing a strong force against social integration of the two races.] While the above case is extremely hypothetical and would be most unlikely ever to occur, it is hypothesised that Fijian education would more nearly approximate this type than the "democratic" type where all children receive the same education regardless of racial background. Hawaii, on the other hand, comes close to fully democratic education, with a well-developed American-style public school system open to all, and

with most of the private schools being selective on the basis of income, ability, and, in some cases, religion, rather than race. Thus it is hypothesised that the Hawaiian occupational hierarchy exhibits a greater degree of racial assimilation than the Fijian situation. This hypothesis is qualified in two ways, however. Firstly, it is not to be assumed that in Hawaii all races will be equally represented in all occupations. Length of residence in the islands and over-all social position play a part in determining an unequal distribution. There is, however, a tendency towards occupational integration, most races following a sequential pattern in the range of occupations they occupy over time. The second qualification is that in Fiji the "occupational ladder" is not composed of two entirely separate sets of rungs, nor is there a cut-off point beyond which one race is unable to proceed. However there appears to be a tendency for Indians to be employed in positions not readily taken up by Fijians and vice versa. Nevertheless the separation of the races in most cases into different schools facilitates a continuance of this pattern although there are many points at which the two races are beginning to meet. This latter process is far from complete.

Population is also affected to some extent by education. The geographical distribution of schools, especially those offering post-primary education, it is hypothesised, tend to attract population to particular areas; this, of course, is a two-way process - the schools being placed initially where they can serve the greatest number of people. Education past the elementary level tends to prepare individuals

for work above the level of agriculture and thus there will be a tendency for educated people to move to the towns in search of employment. In fact, it is hypothesised, the second trend, the attraction of occupational opportunities in the towns, is a more significant force than educational opportunities although there is probably a considerable degree of interdependence between the two factors. With regard to race relations the matter is significant only if there is a disproportionate number of each race concentrated in particular areas of the territory. An intensely detailed analysis of urbanisation and education - a topic sufficient in itself for a thesis - has not been attempted. It is hypothesised, however, that a parallel exists between the Fijians and the Hawaiians in a tendency for them to move more slowly than other groups into urban areas.

Another aspect of population which has relevance for this study is intermarriage. Once again no detailed analysis has been attempted but the amount of intermarriage present in each society over time is shown to support the contention that Hawaii is more racially integrated than Fiji. In a society where considerable race mixture has taken place it becomes difficult, if not impossible, to provide racially exclusive schools. This factor, it is suspected, has aided integration in Hawaii, although it is recognised that integrated schools in turn provide chances for interracial relationships which may lead to marriage to develop. On the other hand the almost complete absence of intermarriage in Fiji has made it possible to maintain racially exclusive schools and this has contributed to the maintenance of social distance between the Fijians and

Indians and thus decreased the likelihood of exogamous marriages.

The frame of reference for this study is in part suggested by the properties which A.W. Lind has regarded as being especially relevant in identifying a "race relations continuum" in the Pacific. He stresses the importance of the initial contact between invaders and indigenes as an important factor in setting the tenor of race relations, and he claims that even sporadic fighting may be forgotten if amicable relationships were generally maintained. Lind points out that some types of contact are more conducive to good relationships than others. Missionaries and traders, particularly, come into contact with the natives on a more equalitarian basis than do colonisers. The traders need to maintain a degree of equality so that bargaining and trade can be carried on. The missionaries, by the nature of their task, do not attempt to cut themselves off from the people; despite the recent belief that missionaries were arrogant, greedy and harsh, in the majority of cases their ministry was conducted with great hardship to themselves, and their reliance on local goodwill and assistance facilitated the development of good, if paternalistic, relations. Neither of these agents, trader or missionary, attempted to erase the existing social structure, however this may have been changed by them. They were willing, in fact found it expedient, to work with the existing political and social structure, using it to their own ends whenever possible and only incidentally changing it. On the other hand, contact through plantation, mine, or colonial agencies tends to set the invaders apart from the invaded; there is more room for distinctions to be made between

the two groups, the invaders being the rich masters and the natives being subservient, and possibly envious.

Plantations and mines require the breakdown of traditional social patterns for their operation. This is also true of the political state, although the degree to which it is so depends on the type of government introduced. Dr. Lind concludes that:

Depending upon the peculiar interaction of the foregoing factors each region of racial contacts undergoes an identifiable sequence of developmental stages. The same underlying forces of economic expansion and maturation which brought the races together propels them into more intimate association with one another. From an initial state of dependency upon the group with superior technology, the native and immigrant labor groups gradually move in the direction of economic and social parity.<sup>1</sup>

In the following pages the interaction of these factors in Hawaii and Fiji will be considered in an attempt to ascertain the degree to which the two areas are following similar patterns.

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<sup>1</sup> A.W. Lind, "Hawaii in the Race Relations Continuum of the Pacific": Social Process. XXV (1961-1962), p. 10.

## METHODOLOGY

Most of the data for the thesis necessarily comes from published sources. A visit to Fiji for field work was not possible, although a brief but first-hand picture of Fiji was gained earlier by a month's stay in the colony. The material for the early part of the thesis is derived mainly from secondary sources which have summarized historical developments in the two areas fairly adequately for our purposes. The value of this section lies in the information it gives on the evolving of the present day situation, and in the fact that the development of the two island groups has not previously been considered in detailed comparison. In the later part of the thesis, primary sources have been used extensively. These, in the main, have been government documents such as Departmental reports and Census material. This material has the disadvantage of sometimes lacking consistency from year to year with the result that the value of some of the statistical analysis is reduced; throughout the thesis acknowledgement is made of the limitations in material wherever this is necessary.

The Hawaiian educational statistics are particularly unsatisfactory after the 1940's. Material ceased to be gathered on a racial basis after this time and therefore detailed analysis of the present day education systems has not been included. Some of the material used in the small section on this topic was obtained from the files of the Hawaii State Education Department as it was not available in published form. For Fiji data is available from the Education Department's annual reports, and these are reliable, thorough, and more detailed,

facilitating the presentation of a relatively more detailed treatment of the present day educational system in Fiji.

With regard to the way in which the various races are defined it should be noted that categorisations used in the censuses and other official reports have been followed. In the case of Hawaii this means that all those whose paternal parent is Japanese will be defined as Japanese, unless he has Hawaiian blood; definitions by cultural background are not used, because they are not available. In Fiji, where very little intermarriage, especially that involving Indians, has taken place, the census definitions contribute very little ambiguity. The Caucasians in Fiji are normally known as "Europeans" - a term which includes persons from Australia and New Zealand whose ancestry is European. This term is retained as is "haole" - the term used in Hawaii to denote Caucasians of northern European ancestry. Until about the 1940's haoles were categorised in official material as "other Caucasians" to distinguish them from the Portuguese, but this distinction has not been made more recently.

## CHAPTER II

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND\*

Prior to the beginning of European influences in Hawaii and Fiji the two island groups were inhabited by Polynesian and Melanesian peoples respectively. In the case of Hawaii, isolated from the nearest inhabited areas by over two thousand miles, outside influence of any sort had been non-existent for several centuries. In Fiji, only 170 miles from Tonga, sporadic wars between Tongans and Fijians were quite frequent and some racial mixing had taken place over the centuries so that Fijians are not of pure Melanesian stock but rather tend to be a

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\*The major part of this chapter is taken from the following sources:

- Hawaii: Fuchs, L. Hawaii Pono, New York, 1961.  
Kuykendall, R.S. and G. Day, Hawaii from Polynesian Kingdom to American Commonwealth, New Jersey, 1961  
Lind, A.W. Hawaii's People, Honolulu, 1955.  
"Hawaiian Background: The Plantation Frontier"  
mimeograph [n.d.]  
"Race Relations Frontiers in Hawaii", Romanzo  
Adams Social Research Laboratory,  
University of Hawaii, Report No.33. Honolulu 1962.
- Fiji: Burton, J.W. The Fiji of Today, London, 1910.  
Derrick, R.W. A History of Fiji, Vol. 1., Suva. 1957.  
Gillion, K.L. Fiji's Indian Migrants, Melbourne, 1962.  
Legge, J.D. Britain in Fiji, 1858-1910, New York, 1958.

hybrid mixture of Polynesian and Melanesian. Within each island group there existed several factions, associations of tribes under strong leaders, which carried on intermittent wars for territory and to increase their power and followings. In neither Fiji nor Hawaii could it be said that change began only with the coming of the European for in both cases the fortunes and destinies of the people, and thus their way of life, were in a constant state of flux dependent on the success of their leaders in war.

#### FIRST EUROPEAN CONTACTS

The first European to set eyes on Hawaii was Captain James Cook who landed on Kauai in 1778 and exchanged iron for fresh food. Fiji was first discovered by a party searching for Captain Bligh of the "Bounty" in 1791. While the Hawaiians gave Cook a friendly welcome, early visitors to Fiji were discouraged by the ferocity of the populace and their habit of cannibalism. Explorers and traders called at Hawaii during the remainder of the century and racially mixed offspring resulted from casual unions between sailors and Hawaiians. Two British seamen detained by the Hawaiians were treated as chiefs and became advisors to Kamehameha, one of the most powerful chiefs in the group. Kamehameha gradually increasing his power and the area of his influence through a series of civil wars which went on during this period despite attempts by various naval captains to restore order. In Fiji a similar series of events was taking place, with the chief of Bau struggling for power with the Tongan supported Lau tribes. Here,

too, stray Europeans were taken into the Fijian system and several chiefs had deserters or escaped convicts as their advisers and gunsmiths.

By 1798 Kamehameha was chief of all Hawaii and the islands were settling down to a period of unity and stability when expansion of agriculture and the development of an effective government could begin to take place. Thus the future pattern of relations between the Europeans and Hawaiians on a social and political level was considerably influenced by changes which took place before any marked degree of continuous European settlement had occurred. In Fiji a similar pattern of events followed except that in this case the power struggle between the tribes took longer to resolve itself and European factions became involved in supporting one side or the other, diplomatically if not militarily.

The first regular visitors to either group were traders. In Hawaii ships took rest periods on their way between Alaska and China on the fur trade route. Ships were repaired, new supplies of food and water were taken aboard, and no doubt many of the privations of the sailors were eased. The Hawaiians obtained weapons and metals which helped them carry out their civil wars. As Kamehameha was obviously the chief in ascendancy it was through him and his advisers that most business was transacted and this considerably strengthened his position. In 1794 Kamehameha ceded the Hawaiian Islands to Great Britain through the explorer Vancouver and although this cession was never accepted by the British government it did establish a degree of British supremacy in the group. By the beginning of the nineteenth century Hawaii, and

especially Honolulu, was a well-established trading centre with trading houses, stores, and quays. By 1819 a flourishing sandalwood trade had developed, drawing Hawaiians further into the trading process, and the whaling industry was beginning.

In Fiji, also, traders were making a mark. The first Europeans to have contact with the Fijians were stray sailors shipwrecked about 1806. Soon after this date sandalwood traders began to visit the islands and for about ten years, until the supplies ran out, were regular visitors. A similar trade was carried on with the Fijians as with the Hawaiians. The Reva area of Viti Levu, the offshore islands of Bau and Ovalau were the focal points for this trade and thus the Bauan tribe, already a powerful group controlling much of this area, benefited from their contact with the Europeans and were able to get arms and military assistance in extending their territory. The demoralization of the people at this time is said to have been extensive. The greed of the leaders for iron and arms led to brutal fighting and introduced diseases and alcohol which prostrated many of the Fijians. The warfare continued throughout the whole of the first half of the nineteenth century and with the possession of European weapons it became more widespread and lethal. The habits of cannibalism continued along with widow-strangling and various macabre customs. Because of these aspects of Fijian life, traders, who became interested in the supplies of beche de mer when the sandalwood groves were fully exploited, did not establish such permanent settlements as had grown up in Honolulu and Hilo. Whaling was also carried out in the South Pacific but Fiji

did not even develop a large-scale whaling port such as Lahaina because New Zealand, also on the whale run, provided safer shelter and more varied supplies.

#### THE ARRIVAL OF THE MISSIONARIES

Through these first contacts Hawaiians and probably some Fijians gained passages as seamen to other parts of the world. Gradually the public of England and America became aware of the existence of these "pagan savages". The first missionaries to Hawaii came from New England and arrived in 1820. This was a strategic time to start proselytising: not only were the Hawaiian Islands more unified now than ever before, but also the introduction of new ways from the outside world had led the Hawaiians to question their traditional religions to such a degree that many old taboos had been lifted and much of the symbolism of the ancient religion destroyed. Thus the missionaries were in a position to be able to fill a void and provide a new orientation for life - one which must have appeared to the Hawaiians to have extra power as it came from a culture of great material and technical advances.

In Fiji the beginning of missionary influence was no doubt retarded by the reports of the savagery of the people. Missionaries had been at work in Tonga for some time but were probably reluctant to venture on to Fiji although they did prepare for a later expansion to Fiji by learning the language which was easily acquired in an area so long in contact with Fiji. The first missionaries were in fact two

Tahitians who had but slight success in converting the Fijians. In 1835 two Englishmen from Tonga arrived to begin the first full-scale mission. They were accompanied by Tongan converts and the King of Tonga requested the chief of the Lau group, Tui Nayau, to receive them well, which he did although he lacked interest in their doctrines. Starting their work in the isolated and scattered Lau group the Fijian missionaries did not have the advantage of gaining the patronage and support of the most powerful chiefs as did the missionaries in Hawaii. Bau, although probably most powerful, was at this stage in a state of turmoil and schism with cannibalism still unabated. It became clear that the Bau and Rewa areas were the seat of power in Fiji and thus the missionaries moved to Rewa, Bau being inaccessible, or at least too dangerous. Although Bau, under Cakobau, was the strongest power in Fiji, the country was far from united, so the missionary influence could not have been disseminated nationally by royal patronage or example even if the Bauans had been converted at this stage. Christianity had only an isolated hold and even in the 1840's did not greatly influence the bulk of the Fijians whose lives were regularly disrupted by tribal wars. Gradually, however, minor chiefs of the Rewa area became Christian and thus turned further against Cakobau. A minor chief of Bau was also converted and this led to splits which weakened Bau considerably. Thus, under duress, Cakobau renounced his old religion and, from expediency, joined the group which appeared to be the majority. His conversion to Christianity resulted in a war between Christians and non-Christian Fijians in 1855. The former were supported by Tongans

and, though of less military significance, by the missionaries whose position was so precarious as to necessitate their defending themselves; while the latter had support from the small group of traders in Levuka, then the trading centre, whose interests were not served by the missionaries and who had suffered at the hands of Cakobau. Thanks to the Tongan support Cakobau's side won the struggle and Cakobau was at last the recognized leader of Fiji. Although rivalries remained amongst the Fijians it was to Cakobau that Europeans directed their business and through him that they attempted to have some hand in the control of the islands.

Thus, although less than 15 years elapsed between the discovery of Hawaii and Fiji and, later, between the date of arrival of the first missionaries in the two groups, the situation in Hawaii permitted more rapid expansion of European influence. In 1840, only 20 years after the arrival of the missionaries, there were 600 foreign residents in Honolulu and the towns offered a variety of services, had many European style buildings, including churches, schools, consulates, twenty retail stores, hospitals, a library and various centres of entertainment such as taverns and billiard rooms.<sup>1</sup> The 1853 Census reported 1600 Caucasians in Hawaii, not including Portuguese, comprising 2.2% of the population.<sup>2</sup> By comparison, in 1840 Levuka, the main town of Fiji at the time, had a European population of about 30

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<sup>1</sup> Kuykendall and Day, op. cit., p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Lind, op. cit., p. 27.

and a total population of nearly 200,<sup>3</sup> and as late as 1860 the estimated European population of Fiji was between 30 and 40,<sup>4</sup> an infinitesimal percentage in a population of around 150,000.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, the European population of Fiji expanded quickly after 1860. The tribal wars had almost completely ceased and European planters began to arrive in large numbers so that the population quadrupled in one year, and rose to 1,288 in 1868 and 2,000 in 1870.<sup>6</sup>

#### THE DEVELOPMENT OF WESTERN GOVERNMENTAL INFLUENCE

The British had the strongest foreign influence in Fiji at this time, for although she was not interested in acquiring the islands as a colony, a British consul had been appointed and the settlers, mostly British, tended to turn to him to arbitrate in problems arising between them and the Fijians. Also British naval ships called regularly and acted as a kind of policing force, protecting British subjects. An incident in the 1850's contributed to the greater influence of the British than of the Americans. When the American Consul's house was burned down, he claimed an exorbitant sum from Cakobau as compensation for belongings which had been looted during the fire. The sum was so great, especially after interest had been added, that repayment was impossible. This led in 1858 and 1859

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<sup>3</sup>Derrick, op. cit., p. 93.

<sup>4</sup>Legge, op. cit., p. 44.

<sup>5</sup>Ward, R.D. Land Use and Population in Fiji, London, 1965. p. 22.

<sup>6</sup>Legge, op. cit., p. 44.

to Cakobau's offering to cede Fiji to Britain on the understanding that she would take over responsibility for the debt and allow Cakobau to remain Tui Viti - King of Fiji. He offered Britain 200,000 acres of land in return. The missionaries, fearing French annexation of Fiji, encouraged this move and Cakobau was further encouraged to make the offer by threat of increased Tongan intervention. Investigation by a British official led to a recommendation that cession be not accepted because Cakobau was not in fact King of Fiji and had no power to make such an offer, nor had he the land to give to Britain. In 1862 the British government rejected the offer but in the meantime British subjects had been arriving in Fiji hoping that it would become part of the Empire. One of the allurements in Fiji at this time was the possibility of setting up plantations. The American Civil War had almost completely cut off Britain's cotton supplies and had seriously affected the country's economy. Fiji was ideal for growing cotton and for the period of the war and a year or two afterward cotton growers in Fiji made a large profit.

In both Hawaii and Fiji the European settlers, missionaries, traders, and officials tended to take a greater and greater part in government. The missionaries encouraged the passing of laws relating to marriage, murder, theft, and keeping the Sabbath. In Fiji the British Consul, in 1859, "persuaded the chiefs of Fiji to confer upon him 'the full, unreserved, entire and supreme right, authority and power to govern Fiji, according to the broad and plain principles of justice and humanity' and specifically, the authority to establish

a court capable to hear all cases in which British subjects were concerned."<sup>7</sup> In Hawaii the Europeans worked through the king who was well established but in Fiji the process was more complicated, with the power of the chief (especially Cakobau) being reinforced by the Europeans and their receiving reciprocal support from their association with the stronger chiefs. However, as time passed this type of control ceased to be significant. In both areas the number of foreigners was increasing, land was being opened up for plantations, and towns were developing.

As early as 1840 a constitution was established in Hawaii which showed marked European, specifically American, influence. It established a house of representatives, elected by the people, and a supreme court. The King retained final authority in approving laws and in the supreme court, but the common man's vote gave him a share of political power.<sup>8</sup> In 1864 the constitution was drastically changed by Kamehameha V who had but recently acceded to the throne. the New Constitution provided for an electorate reduced to literate, property-owning males, and strengthened the King's position by freeing him from the constraints of the privy council and the kuhnanui - a traditional position held by a woman of royal rank. The Europeans strongly opposed the new constitution for not only

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<sup>7</sup> Legge, op. cit., p. 37.

<sup>8</sup> Kuykendall and Day, op. cit., p. 54.

did it strengthen the monarchy and thus an autocratic rule inimical to the Americans, but also its unconstitutional passage was taken as an indication of the new king's mettle. The 1864 constitution remained until 1887 when the haole leaders forced Kalakaua to promulgate a new constitution which drastically reduced the monarchy's power and gave the haoles virtual control of the new legislative machinery.

In Fiji, after the 1859 offer to cede to Britain had been received, attempts were made to form a political system capable of controlling the country from within. A confederation of the strongest chiefs was set up in 1865 but this failed to function successfully and was replaced by a loose confederation two years later. The various chiefs had Englishmen working as advisory secretaries and these men introduced British concepts of government to the chiefs. Cakobau developed a coronation ceremony and had a complex constitution drawn up but even reigning as crowned king of Bau he could not muster the strength or authority to command the support of the increasing numbers of European planters whose taxes he needed if his government was to succeed. The planters were not ready to accept a central government presided over by a native king. For them the freedom of the semi-anarchic Fiji of the time had some advantages. Labour and land purchase control could not be enforced and control of the native population could be carried on when necessary by the simple technique of reprisal raids. However, there was growing up in Levuka a body of merchants and professional men for whom the lack of central control was a serious handicap. They were unable

to enforce the payment of bills, there were no postal or banking facilities nor a standard currency and apart from these day to day matters, the existence of a town required some form of standardised control procedures which were not so immediately necessary where settlers were scattered in isolated plantation areas. In 1871 Cakobau announced the formation of a government under the 1867 constitution. He appointed a cabinet of Europeans, a mixture of planters and townsmen, but with a slight majority of merchants. The immediate reaction was one of opposition but when it was made known that the constitution was to be amended there was more cooperation for the time had come when it was clear that a central government was necessary and even the planters were aware that some benefits would accrue to them from its establishment. The new constitution did not distinguish between Europeans and Fijians on the matter of voting, but it was taken for granted that only Europeans would vote and the Cakobau government was really a white man's government. As Legge says, the new constitution was modelled on the amended Hawaiian constitution of 1864, "particularly in the powerful position it accorded to the king. In both instruments ministers were controlled, theoretically at least, by the Crown. In the case of Fiji, however, this meant a considerable degree of independence for the Cabinet, for Cakobau was much more of a pawn of his ministers than was Kamehameha V".<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Legge, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

Thus in the early 1870's similarities between Hawaii and Fiji were considerable. The same pattern of settlement had been followed: first traders, then missionaries followed by planters and settlers. The political patterns had been different because of the pre-existing native power structures but nonetheless similar solutions had been found to the problem of setting up a control system acceptable to both the natives and the foreigners. The tendency for settlers in Hawaii to be of predominantly American origin while those in Fiji were mostly British - Australians and New Zealanders when not Englishmen - pointed to a divergence in the future but this was as yet only in the formative stages. The most significant advance in both groups after the initial days of contact and missionary influence was the development of a plantation economy. This economy was to pose the same problems in both areas but in the solution the areas set off on divergent paths.

#### THE IMPORTATION OF PLANTATION LABOURERS

Sugar grew wild in Hawaii prior to the arrival of the Europeans but it was not until the 1820's that any attempt was made to grow it commercially and not until the late 1830's that the industry became significant. In 1836 only 8,000 pounds of sugar were exported but expansion was imminent and by 1850 sugar exports had reached three quarters of a million pounds.<sup>10</sup> Plantations were on the whole run by Europeans, and early difficulties over use of land for

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<sup>10</sup> Kuykendall and Day, op. cit., p. 93.

plantation development were largely resolved by the Great Mahele in 1848, when the leasing and conveyance of land were brought under Western types of legal control. The first labourers were Hawaiians and then other Pacific Islanders were introduced but by 1850 the Hawaiian population had become so drastically reduced that it became clear that some other source of labour had to be found. An act of that year set up a Board of Immigration and provided for the importation of plantation labour. The first organized importation was in 1852 when 293 Chinese entered Hawaii "under contract to work for five years at a wage of \$36 per annum, in addition to passage, food, clothing and housing".<sup>11</sup> Between 1852 and 1898, when Hawaii was annexed by U.S.A., about 45,000 Chinese came to the islands.<sup>12</sup> Not all stayed, but many returned to their home country when their contracts were fulfilled; nevertheless in 1896 there were almost 22,000 Chinese in the islands.<sup>13</sup> When the idea of importing labour had first been put into practice, little thought had been given to the possibility of the labourers' becoming permanent settlers. By 1886 there was alarm in the European and Hawaiian population at what was seen as a Chinese threat. Consequently in 1886 an

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<sup>11</sup>Lind, Hawaiian Background: the Plantation Frontiers, p. 6.

<sup>12</sup>Fuchs, op. cit., p. 25.

<sup>13</sup>Lind, Hawaii's people, p. 27.

immigration act was passed to prohibit further importation of Chinese and although 15,000 more labourers and their families were brought in in the 1890's this was virtually the end of Chinese Labour migration because after annexation U.S. federal law prohibited Chinese immigration, except for a few exempt categories.

While the 1886 Act was prompted by fear that the Chinese might form a majority or dominant group in Hawaii and, because it was believed that they were unassimilable, would turn the islands into an Asian territory, the need for labour went on. In 1875 Hawaii had finally managed to secure a reciprocity agreement with U.S.A. which ensured free entry of sugar into the States and a boom in sugar developed with the resultant need for more and more labour. Attempts were made to recruit labour from Portugal and other parts of Europe. Prior to annexation 13,000 Portuguese, 1,400 Germans, 600 Scandinavians, 400 Galicians came to Hawaii.<sup>14</sup> These workers, however, were not easily recruited and demanded higher wages and better conditions than the Chinese.

For some time interest had been shown in the possibility of recruiting workers from Japan but the very guarded attitude with which the newly emerged Japan regarded the rest of the world led

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<sup>14</sup>Fuchs, op. cit., p. 25.

the Emperor to reject any suggestion of labour migration. However when promises of good treatment for immigrants were made by the Hawaiian planters the Emperor of Japan relented and many thousands of peasants applied for contract labour passages to the paradise the recruiters painted for them. In February 1885, 948 Japanese contract labourers arrived in Hawaii.<sup>15</sup> In 1884 there were a mere 116 Japanese in the islands but by 1896 the number had risen to 24,407.<sup>16</sup> As with the Chinese, the majority of Japanese who came to Hawaii, especially in the 1885-1897 period, were men. However, unlike the Chinese, many of whom married Hawaiians, or remained unmarried, the Japanese tended not to marry until they were able to send home for brides. Between 1898 and 1924, when large scale migration ceased, a considerable number of the Japanese migrants were the wives and families or prospective brides of the labourers.

In Fiji a plantation economy also developed. When the 1861-1865 cotton boom ended, the planters turned to sugar. At first Fijian labour was tried but proved as unsuccessful as had Hawaiian even though the population decline in Fiji was not as marked as in Hawaii. Then other Pacific Islanders were imported. The methods of recruitment were far from humane and the workers, mostly from Melanesian groups such as the New Hebrides, were not

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<sup>15</sup>Kimura, Y. "Psychological Aspects of Japanese Immigration", Social Process in Hawaii, Vol. VI, 1940, p. 11.

<sup>16</sup>Lind, Hawaii's People, p. 27.

well treated in Fiji and had a high mortality rate.<sup>17</sup> Hostility in the recruitment areas and attempts by Great Britain to police the methods of recruitment had, by the 1870's, made it difficult to obtain large enough numbers of labourers. The planters were critical of the refusal of the Fijians to work and of their leaders to encourage them to do so. The Cakobau government, in trying to gain international recognition, attempted to develop a degree of labour control. In 1872 the government passed an act regulating the hiring of contract labour. The government, however, had little power to enforce the act and many abuses continued; the settlers', especially the planters', wishes were in the main acted upon. The successive British Consuls, too, attempted to control the labour traffic but met with only limited success, significant only in preventing excessive abuse of the islanders but not effective where planter and recruiter cooperation was not forthcoming.

The British Government was reluctant to accept responsibility for Fiji but by 1873 it was clear that the Cakobau Government did not have the strength to command the full support of the planters, that the various factions in Fiji had reached a level of hostility which might lead to civil war, that the labour traffic problems were far from solved, and that the country was in a serious debt. Thus in 1873 a new application was made to Britain to accept Fiji's cession. As a result of a commission which followed a satisfactory set of

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<sup>17</sup>Legge, op. cit., p. 266.

conditions was drawn up and Fiji ceded to Britain in October 1874. The first governor of Fiji was Sir Arthur Gordon who, aware of the problem of European contact with native races, devised a policy to protect, as far as possible, the Fijian way of life. He strictly limited the employment of Fijians and encouraged them to continue their traditional village lives, moulding the government of the country, where it directly affected the Fijians, on traditional political patterns. Gordon had previously been governor of Mauritius where Indian labourers had been used exclusively on plantations. He encouraged a scheme for importing labourers from India for the Fijian plantations. The planters were opposed to the scheme, as it was to be well controlled, and preferred to continue the practice of importing Melanesians or desired to be permitted to use Fijian labour which was cheaper as no transport costs were entailed. (The planters probably supported cession mainly because they expected that it would lead to the release of Fijians for employment.)

In 1879, after some five years of diplomatic preliminaries, the first shipload of Indians, 481 in number, arrived in Fiji. Under the terms of the agreement between the Fijian and Indian governments, the labourers were to be voluntary immigrants, under contract to serve for five years and with the right to a free passage home if they stayed in the colony for a subsequent five years. Social services such as medical facilities and cooks of suitable caste were to be provided both on the trip from India and on the plantations and there were to be 40 women for every 100 men imported. Because of this policy there was not

the same tendency to intermarry with the Fijians as was the case with the early Chinese workers in Hawaii. Gordon's policy of keeping the Fijians away from European influence meant that fewer Fijians than Hawaiians were likely to become involved in plantation life.

Although Gordon had rejected a proposal to allow Pacific Island labourers to remain in Fiji after their contracts expired, he had no objection to Indian settlement. In fact the Indian government insisted that the citizens should have the right to permanent settlement in Fiji if they desired it. Gordon could see several problems arising if Islanders were allowed to settle; he particularly foresaw the lack of available land and the possibility of a collision of interests between the Fijians and the Islanders. That Gordon did not take these matters into account when considering the Indian case may seem strange. It is probable that he believed that the Indians' higher level of culture would facilitate adaptation to the new environment and would contribute much to the development of the colony; another of his objections to permanent Islander settlement was their low level of development which he felt would not benefit Fiji. He might well, however, have considered the land problem. Prior to cession it had been possible for Europeans to make independent transactions with individual chiefs for land and land had also been given to the British Government. However the Deed of Cession of 1874 set down that henceforth all land not bona fide property of Europeans, not occupied or likely to be required in the future by a Fijian tribe, should be in the control of the Crown. In effect this meant that Fijian land, which made up 85% of the colony,

could not be bought and sold without Government approval. Legge quotes Gordon as saying, "'The great object is, in my opinion, to make alienation of native land as difficult as possible. It is the only condition of any possible progress on the part of the natives.'"<sup>18</sup>

Gordon's interests were to improve the economy of the colony and to protect the interests, as he saw them, of the Fijians. An indenture system was necessary to provide labour for the plantations and Indians, even as free independent workers after their contract, were a leaven to the economy. However, as in Hawaii, hopes that the indentured labourers would stay on the plantation after their contracts expired were not always fulfilled. Few Indians extended their stay on the plantation. Some 40% returned to India (of whom some later came back to Fiji) and many of the remainder became farmers on land leased either from the Fijians or, later, from the sugar companies. Other Indians moved to the town areas. These were joined, in the first two and a half decades of the twentieth century, by free immigrants who were in the main tradesmen and merchants. On the whole the indentured Indians tended to stay in the rural areas and the town jobs held by Indians were filled with a disproportionate number of free immigrants.

In 1917 the Indian Government banned labour recruitment as a war time measure. Since the beginning of the century there had been campaigns in India, supported to some degree by the missionaries working in the colonies to which India supplied labourers, to reform or

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<sup>18</sup> Legge, op. cit., p. 184.

abolish the indenture system. Thus the war time measures were the beginning of the end for the indenture system as no more labourers entered Fiji after 1917, and in 1920 the remaining indentured labourers were freed from their contracts. The 1921 Fiji Census showed 60,034 Indians (26,810 born in Fiji) as compared to 84,475 Fijians. Even with continued repatriation the Indian population rose steadily after this date. At no time since 1891 (and probably 5-8 years before this) have the Indians been outnumbered by any group but the Fijians, and by the 1946 Census the Indians were the majority group, a position which they retain today. The other races of Fiji, excluding the Fijians themselves - other Islanders, Europeans and Chinese in the main - make up only about 8% of the total population.

In Hawaii a great many changes had taken place. The monarchy was deposed and American interest and influence had become paramount with the reciprocity treaty and America's option over the use of Pearl Harbor. In 1898 Hawaii was finally annexed by America and became a United States Territory, probably against the will of many Hawaiians but much to the satisfaction of the planters and businessmen for whom annexation meant economic stability. With annexation and the concomitant bar to Chinese immigration it became necessary to find other sources of labour. Japan was the major source of labourers until 1908, when labour immigration from that country was restricted by the Gentlemen's Agreement. In 1920 the 109,274 Japanese were the largest group in the Hawaiian population (42.7%), far exceeding the next group in size - the Caucasians with 19.2%. The Japanese

remained the largest group until after 1960 but their proportion in the population has now dropped to a little less than one-third.

In Fiji the plantation patterns followed the course of small individually owned plantations being swallowed up by the large sugar companies which were supported by more capital and were more efficient and later, when the sources of migrant workers dried up, by leasing small plots to individual Indian farmers.

In Hawaii very little of this latter development has occurred. The plantations were gradually consolidated under the control of a few large companies which were forced to cooperate rather than to compete by the pressures exerted by large sugar concerns on the mainland. The labour supply was not staunched by the cessation of Japanese labour immigration, for other sources were found. Puerto Ricans and Koreans were imported and, between 1910 and 1940, the Philippines became the main source of immigrant workers. Nevertheless the Chinese and Japanese populations have continued to grow by excess of births over deaths.

Thus Fiji has become practically a bi-racial society, although the European group (only 2% of the total population) has an influence completely disproportionate to its size, while Hawaii is truly multi-racial, having about seven groups of significant size, and not an inconsiderable group of people of mixed ancestry. Fiji's Indian population was not homogeneous. It was composed of men and women from several provinces of India who spoke mutually unintelligible languages and, in many cases, had different cultural backgrounds. Gillion reports

that there was, at first, a policy of keeping north Indians and south Indians, Hindus and Muslims, on different plantations<sup>19</sup> but generally there was little distinction made between the various groups. All Indians were Indians in a way that all Oriental racial migrants in Hawaii were never conceived or as a single category - Orientals. In Hawaii the various groups not only came from different countries, easily distinguished from each other, but also they arrived at different times and when a group arrived the status of the preceding group changed.

#### POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

The political systems of the two areas, although they showed similar trends in the first half century of European contact, differed widely after Fiji's cession and Hawaii's annexation. The system of British colonial rule is one of gradual change over from government from the Colonial Office to government by the people. Thus at first the Governor of Fiji, speaking for the Colonial Office, had the power to order the lives of all the people of Fiji. The first Governor set up a system of indirect rule for the Fijians, using their existing political structure. The machinery of government, as set down in the Charter of Colony, was to be an Executive and Legislative Council "the latter to consist of the Governor and at least two other members to be nominated from either officials or non-official residents of the Colony."<sup>20</sup> Sir Arthur Gordon, the first governor, made the Legislative Council larger than the Charter required. It had six members apart

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<sup>19</sup>Gillion, op. cit.

<sup>20</sup>Legge, op. cit., p. 155.

from Gordon himself, three from officialdom and three representing the planters. Planters in the main were not ex-missionaries and there was little sympathy between mission and plantation. In Hawaii the curtailment of the islands' designation as a missionary area in 1853 forced the missionaries there to seek other sources of support and many of the practical sons of the first, more idealistic missionaries were quick in grasping the opportunities to acquire land and subsequently became very wealthy and influential with a large representation in government. This difference between the two areas might have had wide implications if the non-missionary planters in Fiji had had the control of the government but as it was, the planters' interests were kept under control by the official members while in Hawaii the "missionary influence" was often completely submerged by the planters' needs. However, the provision of education, as shall be seen later, was more readily made in Hawaii, probably a result of missionary ideals.

The Indian community was not represented in Gordon's government and did not even have unofficial organizations at the local level. At first this was not considered unreasonable for Indians in their own country had little representation and in Fiji no group had the franchise. In 1903 elective representation was introduced for the Europeans. The Legislative Council was expanded to include ten official members, six elected members (the provisions of the Letters patent restricted these to property-owning males of European descent) and two native members to be selected by the Governor from six names provided by the Council of Chiefs. The Indian community had by this time developed

an urban nucleus which was more vocal and organized than the plantation and rural workers. Indian rate payers had been able to vote for the Suva Municipal elections but in 1915 their rights were restricted by an English literacy test, because of alleged corruption and a fear of Indian domination. The upcry engendered by this move and by the continued exclusion of Indian representation on the Legislative Council led in 1916 to a further expansion of the council by the inclusion of one more nominated member, who, it was understood, would be an Indian. In 1929 the Letters Patent were changed to allow elected Indian representation (on a communal basis). The Legislative Council was expanded again, now to be composed of the Governor, not more than thirteen official members, six European elected members, three native members and three Indian elected members. Fijians did not have direct electoral rights. Gradually the proportion of elected members has increased and the preponderance of Europeans, quite out of proportion with their numerical strength, has been reduced. Imbalance has continued, nevertheless, giving the Fijians a larger representation than the Indians, in an attempt to ensure that the Fijians are not swamped by their numerically superior Indian countrymen. Communal rolls are still in existence but in 1966 a system of cross-voting was introduced for some seats to encourage a greater degree of extra-community politics.

In Hawaii American influence has for decades permeated the political structure. Universal suffrage was introduced as early as 1840. This was modified in 1864 to reduce those eligible to vote

to literate land owners. With annexation it appeared that the one man one vote principle would operate but this was resisted by Europeans and Hawaiians afraid of Oriental domination at the polls. However, among those who could vote elections were held on a common roll, a fact which probably contributed to less political consolidation along racial grounds than in Fiji. In the early days of the territory the Hawaiians formed a majority of the electorate but on the whole they did not have the power this might suggest. The Governor was appointed by Congress and it was his responsibility to form a cabinet. In most cases the Governor was chosen from Hawaii's "haole" elite, the planter and businessman group and the interests of sugar were given paramount attention. Gradually descendants of Asian immigrants reached voting age, and being American citizens by birth were eligible for voting. While there are claims of intimidation having been used on the plantations to ensure that the workers voted "the right way" (Republican), over the years this became less effective as the proportion of Asian descendants in the towns outnumbered those on plantations. Today the political set-up in Hawaii differs greatly from that of Fiji. Hawaii functions like any other state in the United States of America. The ethnic origin of the voters does not determine the way they vote and it appears that in most cases men and women are elected to power on the basis of their personal worth or appeal. No group in the voting population has a clear majority over all others and therefore communal voting is not profitable.

The position of indigenous Hawaiians in general compared with that of indigenous Fijians is well illustrated in the political provisions

made for each. In the case of Hawaii the native people gradually lost their political power as United States' intervention, on the unofficial as well as the official level, increased. The introduction of thousands of immigrants and a catastrophic decline in the Hawaiian population last century, combined with extensive race mixture, have resulted in a situation where the Hawaiians are now of little significance in Hawaiian politics. In Fiji it is clear that, whatever the electoral system, the Fijians' proportional numerical strength would give them a greater role in politics than the Hawaiians have. However, the Fijians' position is especially protected by the colonial authorities which feel bound by the promises made at Cession and consequently the Fijians (41.8% of total population) have fourteen seats in the Legislative Council ("nine elected on the Fijian communal roll, two decided by the Council of Chiefs, and three elected by the cross-voting system"<sup>21</sup>) while the Indians (49.3%) have twelve seats (nine elected communally and three by cross-voting), and the Europeans (3.9%) have ten (seven elected on a communal roll including the Chinese and three on the cross-voting system). This electoral system, coupled with the land policy, maintains the Fijians in a rather artificially powerful position, especially as the sympathies of the European administrators are often on their side. This political difference between Fiji and Hawaii typifies the present day divergence between the two and in itself probably encourages communalism in one country and cooperation in the other.

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<sup>21</sup>"Recent Constitutional Developments in Fiji" (Part II), New Zealand Department of External Affairs. External Affairs Review, Vol. XVI, No. 7, July 1966, p. 14.

## CHAPTER III

### THE ORIGINS OF FORMAL EDUCATION IN FIJI AND HAWAII

#### EARLY MISSIONARY EDUCATION

Prior to European contact, education in both Fiji and Hawaii was a matter of learning by practical experience or by listening to the tales of the elders. Informal learning continued during the period of contact with explorers and traders when new horizons were opened up and new skills and commodities were introduced. In isolated cases young men might gain further experience by joining a foreign ship and travelling around the Pacific or even further. It was young Hawaiians in New Haven who first encouraged missionaries to go to the "Sandwich Islands". The missionaries established the first formal education in the islands. Being Protestants they placed emphasis on the ability to read the Bible so it was not unnatural that they rapidly set up schools and started teaching elementary academic subjects, mainly reading and writing. A Hawaiian alphabet was developed during the first year and the first textbook in Hawaiian was printed. First the adults demanded lessons; by 1826, 400 native teachers were working in the islands and by 1830 one-third of the population was enrolled in schools. The greater contact of the Hawaiians with Europeans prior to the arrival of the missionaries, coupled with the

fact that the latter first made contact with the recognized rulers of the whole kingdom, contributed to a quicker and less difficult development of missionary influence than took place in Fiji.

Among the first Hawaiians to take instruction from the missionaries were the high chiefs and chiefesses, many of whom soon became Christians and thus formed a most effective reference group for the population at large. Such was the effectiveness of the American missionaries' work that the first boarding school west of the Rockies was established at Lahainaluna on the island of Maui. From this school, established in 1831, came young Hawaiian men with a rudimentary understanding of scripture and the arts of reading and writing who were to become the teachers of the majority of Hawaiian children for some time. The spread of education during the first twenty years of missionary activity was so great that by 1840 the first school laws were passed making school attendance of all children from four to fourteen years of age compulsory. Three years later tax support for education was introduced, a fact all the more outstanding when one realizes that the first government finance for education in England had been granted only ten years previously.

In Fiji the Methodist missionaries were also having some degree of success although not on the scale of the Hawaiian missionaries. Probably their Tongan contacts acted as a negative reference group; and the lack of political accord in Fiji was also an influence in slowing down conversion as there was no one ultimate authority to issue decrees to facilitate the spread of the "word". Nevertheless by

1839 (only four years after their arrival) the missionaries had set up fourteen schools with a total of 34 teachers and 564 students.<sup>1</sup> Many of the teachers were Fijians and in 1839 King George of Tonga had sent Tongans to teach in Fiji. The desire for education was not absent among the Fijians but there was resistance to acceptance of the new religion in some areas and as conversion was the missionaries' primary aim the spread of mission influence was not as rapid as was the case in Hawaii.

In the 1830's in Hawaii education not only expanded geographically but also became diversified. Following the establishment of the Lahaina Boarding School other schools with specialized aims were set up. In 1836 the Hilo Boarding School was opened. Its purpose was to act as a preparatory school for Lahainaluna as well as to train elementary level teachers and to teach the manual arts. In the following year a girls' school, the Wailuku Female Seminary, was established to train girls who would make suitable wives for the graduates of Lahaina. The missionaries in Hawaii were devoted to the ideals of universal education, making little distinction between the commoners and alii. As the Hawaiian social system had a very clearly defined hierarchical nature this went somewhat against the traditional norms but it was apparently the missionary advisers to the King who arranged for the establishment of a special school for children of

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<sup>1</sup> Lewis-Jones, W.W. "A Historical Survey of the Development of Education in Fiji", Fiji Society of Science and Industry Transactions and Proceedings. Vol. 16, No. 3, 1957. p. 114.

royal descent.<sup>2</sup> The need was seen for especially tailored education, probably of a standard higher than was reached in the common schools, for children who would one day have control of the government. At its inception this school had a roll of ten including children later to become Kamehameha V, King Kalakaua and Queen Liliuokalani.<sup>3</sup> The Royal School, as it was called, remained a private school for only ten years; after 1850 it was open to all children and had for many years a student body made up of Hawaiians, part Hawaiians and Europeans.

#### DISTINCTIONS MADE BETWEEN

##### •THE MISSIONARIES AND THE INDIGENOUS POPULATION

In 1841 a school was established in Honolulu which was to be the focus of attention of the upwardly mobile of all races in Hawaii for many years, if not to the present day. This school, Punahou, was established for the children of the missionaries who, it was believed, would be adversely affected by contact with Hawaiian children in school. Up until this time many missionary scions were sent home to New England for their education or were taught at home. While it is no doubt true that they would have received an inferior education in the common schools, especially when many of them used Hawaiian as a medium of instruction, parental sentiments probably went further than this, deeming the Hawaiian children unsuitable or debasing companions for their offspring. Punahou thus became the school for the elite.

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<sup>2</sup> H.T. Jamieson, "A Study of Economic and Social Conditions of the Royal School District" (unpublished thesis in the University of Hawaii Library, 1939), p.7.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

High fees were charged and the curriculum and teaching standards were high. Many of the pupils, especially as the European elite grew wealthier, went to the United States mainland for University education. The school could never have been wholly segregated because many of the Hawaiian nobles had married Americans and their offspring were not excluded from the school. Nevertheless there was a bar against the entrance of children of Asian parentage until late in the century when an unofficial 10% quota of Asians were given admittance. This quota remained in force until the 1940's after which entrance to Punahou was open to all who could meet the academic requirements, with preference given to the children of old pupils. Punahou, therefore, formed a goal for which many strive in Hawaii; along with the English Standard Schools which will be discussed below, it is significant in any study of education in Hawaii and has relevance even when the main subject under review deals with groups other than the Europeans.

In Fiji the missionaries did not function as a reference group in quite the same way as they did in Hawaii. There were fewer of them and they did not gain positions of power behind the throne as did their brothers in Hawaii. They did not acquire land or accumulate wealth to the extent that occurred in Hawaii, if only because they were not forced to become self-sufficient by being removed from the list of mission frontiers as happened in Hawaii as early as 1853, thanks to the efficiency of the proselitizing campaigns there. The planters were not retired missionaries, nor the sons of missionaries, and they were not wealthy men because their holdings were small and market

prices were fluctuating. Prior to cession the European population in Fiji was very small and scattered all over the group. The only concentration of Europeans was at Levuka which was a small, raw town with under fifty European inhabitants as late as 1850; the first school for Europeans was opened in 1868; it was a one-teacher school and presumably offered elementary education only. Parents often sent their children to school in Australia or New Zealand or even in England. After cession this pattern was continued until the twentieth century and, to a lesser degree, after that time. The European population in Fiji has in the main been of a more transient nature than that in Hawaii. The sugar mills were, by the end of the century, owned by oversea companies which sent managerial personnel to Fiji for short terms. The government officials were often also serving a short term although some made Fiji their home. The missionaries came on tour in many cases and even those who settled permanently did not form a very large group. The Europeans did not mix with the Fijians to a very large degree and there appears to be no record of marriages between Fijian chiefs and Europeans to form a half caste elite. This was probably due at least partially to the transient nature of the Europeans' stays in Fiji; it was also heightened by the policy evolved by the first Governor, Sir Arthur Gordon, of keeping the Fijians away from supposedly harmful European influences. Thus, as shall become clearer as we proceed, the Europeans in Fiji did not form a reference group which was immediately available to all and a

process of the various races mounting the educational ladder<sup>4</sup> did not take place to the degree that it did in Hawaii.

#### BEGINNINGS OF GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT IN HAWAII

Responsibility for education in Hawaii was shared, after 1840, between the government educational agency and the missionaries. Many public schools were established. Their teaching was at an elementary level and in most cases only a low standard was reached but nevertheless the average Hawaiian was exposed to some degree of Western teaching and the literacy rate in Hawaii was soon remarkably high. Although in many instances the men who were behind the mission schools such as the Hilo and Lahaina Schools were of the same group as those who acted as educational advisers to the government, there appears to have developed a tension between the educational policies of the two systems. The missionaries had started their teaching in Hawaiian as soon as they had developed any skill in the language. They believed they should preserve the traditional language and, probably, they saw advantages in retaining Hawaiian as it gave them, the Europeans with the best command of the language, a certain measure of influence which the traders could not attain. However by the 1850's the use of English as the medium of instruction in public schools was growing. Gradually more and more schools adopted English and it became imperative for the

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<sup>4</sup> c.f. A.W. Lind, Mounting the Occupational Ladder in Hawaii, mimeographed paper, [1957].

survival of the private schools that they follow suit. After 1854 when the legislative body authorized the establishment of a limited number of English schools, a dual system of public education evolved. There were the common schools where the medium of instruction remained Hawaiian, and a growing number of English schools. The use of English in the government and commerce of the islands was so widespread by the 1860's that the demand for English increased and by the end of the century all but a few isolated schools were teaching in the introduced language. Missionary resistance to this trend was not severe if only because it was expediently necessary for them to introduce English in order to retain their pupils. The use of a common language in all the schools of Hawaii by the beginning of the twentieth century was a significant factor in education's contribution to the race relations situation in Hawaii and its lack was to be significant in Fiji.

The influence of the missions in Hawaiian government during the middle decades of last century is well illustrated by the way private mission schools were subsidized by government funds. The government was first brought into the educational field to assist in school finance when the American Board of Missions was forced, through straightened economic circumstances, to reduce its financial aid to the Hawaiian mission. The 1840 act was devised to fulfill this aim and the public schools that the act was concerned with were in fact the schools of the Protestant (especially Congregational) missions. There was clear discrimination against Catholic schools,

which had been completely disallowed before 1839. After some wrangling government payment of teachers' salaries at all schools, Protestant and Catholic, was introduced to alleviate this discrimination. By 1850 other churches, notably the Mormon Church, had established schools and were asking for government support equivalent to that enjoyed by the Protestants and Catholics. As a result in 1854 regulations were issued forbidding sectarianism in Hawaii's public schools. The secularization of the system took place only gradually. By 1860 only one-fifth of the schools supported by government funds were secular in orientation. Tax concessions were made to those who sent their children to private schools and in some cases government support was forthcoming until 1888. Punahou is an example of this. The close association of its founders with the public education system and its role as the only high level secondary school in the country for much of the nineteenth century gave it a special position. Although it was an exclusive institution it had a semi-public character until 1888 when the government became financially capable of setting up public secondary schools and aid to Punahou ceased. In 1895 the first public high school was established in Honolulu - the school that was to become McKinley High School. Thus gradually school after school became either wholly public in the American sense (that is, open to all and secular and, in the case of elementary schools, free) or else became private schools relying for their support on revenue from fees and contributions. Even the Royal School became public in 1851 and its roll became more mixed, including part Hawaiians and

Europeans and later, by the early decades of the twentieth century, being fully multi-racial.

Along with the trend towards public schools was a concomitant trend towards the use of English. This, as we have seen, was due in part to the desire of the new generations of Hawaiians to learn the language. Other forces, however, played a part in giving momentum to this tendency. The Hawaiian population decreased considerably after European contact, dropping from an estimated 300,000 at the time of Cook, to approximately 40,500 (including part Hawaiians) in 1890. This decline was accompanied by increases in other segments of the population. By 1878 almost 20 per cent of the population was non-Hawaiian and by 1884 Hawaiians were but 54.9% of the population as compared with 22.6% Chinese, 12.3% Portuguese, and 8.3% "other Caucasian".<sup>5</sup> These non-Hawaiians were not willing to be taught in Hawaiian, they saw the advantage of learning English and they also saw that the better teachers were working in the English schools. Thus, by the end of the century, there was a network of public schools, open to children of all races and almost all using English as the medium of instruction. While not all children were attending school and while the standard of education varied from institution to institution and the chances of post elementary education were limited, considerable headway had been made.

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<sup>5</sup> Lind, Hawaii's People, p. 27.

THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IN FIJI IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In Fiji government played a minor role in education during the nineteenth century. Cakobau's 1872 budget estimates included the allocation of 500 pounds for education but there is little likelihood that any of this amount was collected, let alone spent on schools. After cession in 1874 the first Governor, Sir Arthur Gordon, did little more about education. This was not due to negligence or lack of interest but to lack of available funds. The policy of the British Colonial Office at the time was to give a small grant to aid initial setting up of the colonial administration but that from then on it should be self-sufficient. Thus Gordon's main problems were to conserve funds wherever possible and to divert as much money as possible to measures calculated to boost the economy quickly. In 1878 he expressed his unhappiness that "nothing (was being) done by the colony for the promotion of education among any class of its inhabitants."<sup>6</sup> The next year, however, a move was made by the government when an ordinance was passed which provided for the establishment of common schools in Levuka and Suva and other towns and a high school to serve the whole of Fiji. While there appears to have been nothing in the ordinance restricting entry to these schools to Europeans, this in fact was the practice. The Levuka Common School opened in 1879 but was small and had no permanent site until 1881.

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Lewis-Jones, "A Historical Survey of the Development of Education in Fiji", Fiji Society Vol. 16 op. cit. p. 116.

In 1883 the Suva Common School was opened. In both schools education was free and the curriculum was based on current Australian standards. These schools were financed partially through a local education rate and through government grants. No doubt they were established to encourage Europeans to stay in Fiji rather than leave in order to assure their children's education. Grammar schools were set up in Suva at a later date as were common schools in the more rural areas.

The first government-provided education for non-Europeans was established in 1881 at Yanawai. This was an industrial school offering courses in practical subjects such as agriculture, boat building, and woodwork to Fijian boys. It had a roll of 130 and did not actually compete with the mission schools but merely supplemented them. This supplementary role was the one that the Government continued to play up to the late 1950's and which is still not extinct today as we shall see in the next chapter. It is a policy which was followed in England too until halfway through the present century and thus cannot be labelled as deliberate neglect of the colony. In 1906 the first high-level secondary school for Fijian boys was established by the government at the request of the Fijian people and with much of the initial capital provided by them. This school, Queen Victoria College, has continued to play a significant part in the Fijian education system to the present day. While it was not set up exclusively for the sons of chiefs as was the Royal School in Honolulu, it was attended by many boys of high status and has always been a prestige school serving Fijians alone.

In 1909 there was another instance of government supplementing mission work when provision was made for the establishment of provincial schools at the intermediate level for Fijian boys.

Indian education was ignored by the government, probably because the missions had supplied no base on which they could build.

#### MISSION EDUCATION IN FIJI

On the whole, Fijian education was left to the missions. The Methodist mission extended its work throughout the group as the political and intertribal situations became more stable. An institution somewhat similar to Lahainaluna was set up in the 1850's to train Fijian teachers and pastors. Education was of a low level as in Hawaii, being little more than elementary instruction in reading and writing, manual training, and religious teaching. Yet, according to a contemporary observer, by the end of the century "one thousand and seventy religious teachers and two thousand and ninety-seven teachers (were) distributed among the various towns and villages."<sup>7</sup>

As in Hawaii, the Roman Catholics came late to Fiji. The first Catholic missionaries arrived in 1844 and met with very meagre success, living wretched lives and finally dying from malnutrition and depressingly unrewarding work.<sup>8</sup> They were replaced by new men and gradually

a Catholic mission of substance was established. By 1868 five mission

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<sup>7</sup> Lucas, T.P., Cries from Fiji. Melbourne, (n.d.) p. 39.

<sup>8</sup> Peter, "A Survey of the Catholic Mission in Fiji", Fiji Society of Science and Industry Transactions and Proceedings. Vol. 2 No. 5. 1944. p. 303.

stations had been set up, each with a school attached and a catechists training school had been opened to prepare Fijians for the task of elementary school teaching in the villages. They worked with Fijians in the early decades after their arrival but the Methodist mission had had success, wherever it had gained entry, in converting whole tribes to its own brand of Christianity and thus Catholicism was not always welcome. After cession when the population of Fiji began to swell through immigration, the work of the Roman Catholic Mission was expanded. In 1882 three sisters of the Missionary Sister's Congregation arrived to set up girls' schools in outlying areas. In 1888 a contingent of Marist Brothers and Sisters of the St. Joseph de Cluny order arrived to set up schools in Suva. These schools were significant in that they appear to have been the first which were consciously multi-racial. The reasons for this were probably not all altruistic but based, at least in part, on a need to fill the schools and the lack of enough pupils of any one race to keep them segregated. It is also true, however, that the Roman Catholic Church has, in many parts of the world, been more inclined to ignore race differences than other mission groups. On the whole Catholic schools were opened up in areas with some concentration of population such as Levuka, Suva, Cawaci and Ba where it was possible to draw on people of all races.

### Conclusion

It appears that the degree to which the government was involved in education may have played a considerable part in determining the

racial composition of school rolls in Hawaii and Fiji. Where the missions were in control of a large part of the education system there was a tendency for conversion and religious instruction to limit the church's activity to those groups which were receptive to the missionary "message". Where government money was spent financial expediency contributed towards the setting up of schools which would most economically serve the community's needs. While, in the early stages in Hawaii, the government provided finance to support haole schools, this support was withdrawn as the public schools reached higher academic standards.

In Fiji the missions worked with the Fijians, who had proved to be receptive to the doctrine of Christianity. The government provided schools for the children of Europeans whose needs were not met by the mission schools where instruction was very elementary and was, in the main, a vehicle for proselytising activity. In this case little attempt was made to up-grade the mission schools in order to reduce the need for government subsidies to exclusively European schools. The Catholic policy of multi-racial education, too, was probably partially dictated by their inability to gain large numbers of converts from the Fijian population.

Thus, when the racial migrants began to arrive, school systems were already established which were to dictate the type of school the migrants' children would attend. In Hawaii beginnings had been made with integrated schools where English was increasingly becoming the

medium of instruction, while in Fiji the unarticulated Fijian and European school system provided no immediate place for the children of Indian migrants.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE ASSIMILATION OF THE RACIAL MIGRANTS INTO THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS OF FIJI AND HAWAII

#### EARLY RACIAL MIGRANT EDUCATION IN HAWAII

By the time the first group of migrant workers arrived in Hawaii a fairly comprehensive school system had been evolved. It had serious weaknesses in its lack of provision of secondary education and in the low standards, although it could be argued that Hawaiian society at that time could not support large numbers of highly educated people and that practical education was more useful than years of academic study. Nevertheless schools were available for most children, the government was involved in the system and was able to supply some finance and to ensure that schools were set up wherever there were fifteen or more children. The first group of Asian migrants were Chinese and as most of them were adult males the population of Chinese children was proportionately low for many years. Many of the Chinese married Hawaiians and their offspring were treated as Hawaiian children receiving the same rights to education from the government. The next group to arrive in large numbers were the Portuguese, who comprised 12.3% of the population by 1884.<sup>1</sup> They were treated as a category

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<sup>1</sup>Lind, Hawaii's People, p. 27.

distinct from the haoles. They too, however, received the benefits of education and, being more familiar with western culture than other groups, soon became an integral part of the community. That they were of Catholic background probably facilitated their acceptance of some of the norms of the still missionary-influenced Hawaiian society. A considerable portion of the Portuguese migrated in family groups from the outset; in 1886 when the Chinese were about 22% of the population as opposed to the Portuguese 12%, there were 1,185 Portuguese children and 130 Chinese enrolled in Hawaii's schools.<sup>2</sup> Their Catholic background is evidenced by the fact that in 1906, 1233 of the 4572 children enrolled in school were in private institutions.<sup>3</sup>

Two factors can be seen as contributing to the relative ease with which the new migrants fitted into the existing school system. The primary one is that by the 1880's the sectarian nature of the schools was relatively weak and thus there was no resistance to education on the part of Buddhists on the grounds that it was a mere form of pro-seletizing. It will be shown later that the mission control of education in Fiji did hamper the early development of Indian education. The second factor, though one which is not easily validated, is the presence of the Portuguese. As has been pointed out, their ways were less alien to the other Europeans than were those of the Asians and they were not as obviously different in physical

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<sup>2</sup> Thrum's Hawaiian Annual, 1888, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Thrum's Annual, 1908, p. 20.

appearance. They may well have formed a link between the elite groups and the plantation workers which was lacking in Fiji where the three major groups were all distinct and different from each other in every way.

The Japanese were to become the single most numerous group in Hawaii by 1900 even though the main migration did not begin to arrive until 1885. They were to be the group which caused the Caucasians the most worry if only because of their proportionately large numbers. Japanese children must have made their presence felt in the schools more than the Chinese had because they were more numerous as early as 1902. (See Table I.) Also, because they came later, they had fewer opportunities to succeed in business than the Chinese had had when the field was more open. (This part will be considered further in Chapter VII.) However, because the schools of Hawaii were already multi-racial when the Japanese arrived they could not have been barred from attendance even if people in authority had realized what a large proportion of the population they were to become early enough to enforce such restrictions. As most of the Japanese came as field workers for the sugar plantations and the schools their children attended were situated in the same area, a certain degree of racial selection would have been noticeable in the schools. The pupils would have been mostly the children of plantation workers who in the 1900's were predominantly Chinese, Portuguese, and Japanese. This, however, was a temporary state of affairs and not one enforced by the nature of the

education system. As soon as individuals could move off the plantation and into the urban areas or even onto individually operated farms, their children would enroll in schools where the rolls were somewhat different in racial composition. The speed with which Asian migrants were to move away from the plantations will be considered in Chapter VII.

TABLE I: PERCENTAGE OF ALL SCHOOL ATTENDANCE BY RACE, FOR  
SELECTED YEARS, 1886-1904 - HAWAII<sup>(a)</sup>

	1886	1890	1894	1900	1904
Hawaiian	65.2	55.9	45.8	36.7	25.2
Part Hawaiian	11.5	15.7	18.6	17.0	16.7
Caucasian	8.9	6.5	6.6	8.0	7.9
Portuguese	13.1	18.1	22.6	26.3	22.5
Chinese	1.4	2.6	4.7	7.4	8.5
Japanese	*	0.5	1.0	3.8	15.1
Other	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.6	3.8
TOTALS	99.7	99.8	99.9	99.8	99.7

(a) Source: Thrum's Annual 1888-1905.

\* Not separately available.

MISSION EDUCATION FACILITIES FOR INDIANS

The first Indians who arrived in Fiji in 1879 came to a rather different environment than greeted the first Japanese in Hawaii. Most of the labourers indentured previously from the neighbouring Melanesian islands had been returned to their homes, if they managed to survive the period under contract. Education was still completely in the hands of the missionaries who were struggling, with limited finance and personnel, to extend their work to all Fijians. The Government, as we have seen, took no responsibility in providing schools for the children of Indian migrants. Gillion points out that "Indian immigrants were not expected, indeed were unable, to become integrated into the common pattern of roles and values in their new country. No social or political demands were made upon them, and aspirations on their part to assume new roles were resisted."<sup>4</sup> Indians were considered as an economic commodity rather than an integral part of the community so it is not surprising that the education of their children was ignored.

Because of the disorganization and demoralization in the lines there was little chance for the Indians themselves to arrange classes for their children. A contemporary observer connected with a Methodist mission described the children's lives in the lines:

The children are allowed to run wild. No educational privileges are given. As soon as they reach the age of twelve, they too must go to the fields.... The companies were afraid that if

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<sup>4</sup>Gillion, K.L., Fiji's Indian Migrants, p. 137.

education were given, particularly in English, the coolies would be spoilt as "labour" and that when a coolie became a Christian he would then hold absurd ideas about all men being brothers!

He adds:

There was no need, however, for the companies to be fearful, for the coolie has not manifested any visible enthusiasm either for English or Christianity.<sup>5</sup>

The opening of Catholic schools in Suva in 1888-1889 appears to have been the first educational provision made for the Indians and these schools would not have served any of the children of the plantation workers. A school for Indian boys was set up in Suva, according to one source. No references could be found to this school in later official documents so it must be assumed that it was subsequently merged into one of the larger Catholic schools.<sup>6</sup>

In 1892, the Methodist mission imported an Indian catechist to work among the Indians in Fiji, but he had little success. The Indian resistance to Christianity and the plantation managers' opposition to the missionaries' working on the plantations combined to slow up the development of Indian education. In 1897 a school for Indian girls was set up by the missionaries under a Miss Dudley who had previously worked in India. She worked hard and expanded the mission's work to Indians considerably. The school, Dudley House as it became known, was open to girls of all races after the initial stages and remains to

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<sup>5</sup> Burton, J.W., The Fiji of Today. London, 1910, p. 273.

<sup>6</sup> Peter, "A Survey of the Catholic Mission in Fiji", Fiji Society of Science and Industry Transactions and Proceedings, Vol. 2, No. 5, 1944, p.305.

this day a superior school serving girls of all races at the secondary level. It was, and is, primarily a school for Indians. Gradually the Indian schools were set up in the towns.

The Methodists were particularly inclined to favour single race schools because they were using Fijian in the Fijian schools and because they felt the Indians were a bad influence on the Fijians. There was reason for concern from the missionary point of view, for the Indians were capable of shaking the faith of the Fijians by asking probing questions which the Fijians, with their very elemental grasp of religion and their emotional faith, could not answer. The Fijians thought of the Indians as pagans, not understanding the depth and sophistication of Hinduism or Islam and having been taught that Christianity was the only alternative to damnation. Yet the Fijians could not ignore the fact the Indians appeared to prosper in their country, increasing numerically and in many cases amassing money and greatly improving their economic standing after they left the lines. At the time that these "pagans" were prospering, the Fijians were smitten with European diseases to which they had little resistance and their numbers were decreasing alarmingly. How could this be when the Fijians were children of God? The missionaries, too, were perplexed. Burton said,

There is something very disappointing and almost sardonic in the rapid disappearance of the Fijians just as their evangelism is complete. The foot of the native is just on the threshold of a new and nobler life, and there is permitted only a brief glance down the long-considered

vestibule of opportunity when death with its remorseless trip draws him back.<sup>7</sup>

The missionaries would not abandon the Fijians, tenacious in the belief that they might yet be saved from extinction, but they must have seen little point in bringing them into contact with the Indians who they deemed to be totally different from the Fijians.

Conversion of Hindus and Moslems to Christianity did not fare well in Fiji except among those Indian children who were brought up in mission orphanages. The caste system had broken down because life on the immigrant ships and in the lines made it difficult to observe the rules of caste. Thus the missionaries could not appeal to outcaste groups as had been the case in India.

In the first decade of the twentieth century another phenomenon occurred which probably had a part in reinforcing the traditional beliefs of the Indians and lessening the Missions' chances of gaining large numbers of converts. This was the arrival of Indian "missionaries". They were not sent to convert but to minister to the existing groups of Hindus and Muslims. These men came among the free immigrants who migrated in not inconsiderable numbers at this period. Gillion says,

By 1901 there were at least 100 (free immigrants) in Fiji, by 1907 at least 1,000, and 250 were arriving annually by 1911. Many of these paying their own way had previously served as indentured labourers in Fiji, or in other colonies, or had been born there. Others were Punjabi farmers or

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<sup>7</sup>Burton, op. cit., p. 192.

Gujarati craftsmen and traders, and there were also several religious teachers and missionaries and one lawyer.<sup>8</sup>

In 1902 the Arya Samaj became organized in Fiji. This was a new sect of Hinduism, one that had been established in India only 27 years before, which aimed to cut away the superstitions of Hinduism and also advocated proselitizing, especially to bring Hindus converted to Christianity or Islam back into the fold. Being a modern sect it was inclined to stress the importance of religion. Other religious groups had been formed during the previous decade, many of their leaders being men who had come under indenture and who wandered from community to community gathering followers. The Arya Samaj has been deemed the most significant of the groups because of its wider interests and because many of the other groups waned when their leaders left. A school was set up in an Indian suburb of Suva on land leased from the government at very low cost - a form of indirect government assistance. The Arya Samaj school has probably been the most notable of the schools established by the Indians themselves, being larger and, in the case of the D.A.V. schools, remaining a part of the Fijian education system to the present.

Other Indian associations also set up schools often attached to mosques or temples; among these were the Muslim League, Sanatan Dharam, and the then Indian Sanmarga Ikya Sangam, for South Indians.

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<sup>8</sup>Gillion, op. cit., p. 130.

Thus the first organized Indian education came from the missions but was soon extended by the Indians themselves, possibly as a reaction. By 1910, 200 Indians were being educated in five Methodist day schools and there were Indians receiving education in Anglican schools on Vanua Levu. These schools were taught in Hindustani while the Indian-initiated schools used the vernacular of the group being served - Urdu for the Muslims, Tamil for the Indian Sanmarga Ikya Sangam schools, and Hindustani in the bulk of the rest. The Catholics alone used English as the medium of instruction because their schools tended to be multi-racial and because the teachers were not equipped with the necessary foreign languages. The number of children being taught at the Indian schools is not available but the evidence seems to indicate that there were several small schools scattered in areas where Indians were living as well as the larger schools under the auspices of the Arya Samaj.

Some of the Indians who lived in the plantation settlements, or lines, were literate and acted as scribes for the others. A few of the labourers were taught to read and write by their neighbours, or even in some cases by Fijians with whom they seem to have had limited but quite friendly interaction in the early times. (There are cases on record of Indians and Fijians sharing food, and of Indians visiting Fijian villages and leasing Fijian land while they were still under indenture.)<sup>9</sup> However the level of literacy was

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<sup>9</sup> Gillion, op. cit., p. 105.

probably very low as is indicated by the response to a free postage scheme initiated by the government in 1885 in the hope that the Indians' free letters would encourage immigration. The scheme was unsuccessful from the outset because so little use was made of the service. In 1886 there were 5,237 Indians in Fiji, yet only 161 letters were sent by free mail, and the following year there were only 425.<sup>10</sup> Presumably all those who were writing letters would make use of this scheme.

#### ACADEMIC VS. VOCATIONAL EDUCATION FOR NON-WHITES

While there had developed a clearly different education system in Hawaii from that in Fiji, by the end of the century it would be incorrect to say that there remained no point of similarity. The various racial groups (barring a large proportion of Europeans) were served by the same schools in Hawaii, using a common language and not being influenced in the schoolroom by the intrusion of foreign religions. In Fiji education was generally of a low standard and available in the main in racially segregated schools, differing from race to race in both quality and quantity. Yet in both societies one question was being debated between the missionaries and planters on the one hand and the government education authorities on the other. This was the question of what sort of education should be given to the "native" and to children in the immigrant groups.

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 126 (footnote)

In Hawaii, as we have seen, the missionaries had temporarily resisted the introduction of English, and had tended to set up schools which taught rudimentary academic subjects and concentrated on religion and practical manual training. These same men, but particularly their descendants, were in many cases to become the planters and the large-scale entrepreneurs of the area. When they became involved in the problems of creating a viable economy, in terms of the world of their time, they easily concluded that a plantation economy based on cheap labour was the answer and that the simple education of the time was the most suitable for an economy of this type. The sentiment of these men was not against education but they considered that education should fit the economy, rather than form the basis for development to another type of economy: the dignity of manual labour, skills of agriculture and other matters useful to a plantation economy should be given precedence over "high flown" ideas and academic subjects with no immediate application. Education was valuable in as much as it assisted the perpetuation of the status quo - at the time the only possible solution to the problems of maintaining a reasonable standard of living and degree of national buoyancy in a small island group isolated from world markets and restricted by its natural resources, size and population in the economic alternatives open to it.

The managers on the plantations were more adamantly against the development of education. It was they who had the day to day dealings with the labourers. They found those labourers with the least education and the least understanding of the American way of life

(which by this time, in a rather unique form, had become the norm in urban Hawaii) were the "least trouble". They were less demanding and had less desire to leave the plantation; because they had suffered considerable social dislocation, having lost their traditional social organization and not yet formed a very structured new system, they were more amenable to accepting norms and behavior patterns prescribed from above. Although their existence could not be described as normless, the norms by which they lived were not entirely internalized. Had the managers been a more powerful group and not mere employees, the school system may not have developed as much as it did. The power of the oligarchy, as the missionary-planter elite has been called, is well illustrated in an incident reported by Fuchs.<sup>11</sup> He described a meeting on Maui at which Henry Baldwin (most influential controller on the island) exerted enough pressure on managers and other influential residents to have them agree to the establishment of a high school. While not doubting that Baldwin's arguments were convincing, and that he handled the meeting democratically, there can be little question that his position, power, and money would influence his audience to concede to his point of view.

But education was primarily in the hands of the government. It is possible that the oligarchy could have influenced government

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<sup>11</sup>Hawaii PONO, p. 269.

decisions on education, and there are cases in which their influence did indeed affect education to some degree (as in the case of the 1930 Survey which will be considered later). On the whole, however, there were more immediately important matters to be considered. Fuchs argues that the oligarchy paid relatively little attention to education as they were not generally opposed to it, and that other groups therefore were given a fairly free rein to develop a system not in keeping with the plantation ideals of docile workers and paternalistic management. Many of the early teachers in Hawaii were missionaries' wives, women of less economic motivation than their husbands. As the country developed often these women were in administrative positions in education. Hawaiians, too, were teachers especially in the nineteenth century. Following annexation and as the education system developed, teachers from the United States mainland were recruited. These various groups of teachers were not involved with the ideals of the oligarchy. The mainland teachers espoused the American ideals of democracy and tended to bring these into the classroom, and the Hawaiians were interested in the advancement of their race rather than the enrichment of the sugar industry. In the case of these two groups contact with the now-wealthy oligarchy was not extensive.

Fuchs' argument that these factors, coupled with the influence of a particularly progressive inspector of schools, did much to bring about a more democratic atmosphere in Hawaii, fits in well with the theories of groups developed by George Homans, and more recently

James A. Davis and Johan Galtung.<sup>12</sup> The details of those theories should not concern us here but the main argument made is that people who are alike tend to like each other and spend considerable time together, and that by this means they become more alike. The teachers in Hawaii's schools were not like the members of the oligarchy, they were distinguished from them by their economic status and by their length of stay in the islands. They were called malahinis as distinguished from kamaainas, or long-time residents. They did not react to the Hawaiian setting in the same way as the Kamaainas and, because they were not in close contact with them, did not develop the same opinions. They saw life from a different angle and, through their close contact with their pupils, this angle would have tended to be more that of the non-Caucasian group, although influenced strongly by American ideals of democracy and equality. The fact that they were not accepted by the elite, who were, in fact, mostly Americans, probably made them react against their norms and do whatever they could to combat them.

Thus progressive education was allowed to develop. The elite saw little harm in a method of teaching which involved "learning by doing" for it entailed much practical work, and the teachers were able to use such methods to introduce the ideals of individual initiative, democratic society and social mobility to children for

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<sup>12</sup> in Berger, Zelditch, and Anderson (eds), Sociological Theories in Progress, Chapters 4 and 7, Boston, 1966.

whom all this was foreign. Much remained to be done. When Hawaii became a territory of the U.S.A. it could boast an extremely high literacy rate and a system of schools like any in America. The centralized education system which had been set up as early as 1840 had ensured that the whole group was treated more or less equally in terms of educational provisions, and lack of leadership in some areas could not prevent the development of education. However provisions for high school education were still meagre, in keeping with the belief that higher education was inappropriate in a plantation economy, and there was a chronic shortage of teachers which the establishment of a Normal School in 1898 had not yet begun to alleviate.

In Fiji the same controversy of practical versus academic education had cropped up. Once again, strangely enough, the government was the motivating force behind the academic argument. It needed a certain number of well-trained men to be clerks, technicians, and medical assistants and it desired the introduction of English to a wide segment of the population, for if this could be achieved it would facilitate administration. However the government probably did not foresee a system of universal education in the immediate future. The schools it had set up were for a very small proportion of the population and were to provide men for a native administrative force. The missions at this stage were not providing enough men of this level of education for the colony's needs. The missions, on the other hand, and this was particularly true of the Methodist mission, saw their role as one of providing a little education to all and disturbing the status quo

as little as possible. It was Gordon's policy of indirect rule and protection of the traditional culture, which remained a rule of thumb, though in a less constructive way than it had originally been intended, long after Gordon's period of office had expired in 1880, and the lack of finance for anything but the most urgent needs of the colony, which made the government's interest in the development of a more advanced education system rather ineffectual and of limited significance.

Governor im Thurn said in the Legislative Council in 1907: "It is education in the English language that the Fijian native mostly needs if he is ever to play the part of an ordinary English subject."<sup>13</sup> To which Burton replied in his book The Fiji of Today (which was the most significant book written in the period and which had a considerable effect on the colony's labour policy) with an argument characteristic of the missions' point of view. He said that im Thurn's call for an English education would require complete isolation from the Fijian culture. This he argued would be exorbitantly expensive. "At present the government has a school on these lines at Nasinu (Queen Victoria College), and the expenditure last year on 30 to 40 boys was well over a thousand pounds, exclusive of new buildings and other expenses."<sup>14</sup> He then asked the question, what would the colony do with a large number of highly educated boys - at this stage he probably overrated the Q.V.S. equating it with an English Public School.

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<sup>13</sup>Quoted in Burton, op. cit., p. 221.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 222.

He estimated that if 500 boys were educated in this way 25 would find jobs in the government, 25 would "distribute themselves over the islands and find employment remunerative enough to enable them to live in comfort. But what of the remaining 450? There are not, and are not likely to be during the next few decades, openings for men of this type."<sup>15</sup> Over the years many more opportunities have opened up in Fiji and advanced education, well beyond the secondary level, has become essential for many jobs. Nonetheless the debate still goes on and many schools still find it necessary to emphasize practical subjects.

#### THE DEVELOPMENT OF GOVERNMENT INFLUENCE IN INDIAN EDUCATION

In 1909 the government set up an education commission which proposed more government involvement in education and called for the extension of educational facilities. It dealt with the problem of Indian education in very firm terms. It called for government primary schools in all main towns for Indian children and recommended that these should be multi-racial. It strongly protested against what was seen as "a tendency on the part of witnesses and others, to deprecate the adoption of proposals"<sup>16</sup> for education of Indian children. While the government did not put the commission's proposals into effect, the time was right for more government involvement in education for all groups. The work done in the few

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 223.

<sup>16</sup> Gillion, op. cit., p. 153.

government schools must have shown that such educational facilities were desirable; the missions were suffering from lack of funds and were struggling to maintain their existing school system let alone extend it considerably; it was becoming abundantly clear that the Indian population was not merely transitory but should be considered as a permanent part of the Fijian scene; and sugar was bringing a good price (accounting for 1,041,927 pounds of the total exports of 1,425,960 pounds in 1913)<sup>17</sup> so that the colony now had a stable and growing income. After the 1909 commission the government took the responsibility to finance Q.V.S. and the provincial schools - this had previously been partially the responsibility of the Fijian local administrations.

In 1914 a select committee on education was set up and its findings led in 1916 to legislation which brought the government into the educational field in a more positive capacity. A Superintendent of education was appointed and a Board of Education was established. The role of the new administrative body was to contribute its influence to improving the general standard of education and to coordinate the various school systems. A system of government-provided grants-in-aid was adopted. This was similar to the English system at the time and provided finance to approved schools for the payment of teachers' salaries. In accordance with the government's

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<sup>17</sup>Colony of Fiji 1874-1924, Govt. Printer, Suva, 1925, p. 71.

belief in the value of English, grants were made only for those teachers who could teach in English - a provision not widely acclaimed by the mission. Thus, while the government moved in the direction of prescribing standards for the schools and at last could have some real influence, it did not attempt to reorganize the whole system nor to introduce a policy of racial integration in the schools. It still acted mainly as a supplementing agent elaborating on the mission's work. The proportions of education given to each group did not change drastically because of the lop-sided base on which the government contribution was placed. The initiative in education still remained with the missions.

Thus Indian education was not well served. The Indian associations such as the Arya Samaj were not ignored, getting the same treatment as the Christian missions, but their work was to reach a limited number and the initial provision that teaching should be in English was a serious drawback. Legislation in 1912, requiring the sugar plantations to establish schools in the mill towns for the children of plantation labourers, had resulted in money being given to the Methodist Mission for this work. There was of course no compulsion regarding attendance and the initial Indian reaction was not particularly positive. However this was to change in the next two or three decades and the existence of schools formed a basis on which the government could build. While the government regarded English as a prerequisite for funds the Indians were very much against this requirement. In 1917

a man who had a powerful influence in India and in Fiji, Mr. C.F. Andrews, known to Indians as Deenbandu, came to Fiji and, amongst other things, persuaded the government to drop the English requirement. This was of considerable assistance to the Indian community which then set about establishing schools on its own initiative, drawing on the local community for support and applying to the government for aid once a school was established. Most of the schools taught in Hindustani - a corrupted form of Hindi - and it was only in special cases that the government would supply funds for schools conducted in other languages - to avoid the innumerable small and uneconomical schools. Gradually the government provided a few schools for Indians. In 1918 the first such school was opened at Natabua, Lautoka. It was an industrial school for boys where lessons were taken in English and "the vernacular" - presumably Hindustani. By 1924 there were 40 boys in attendance and the school was deemed "quite successful" by official sources.<sup>18</sup>

#### FIJI EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, 1920 - 1940

Few major changes took place in Fiji in the next twenty years. In 1924, twenty-two schools, teaching in the vernacular, were subsidized by the government and by 1931 this number had increased to 38. The rapid advance of education was held back, at least in part, by a lack of teachers. As vernacular schools were preferred the government

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<sup>18</sup> Colony of Fiji 1914-1924, op. cit., p. 61.

could not provide European teachers, although one Indian teacher was imported. In 1929 a Teachers' Training College was opened in Lautoka to alleviate this situation. It was supported by the government and provided space for 18 Indian and 18 Fijian teachers for a two year tuition-free course. By 1931 the number of wholly government supported schools had reached five, with two more about to be opened, and a secondary school establishment had been added to the Natabua primary school with hostel accommodation for 24 pupils.<sup>19</sup> Government aid was thus gradually extended. However the number of aided and supported schools for Indians in 1936 was 56 and these were, with very few exceptions, elementary schools, a small number in a population numbering 85,000 in 1936,<sup>20</sup> especially as the population by this stage exhibited a more even balance of the sexes than previously and that 71.59% were born in Fiji - indicating a large population under 21 years of age.<sup>21</sup> Contemporary official comment on Indian education was prefixed by the slightly self-justificatory comment that "the education of the East Indian immigrant living in the colony as a somewhat complex problem presenting many difficulties."<sup>22</sup> The government's role in education was increased by the 1929 Education Ordinance which provided for registration of teachers and power to prescribe the curriculum and to lay down conditions for the payment

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<sup>19</sup> Colony of Fiji 1914-1931, Suva, 1931, p. 70.

<sup>20</sup> Ward, Land Use and Population in Fiji, p. 253.

<sup>21</sup> Colony of Fiji 1914-1936, Suva, 1937, p. 38.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 46.

of grants-in-aid, merely reinforcing the earlier ordinance and improving the structure of the administrative machine in order to encourage improved standards in education. The type of education did not change drastically. Schools remained segregated by custom and by law, in the case of particular schools, emphasis continued to be placed on elementary schooling with secondary education available to an elite few. Teacher training and a medical school which constituted the only forms of higher education were open to both races and an occasional exceptional student was sent to New Zealand to high school, university, or teacher training college, although in the 1920's and 1930's there appear to have never been more than 3 or 4 such scholarship holders out of the country at a time. The Indian population was becoming more vocal and political representation was granted to them. Education became a priority and the demand for schools increased so that education expenditure rose from 30,035 pounds in 1925 to 52,000 pounds in 1930. Nevertheless, while the amount being spent on education rose so that more children were catered for, the standard did not rise at the same rate.

In 1926, while the government of Fiji's expenditure on education was \$0.67 per capita, the government in Hawaii was spending \$15.18 per pupil.<sup>23</sup> This alone would indicate that the children of Fiji were

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<sup>23</sup> Lind, A.W., An Island Community, Chicago, 1938, p. 287 (footnote)

much less satisfactorily provided for than were the children of Hawaii.

The Influence of Language Differences and Geographical Location.

The amount of education being provided is only part of the picture. In considering the impact of education on race relations the type of education given must also be taken into account. As we have seen this differed greatly in Fiji and Hawaii. While the various Hawaiian groups were being educated in common schools, all using the same language, but with varying degrees of efficiency, in Fiji social contact between the races in the classroom was fairly rare. The fact that the two major groups spoke different languages was used as a justification for this educational segregation in Fiji and, as we have seen, various groups in the colony, particularly the missionaries and the Indians, actively encouraged the retention of this form of differentiation.

Another factor also played a very significant part in determining the racial nature of the schools. This was the distribution of the two populations in Fiji. While in Hawaii there tended to be more than one race present in each section of the islands and especially on the plantations and in the towns where the population was concentrated, in Fiji there was much more physical separation of the races. The Indians started their stay in Fiji on sugar plantations which were located, in the main, around the coast of Viti Levu

and particularly in the arid northern coastal areas of that island. The Fijians did not take part in plantation work, and having leased the sugar-land to the mills or after the first few years of indenture to free Indians, they tended to concentrate their traditional farming in other parts of the colony, in the hill country, and along the south and west coasts of Viti Levu; and, of course, they remained in great numbers on the many other islands of the group which, with the exception of Vanua Levu, were not involved in the sugar economy. It was therefore impossible in many cases for schools to serve children of more than one group. In Hawaii there was also a much more mixed population. As we have seen there were large groups of Portuguese, Chinese, and Japanese in Hawaii by the turn of the century. In the first three decades of the twentieth century these were joined by Koreans, Puerto Ricans, and Filipinos so that by 1930 the Japanese, the largest single group in the islands, comprised only 37.9% of the total population although they contributed 46.4% of the school age population. Under these circumstances separate schools for each group were not feasible, especially as the schools were provided by the government, which was interested in efficiency and economy, rather than by the local community, as in Fiji, where communal interests were given precedence over other considerations.

#### THE INFLUENCE OF THE CAUCASIANS IN HAWAII AND FIJI

In Hawaii, events of considerable significance, which were to test the whole structure of race relations in the territory took place in the 1920's and 1930's. Two matters were of most importance

the controversy over the Oriental Language Schools and the development of the English Standard School. Both were related to the role of the Caucasians in the islands. The local Caucasian group in Hawaii, as we have seen already, had a greater hold over the islands than did the "resident" Europeans in Fiji. In Durkheimian terms it might be said that the local haoles were organically integrated into Hawaiian society. The elite had lived long in Hawaii and were permanent residents. They formed the core of the government, yet apart from the governors and a few others, they were not government officials appointed from outside, imposed upon the community and interested in doing a good job in a small colony so that they would gain good posts elsewhere. The decisions of government affected them and determined their future prosperity. Their money sustained the territory and their fathers had built the society in which they lived. They must have appeared to all ambitious people of every race as the privileged few whose prestige was firmly established in Hawaii and provided a goal for these to strive towards.

In Fiji the Europeans played a different role. They were either colonial administrators, or they were plantation officials representing a company based in Australia<sup>24</sup> or they were teaching in Fiji sent from New Zealand under the scheme of cooperation (1924) by which that country agreed to provide teachers to Fiji, or they were missionaries

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<sup>24</sup> By 1922 the Colonial Sugar Refining Company of Australia had control of all the mills in Fiji while the farming was done by Indians on small leasehold properties.

from societies based in London or Sydney or some other foreign city. In the case of all these groups there was little chance of individuals making a personal fortune in Fiji. All had salaries and looked for advancement in their careers rather than achievement by individual enterprise. Furthermore the various occupational groups were not interrelated in terms of personnel, and, as the government was not based on a fully democratic system, the judgement of a Colonial Office 12,000 miles away remained a stronger influence than any resident European group. Under these circumstances it is doubtful if the bulk of the population identified with the Europeans, who would remain foreigners. There were some resident Europeans, doctors, lawyers and so on, but they constituted a minority, and often sent their children away to school, maintaining close contact with their home country. In 1936 there were 4,028 Europeans<sup>25</sup> in a total population of 198,379<sup>26</sup> - approximately 2% - as compared with the 1930 Caucasian total in Hawaii of 73,702 or 20.0% of the population (but only 9.5% of the school age population.)

Fiji did not have a large white settler class, but there were very few people of middle or lower class status (by Fijian standards) to be found among the Europeans. In Hawaii, however, there was a

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<sup>25</sup>A total of 4,574 part-Europeans were also reported by the 1936 Census. There appears to be little information on the part-Europeans - many of whom may be the result of brief liaisons between European traders, sailors, or plantation managers and Fijian or Indian women, and may therefore have result in offspring brought up in a non-European setting.

<sup>26</sup>Ward, op. cit., p. 253.

growing white middle class. As the islands were now a U.S. territory they attracted more stateside Americans. Pearl Harbor was developed as a naval base, stateside firms were opening up stores, offices, and other enterprises and sending personnel to manage and maintain them, and more and more teachers and professional people were coming in from the Mainland, some for short periods, others to stay. These people were malahinis, not on the same social level as the oligarchy, and they came into closer contact with the non-elite population of Hawaii. Considering these points it is not particularly surprising that particular tensions should have developed in Hawaii which were not common in Fiji.

#### Language Schools in Hawaii.

The first language school in Hawaii was set up in 1896 by a Christian Japanese to assist in maintaining reasonable standards in spoken Japanese, there being some anxiety among parents at the pidgin Japanese-English-Hawaiian that was being spoken. No doubt this first school was also formed with the aim that it would act as an indirect proseletizing agent. However the community reacted by building more without a Christian influence, based on loyalty to Japan and the Japanese tradition, and often situated in a Buddhist temple.<sup>27</sup> The number of language schools grew, and their establishment extended to the Chinese and Korean communities. Their work was not offered as an

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<sup>27</sup> See Harada, K.G. A Survey of the Japanese Language Schools in Hawaii. M.A. Thesis. University of Hawaii, 1934. Chapter V.

alternative to the public school system, but as an additional source of teaching, classes being attended after the school day was over, or as early as 6:30 a.m.

The spread of language schools alarmed some Hawaiian residents and in 1919 - a period, following World War I, of countrywide concern over "Americanization" of "foreign elements" - an attempt was made to pass a law regulating them. It failed but in the following year such a law was passed. It provided for the licensing of schools setting standards for teachers and ensuring that the schools were teaching loyalty to America. This last factor was deemed very important and the existence in some schools of placards reading "Loyalty to Emperor and Country" and the fact that most of the teachers were born and educated in Japan were disquieting to some Americans. In 1920 a U.S. Bureau of the Interior survey team visited Hawaii to conduct an enquiry into the education system in operation there. One of the factors they paid considerable attention to was the proliferation of language schools. These were seen to be "a bad influence" for several reasons. They divided the children's attention and made their government school work less satisfactory, they encouraged thinking in Japanese and retarded the use of "good English", they created divided loyalty and were thus harmful to America, and they demanded so much of the children's time that they were tired and lethargic in the public schools. The survey team suggested that "but for the pressure which Buddhist priests and teachers bring to

bear upon the Japanese labourers on the plantations, comparatively few of the parents would send their children to the Japanese language schools, preferring instead to permit them to give their undivided attention to the work of the public schools."<sup>28</sup>

The survey team analyzed the content of the texts being used in the Japanese schools and showed the following:

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TABLE II: PRIMARY DIVISION JAPANESE LANGUAGE BOOKS, BY SUBJECT MATTER (a)

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	Number of Total Lessons	Number with American Subjects	Number with Hawaiian Subjects	Number with Japanese Subjects
Book I	24	0	1	23
Book II	52	1	9	42
Book III	54	3	11	40
Book IV	56	2	3	51
Book V	68	3	4	61
Book VI (not given)		9	7	n.a.

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(a) Source: United States Department of the Interior. A Survey of Education in Hawaii, 1920, pp. 117-121.

The Japanese subjects appear to have been fairly innocuous in tone, devoted to Japanese legends or social life, with the occasional lesson

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United States Department of the Interior. A Survey of Education in Hawaii. Bulletin No. 16, 1920, Washington, 1920, p. 139.

on fete days or national days in Japan. The children were taught to honour the fatherland but the teachers were also careful to stress the significance of American citizenship and the child's duties in this respect. Children interviewed seemed to find little tension in their sentiments towards Japan and America and one said it was like loving father and mother both at once. However the commission recommended all foreign language schools should be abolished at the next session of the legislature, and that the schools should be replaced, wherever possible, by classes in Chinese and Japanese in the public school buildings after school for an hour a day.

While these proposals were not carried out in full, further restrictions were proposed in 1922 whereby the age at which children could attend language schools would be raised and the textbooks used therein would be written as though Japanese was being taught to Americans whose only language was English. There was strong reaction to this and to the 1920 Act(30). Of the 144 Japanese schools 87 took part in litigation to test the validity of the regulations. It was claimed that they were "confiscatory, unreasonable, and oppressive", and that they "would deprive the petitioners of their liberty and property without due process of law" and that they "would deny to the complainants the equal protection of the laws, in violation of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution of the U.S.A."<sup>29</sup> After seven

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<sup>29</sup>Quoted in Wakukawa, E.K., A History of the Japanese People in Hawaii, Honolulu, 1938, p. 270.

years the complainants were upheld and all restrictions on language schools were dropped until 1941.

In 1920 there were, according to the Commission, 185 language schools in Hawaii, broken down as follows:

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TABLE III: LANGUAGE SCHOOLS, 1920

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Religion	Number of Schools	Number of Teachers	Approximate Enrollment
Japanese			
Christian	10	23	507
Buddhist	63	213	9,300
Independent	90	213	10,389
Korean schools	10	12	800
Chinese schools	12	28	1,150
			(a)
TOTALS	185	489	22,146

(a) Wakukawa, E.K. A History of the Japanese People in Hawaii, p.112.

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According to an education survey in 1931, the number of Oriental language schools in 1924 was 162; enrollment had increased between 1924 and 1928 from 17,074 to 36,515, or more than 100%.<sup>30</sup> There may have been a

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<sup>30</sup> Hawaii. Governor's Advisory Committee on Education, Honolulu, 1931, p. 140.

drop in the number of schools and of enrollment during the four years after 1920 legislation but verification of this is not available. What is significant, however, is the fact that the number of schools, after 1924 at least, rose very considerably, thereby to some extent disproving the earlier assumption that the schools were not popular. The 1931 report claimed that six-sevenths of Japanese children attended language schools. The 1935-36 Biennial Report of the Hawaii Department of Public Instruction showed that attendance at language schools continued to increase in the 1930's. The report showed there were 199 language schools catering to 44,789 students. The Japanese group remained the largest, not unsurprisingly because of the size of the Japanese population, with 41,173 pupils enrolled while the Chinese and the Koreans had 3,044 and 572 pupils respectively. The 1931 survey concluded that "the Oriental language schools in Hawaii (were) performing an important and useful function: they constitute a bridge between two cultures."<sup>31</sup>

The language schools continued until 1941. To what extent they retarded or assisted the development of their pupils is open to debate but the fact that they were an integral and tolerated part of the community indicates that the distinctive cultural influences of the Oriental groups were not despised in Hawaii. Following the attack on Pearl Harbor one of the first reactions of the Hawaiian authorities

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<sup>31</sup>  
Ibid., p. 142.

was to close all Japanese language schools, require all property to be handed over, and to take into custody the principals and teachers of Japanese language schools. The degree to which the Hawaiian-Japanese had become assimilated into American life was well illustrated by their apparent willingness to comply with these demands. The newspapers of the time showed photographs of the managers of schools handing over all the deeds to school property "free and gratis" to social service bodies such as the Y.M.C.A. A campaign was organized to discourage the use of "the enemy's language" and in 1943 a law was passed making it illegal to teach foreign languages to children under ten years of age or those under fifteen whose public school grades were low. Thus every pressure was brought to bear to reduce Japanese influence in the islands. To the credit of the Japanese in Hawaii, their actions during the war were such as to make the resumption of pre-war race relations possible soon after the war ended although there were hard feelings on both sides, especially among the Japanese.

Straight after the war the constitutionality of the 1943 law was tested. It is significant to note that the leaders in this case were not Japanese but Chinese residents. The existence of a vocal group of Chinese in Hawaii made it possible to fight this issue so early while it is quite likely that, had the Japanese been the only group affected by the law, more time would have elapsed before it was tested. The Chinese were not seen as an enemy group and little in

the way of "evil intention" could be construed by their wanting to retain their old rights to operate language schools. The case was won in 1947 and immediately Japanese Language Schools were reestablished. Within a year 15 schools had been opened with 45 teachers and 3,800 students. By 1953 there were 74 Japanese schools with 246 teachers and 13,470 students.<sup>32</sup> Miss Kimura suggests that as there is no need for Japanese to be defensive about their racial background, the desire for Japanese schools would decrease as the number of generations dividing the Hawaiian Japanese from Japan increased. This hypothesis seems to have been borne out in more recent developments although even today language schools still exist. In 1956 there were 14,041 pupils enrolled in language schools of all kinds and there had been an increase of only 563 pupils over the previous two years.<sup>33</sup> By 1959 there were only 12,454 Japanese students - 1,016 fewer than nine years earlier, and taken as a proportion of the population this represented an even more significant drop.<sup>34</sup> Thus it can be assumed that the desire to learn Japanese and to retain Japanese customs has diminished over the years - a trend no doubt greatly accelerated by the events of World War II. Japanese teenagers one meets today exhibit little feeling of identification with Japan and consider themselves American above all else.

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<sup>32</sup> Kimura, V., "Sociological Significance of the Japanese Language School Campaign in Hawaii", Social Process in Hawaii, XX, 1956, p. 47.

<sup>33</sup> Honolulu Star Bulletin, 3 May 1956.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 22 November 1959.

The role of the Japanese language schools can, therefore, be seen as different from that of the vernacular schools of the Fiji Indians. The former were merely supplementary to the public schools where English was taught and where children of all races sat together and communicated in that language, while the latter constitute the major source of education for Fiji Indians and help to perpetuate the use of languages which are incomprehensible to about 40% of the population of the colony. While English is taught in all of Fiji's schools today it takes second place to the vernacular languages of Fiji and north and south India.

#### The English Standard Schools

The other major issue in Hawaiian education in the first half of this century was also connected with language and indicates the significant role played by English in Hawaii. At the turn of the century Hawaiian education was very heavily weighted towards the lower end of the scale. Secondary education for all was still a long way off in the minds of most of those involved with education although the establishment of public high schools was under way. The first such school was set up in 1895 in Honolulu and was to become known as McKinley High School. The following year education was made compulsory to age fifteen and English was made, by law, the medium of instruction in all public schools. In the next twenty years high schools were set up on all the main islands and by 1918 the public secondary school roll, including the roll of the Normal School, was 1,002. Fuchs suggests that the legislature was willing to expand secondary education

because it gave employment to more people, especially to Hawaiians who were smarting under the blow of annexation. This, however, may be a rather cynical approach and a more reasonable reason for the development of high school education might be the general ideology of the elite coupled with a stable sugar profit and only partially affected by the fact that there was a surplus of labour.

While facilities were available for more non-haole Hawaiians to pursue secondary school studies by 1920 there was also another source of pupils for the public high schools. This was the continuing inflow of mainland Americans into the territory. While most other groups in Hawaii were diminishing in proportion, even though growing in absolute numbers, due to the staunching of a flow of immigrants, the haole population especially directly after the Reciprocity Treaty and again after Annexation was constantly replenished from mainland America. Thus while the proportion of Japanese in the territory dropped from its peak of 42.7% in 1920 to 36.9% in 1950 the Caucasian proportion increased from 19.2% to 23.0% over the same period. The increased numbers of haoles strained the capacity of schools like Punahou which catered to approximately 2,000 students. Haoles in the ages 5 to 19 increased from 3,994 in 1920 to 22,587 in 1950.<sup>35</sup> Even if Punahou could have accommodated all the new students, many parents could not afford to pay the fees for such an elite school. Therefore

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<sup>35</sup>U.S. Census 1930 and 1950. (It should be noted that the 1950 figure includes all Caucasians, not merely those of northern European ancestry.)

more and more haoles began to attend public schools. Now haole parents whose children were studying in public schools began to object to the level of English being used in the schools. This was a problem which many educators were to involve themselves with over the years and was not without validity. The pidgin dialect spoken by many of the pupils may have been adequate in a domestic setting but it failed to provide a rich enough vocabulary for advanced study. Haole parents were afraid that their children were receiving a low level education because of the influence of pidgin in the schools. The 1920 Survey mentioned above recognized the difficulty and recommended that classes should be arranged to suit the level of English of the pupils involved, and that segregation according to language ability should take place, within schools, to ensure that all pupils received the most suitable type of teaching.

In response to this the authorities set up, in 1924, Lincoln Elementary School in Honolulu, as the first English Standard School. In doing this the Department of Public Instruction carried the commission's recommendations to a further extreme than had been intended, for the 1920 report made no suggestion of separate schools being established. In 1930 an English Standard School at a secondary level was established to offer an alternative to McKinley High. This school, Roosevelt High, was not only attractive to parents because of its supposedly better English standard, but also, Fuchs suggests,

because in this school there was a large proportion of haole pupils. Other English Standard Schools were established on Maui, Kauai, and Hawaii and on the first two islands mentioned the proportion of haoles in these schools was exceptionally high in the early stages - 3 Japanese to 68 haoles at Lihue in 1925 and only two Chinese and one Japanese at Kaimoa Grammer School on Maui.<sup>36</sup> At Hilo the English standard school, Riverside, was more integrated with as many part Hawaiians as haoles by 1929. As Bernhard Hormann notes, in the whole period of English Standard Schools only 9 were established.<sup>37</sup> In its first year of operation Lincoln had 572 haoles, 19 Japanese, and 27 Chinese on its roll; but this sort of disproportion was to change at a pretty steady rate. The increase in the proportion of Japanese and other Orientals was fairly slow in the 1925-1930 period but by the mid 1930's 17% of the Lincoln roll was Oriental, while at Roosevelt from 1930 to 1937 the haole roll merely doubled while the number of Japanese increased six times and the number of Chinese increased five times.

The English standardschools developed an aura which made them desirable establishments for parents to send their children to. Because they were predominantly haole the pupils exhibited more affluence than did the children at other schools. The parents of the pupils were often better educated than the parents of the McKinley students

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Fuchs, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

<sup>37</sup>Hormann, B., "Integration in Hawaii's Schools", Social Process in Hawaii, XXI, 1957.

and this contributed to higher standards being reached in some subjects. Studies show that while 80% of the pupils at McKinley spoke with distinctive dialects only 10% spoke this way at English standard schools. Thus the English standard schools acted as an agent in assisting mobility among the various groups. Whereas Punahou, or even Mid Pacific, were probably beyond the means or the ambitions of a great many Japanese families, by hard work a child could be admitted to an English standard school and benefit from its higher status without any problem of finding fees. Japanese parents were probably particularly quick to see the advantages of these schools while groups such as the Hawaiians, less spurred on by competition, never numbered more than .60% of the English standard school rolls in the period 1940-1947 although they were as much as 3.15% of the pupils in all public schools. In the 1940's the racial composition of the English Standard schools changed drastically as the table on page 94 indicates.

So near complete had the integration of the English Standard schools become by the 1950's that it was decided that they no longer served a useful purpose by being differentiated from the other schools in the system. In fact it could be argued that the creaming off of the best in Hawaii's public school pupils had a deleterious effect on the standards in those schools which were not English Standard Schools. This sort of argument is hard to substantiate but it is clear that teachers would be more easily attracted to the latter schools which

TABLE IV: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY RACIAL ORIGIN  
 OF PUPILS IN ENGLISH STANDARD SCHOOLS, 1940-1947 (a)  
 (Kindergarten to 12th Grade, inclusive.)

Race	1940	1943	1947
Hawaiian	0.3	0.6	0.2
Part Hawaiian	19.6	27.9	21.7
Portuguese	6.9	7.8	5.5
Spanish	0.3	0.5	0.1
Other Caucasian	49.1	22.7	23.0
Chinese	9.8	15.1	13.7
Japanese	7.5	15.3	23.3
Korean	1.9	3.2	2.7
Filipino	0.3	0.8	1.2
Puerto Rican	0.1	0.1	0.2
Others	4.4	5.8	8.2
TOTAL	100.2	99.8	99.8

(a) Source: Hawaii. University Legislative Reference Bureau. Report No. 3, 1948. "Hawaii's English Standard Schools", Honolulu 1948. p. 25.

would be at least one way in which the "regular" schools would suffer. Tests taken by a survey team reporting to the Committee of 5 in 1941 showed that the "regular" school children rated much below those at English Standard Schools. By the 9th Grade the "regular" school pupils scored 7.7 on all achievement tests, compared to 9.2 for mainland students and 9.1 for English Standard school students. By the 12th Grade the English Standard pupils gained scores 1 year above the mainland pupils' level of achievement while the "regular" school pupils were a year behind the mainland pupils and thus two years behind the English Standard school pupils. This evidence seems to indicate that the slightly rarified atmosphere of schools like Roosevelt High produced better achievement than did the "regular" schools but whether this was due to the influence of the two types of schools or rather merely to the fact that the brighter children were in the English Standard Schools is not entirely clear. The tests showed that the IQ scores of students were often higher than the achievement scores. This sort of circumstantial evidence would lead one to believe that the division of schools along English language lines did have a negative effect but whether this would outweigh any benefits which might accrue from allowing members of an ethnic group to move up the educational ladder by ability and academic achievement alone remains a moot point. In any case by 1957 a process was under way to phase out the English Standard Schools and this was complete by 1961, ending an official distinction in the public school system which could have been taken

as having racial overtones and segregationist motives - however unsuccessful these were even if they were intentional.

#### THE "EDUCATIONAL LADDER" IN HAWAII

Professor Andrew Lind's study of occupational mobility in Hawaii, which will be considered in Chapter VII, introduces the term "climbing the occupational ladder". This idea can also be applied to the "educational ladder". As each new group has arrived in Hawaii it has begun to work its way up through the hierarchical school system. Figures on school enrollment are too incomplete for an extremely detailed study to be done on this matter but there is one area which will illustrate the way various groups gradually rose up the status ladder of education. This is the area of private versus public education. As education has been compulsory in Hawaii for over a century, the proportion of school age children in school by race would not be a good indicator as it is in Fiji, and as the statistics on the English Standard School are not available in complete enough form to be useful the public/private dichotomy offers the best measure. Because of the significant part the private schools have played in Hawaii the study of the proportions of each race attending the schools is a fairly useful indicator of the degree to which the various groups were being assimilated into the social system. The only period for which these figures are consistently available is from 1906 to 1922 (see Table v ). The period is not long but it is a significant one in that it includes the time when the Japanese were becoming established

as an integral part of the community and it represents a period when all the major components of the Hawaiian society today had already arrived in Hawaii; although more Filipinos were to arrive in the next decade their appearance does not seriously affect the position of the Japanese who are our main concern. Although such a short period is covered it does show that the Japanese were not strongly represented in the private schools and that, in fact, as public schools became more widespread, especially at the secondary level, the proportion of Japanese at private schools failed to increase. As late as 1957 the Japanese accounted for only 16.8% of the private school enrollments,<sup>38</sup> a figure they had reached before 1922. On the whole all groups tended to patronize the public schools consistently, with the exception of the Caucasian group which remained predominantly in the private schools. From 1922 to 1957 the Japanese provided between 45% and 55% of the total public school enrollment in the territory (see Table VI), making some contribution to the private school rolls but not one that constituted a greatly significant proportion of their number. This indicates the solidly middle class and lower class nature of the Japanese population but also indicates that those who achieve high status, be they Japanese or any other race, are accepted into private schools in Hawaii. As relatively few Japanese are Roman Catholic their attendance at private schools is a better status

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<sup>38</sup> Hormann, B., "Integration in Hawaii's Schools", Social Process in Hawaii, op. cit., p. 7.

indicator than it is for such groups as the Filipinos or Portuguese.

FIJI - A GENERAL CONTINUATION  
OF THE PRACTICE OF RACIAL SEGREGATION

While the Hawaiian educational system consolidated its compulsory, secular and free character and developed a complex of public high schools, teacher training institutions and a university to serve all its citizens, Fiji's educational system continued to grow without changing its pattern to any marked degree. In 1944 a survey was conducted of education in Fiji which made several sound recommendations that would further increase the government's role in the educational process. As this thesis does not purport to be an exhaustive history of all aspects of education it is unnecessary to enumerate all these recommendations. Some, however, are of some significance; for example, a teachers' training college was to be set up to consolidate the work being done by several agencies at the time. This was to be multi-racial; consolidation of the Fijian provincial schools was recommended to create one large intermediate school for Fijian boys; Fijian education was to be advanced by the expansion of the Q.V.S. and by the establishment of a Fijian Girls' School at the intermediate level; and, finally, more technical, vocational and agricultural training was recommended. The significance here is in the stress placed on Fijian education and the complete bypassing of any consideration of the introduction of multi-racial schools on a large scale.

While there were reasons for this - because of sudden Indian agitations

TABLE V: PUPILS ENROLLED IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS  
AS A PERCENTAGE OF ALL SCHOOL ENROLLMENTS, BY RACE, ( a)  
FOR SELECTED YEARS, 1906-1922 - HAWAII

Race	1906	1909-10	1913-14	1917-18	1922
Hawaiian	16.5	18.5	16.7	15.7	15.9
Part Hawaiian	30.4	31.9	25.8	30.6	25.1
Caucasian <sup>(1)</sup>	42.8	53.9	44.6	38.5	54.1
Portuguese	34.5	23.4	19.8	20.6	18.1
Chinese	58.9	24.7	26.9	26.3	19.6
Japanese	16.7	10.1	10.2	14.1	6.9
Puerto Rican	0.0	16.9	6.5	5.4	4.9
Korean		38.5	29.4	36.0	50.0
Other <sup>(2)</sup>	30.0	12.7	28.3	23.9	24.7

(a) Source: Thrum's Annual, 1907-1923.

(1) This figure includes Americans, English, German, and Scandinavian children so that the figures are lower than would be the case if Americans were taken separately. In 1906, for example, 52.3% of American pupils were in private schools, as opposed to only 36.3% of English pupils.

(2) Includes Filipinos who were represented separately only after 1913.

TABLE VI: PUBLIC SCHOOL ENROLLMENT BY RACE,  
FOR SELECTED YEARS, 1906-1957 - HAWAII

Race	1906	1914	1922	1930	1934 <sup>(a)</sup>
Hawaiian	26.6	12.2	8.6	4.5	3.5
Part Hawaiian	15.6	11.5	10.7	10.5	10.9
Caucasian	5.3	3.4	2.8	4.1	4.5
Portuguese	15.3	16.1	13.8	8.3	6.8
Chinese	9.8	9.8	9.7	9.2	4.5
Japanese	23.5	38.4	45.8	53.5	54.5
Puerto Rican	2.2	2.6	2.8	1.6	1.8
Korean	*	1.1	1.3	2.3	2.5
Others	1.6	5.1	4.3	5.9	7.4
TOTAL	99.8	100.2	99.8	99.9	100.0

Race	1943 <sup>(b)</sup>	1947	1957 <sup>(c)</sup>
Hawaiian	3.1 )	22.0	21.3
Part Hawaiian	16.1 )		
Caucasian	2.7 )	9.3	10.7
Portuguese	5.4 )		
Chinese	5.3	4.6	4.8
Japanese	50.5	45.6	47.0
Puerto Rican	2.1	1.9	*
Korean	1.5	1.0	1.1
Filipino	9.3	10.1	10.1
Others	3.8	5.3	5.0
TOTAL	99.8	99.8	100.0

(a) Source: Thrum's Annual 1907-1935.

(b) Source: Unpublished materials from the Hawaii Department of Education.

(c) Source: Hormann, B. "Integration in Hawaii's Schools" Social Process in Hawaii XXI (1957) p. 7.

\*Not given separately.

the Fijian education sector received less government assistance than the Indian sector in the 1940's and yet Fijians contributed more for the support of their schools, and barriers between Indians and Fijians, a grave deterrent to multi-racial education - there appears to have been little consideration given to ways in which a gradual introduction of multi-racial education could be engineered. The recommendation concerning practical education is interesting in that it shows how far the situation in Fiji had diverged from that in Hawaii where the question of vocational versus liberal education had resolved itself in the 1920's. The economy of Fiji was still such that it could be argued that a highly academic education was inappropriate for more than a handful of the population.

Another issue which was given little attention by the 1944 report was the development of secondary education. While the expansion of teacher training facilities was advocated, there was little consideration given to where the entrants for a training college would be drawn from. A Training College was set up in 1947 and has since made a considerable contribution to the teaching force in Fiji, but for many years the calibre of the teachers trained there was low due to the low level of achievement of entrants. Primary school facilities continued to expand but there was considerable wastage as many children did not attend regularly, or consistently, and those who did pass through the top class had reached only very low levels of achievement.

Indian education was expanding, due mainly to ambition on the

part of the Indians themselves, but as much to added assistance from the government. In the earlier decades, as we have seen, Indian enthusiasm for education had not been great. The government Indian school at Natabua, Lautoka, had a small roll of 40 boys in 1918 and very few girls attended school at all because of the traditional belief that they should learn at home from their mothers. As a desire for education grew and the Indian population became more vocal, government aid was requested and given, if only to those who took the initiative to set up a school committee and apply for it. Although Indians had smaller numbers in schools in the 1920's and 1930's than did the Fijians, they were to overtake them with surprising rapidity. In 1936 Indians represented 42.85% of the population of Fiji, while the Fijians accounted for 49.22%.<sup>39</sup> In 1937 Fijians comprised 65.8% of the total school enrollment compared with the Indians 28.3% - a proportion partially depressed by the very small number of Indian girls enrolled.<sup>40</sup> By 1947, when Indians for the first time outnumbered the Fijians, there were still more Fijians than Indians in school but by then the number of Indian boys enrolled had exceeded the number of Fijian girls, and the overall Indian proportion of 43.2% was unnaturally depressed by a lagging female<sup>41</sup> enrollment.

Not only were the Indians catching up on the Fijians in terms of

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<sup>39</sup> Fiji Legislative Council. A Report on the Fiji Census, 1936. Council Paper No. 42, 1936. Suva. 1936.

<sup>40</sup> Fiji Legislative Council. Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1946. Council Paper, No. 31, Suva, 1947. p. 3.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

overall enrollment, but they were surpassing them in the length of time spent at school. Although fewer Indians went to school more stayed on for secondary education. Although the differences were slight in 1946, ten years later there were almost 50% more Indians than Fijians in secondary school. This applied to girls as well as to boys. At the Teachers' Training College, where the proportion of entrants from each race is fairly firmly fixed, early enrollments showed more Indian than Fijian girls; this was quickly righted, however, so that the sex ratio was kept nearer the 50:50 mark for both races. In the field of vocational education, also, the Indian population contributed more pupils to the specialized courses than did the Fijian. There were clear reasons for this. Throughout the colony there were three technical centres established, each in a large town where there were enough schools to contribute pupils on a daily basis to make their establishment economical. The Indian population was concentrated around the coastal area of Viti Levu, and a large proportion of Indians therefore lived in or near towns and attended schools which might contribute students to the technical centres. (See Table VII). The skills taught at these centres were very elemental as the pupils were young, but they might form an introduction to a skilled trade at a later stage, an advantage to Indian boys many of whom sought employment, unlike the bulk of the Fijians who remained in rural areas and in a village economy where permanent employment was not necessary.

TABLE VII: ENROLLMENTS BY RACE AT SUVA TECHNICAL CENTRE, 1945-1952<sup>(a)</sup>

	Technical School				Domestic Science			
	1945	1946	1947	1952	1945	1946	1947	1952
European	129	119	100	135	94	72	91	128
Part European								
Indian	112	98	106	156	64	72	80	134
Fijian	48	48	56	84	130	55	60	41
Chinese	35	26	20	35	19	25	26	35
Other	15	12	26		-	26	18	27
TOTAL	339	303	308	310	307	250	275	365

(a)Source: Fiji Department of Education Annual Reports.

After 1950, and especially in the second half of the decade, secondary school facilities increased considerably. In 1952 there were 18 secondary schools of all types and standards in the colony. By 1963 there were 43. However the rapid growth had not been accompanied by the preservation of high standards and in 1960 the government adopted a policy of providing substantial grants-in-aid to a select few secondary schools of good repute to enable them to extend their facilities and attract good teachers. Apart from seven government secondary schools - three for Fijians, one for Europeans, and three predominantly for Indians but enrolling pupils of other races in accordance with the wishes of the Indian people - there were thirteen secondary schools receiving grants-in-aid, only three of which were for Fijians alone, five others being strongly Indian, but not closed to pupils of other races, and the remaining five being, four Roman Catholic schools which are normally

racially mixed and one Methodist school, the roll of which is unknown.

Thus the Fijian scene remained one of many self-appointed educational agencies controlled by a central government department. Little deliberate attempt had been made to bring about integration and where it had occurred it had been at the behest of those involved. While the government was not against integrated schools it foresaw so many obstacles to the setting up of an integrated system that it had made no effort to enforce one. In fact, relying as it did on the cooperation of the various missions and local committees for the continuance of the system, it probably felt bound not to interfere drastically in a matter such as racial composition of school rolls. Only in the case of a special 6th Form (senior level) class, established at Suva Grammar School to prepare outstanding pupils for higher education overseas, did the government consciously set up a multi-racial educational organization below the post secondary level.

#### Higher Education.

College education was not established in Hawaii until the first decade of this century. While Punahou school attempted to develop a college program, this did not eventuate. Before 1900 secondary education was, as we have seen, not widely available and thus there were few schools to provide students for higher education; Punahou students traditionally went to established colleges on the mainland as did the children of most financially well-established haole families. Most of the rest of the population had not, before 1908 - the first year of college classes in Hawaii - reached a level of prosperity or education which

would allow them to provide higher education for their children. In fact, few of the Japanese children born in Hawaii would have reached college age before 1908.

The University started as an agricultural and mechanical arts land grant college with a very small roll and did not expand rapidly before the 1920's when the enrollment rose from 382 to 1789 in ten years and graduate work increased in importance.<sup>42</sup> The arrival of more middle class Americans and the maturation of the island-born Chinese and then the Japanese populations did much in the years following to increase the size of the University in Hawaii. However, there has been a tendency for Caucasian parents to send their children to mainland Universities where possible, and probably an increasing proportion of Chinese, and a substantial number of Japanese students have also studied in the mainland. It is not possible to ascertain how many of each race have attended the various American universities, or how many of the present residents received their primary and secondary education in Hawaii. As the table on the following page shows, the distribution of enrollments by race in the public schools bore little resemblance to that of the University in 1929-1930, when 1,293 students were in attendance at the University.

At this stage the other Caucasians and the Chinese groups were considerably over-represented at the University compared with their public school enrollments. This can probably be explained by the

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<sup>42</sup> Wist, B.O., op. cit., p. 200.

fact that these groups contained many who had high incomes and could thus afford to send their children to private schools and also could afford a college education for them. The low percentage of Japanese at the University could be explained by their more recent arrival in Hawaii and a consequently lower income level as well as a smaller population in the university age group.

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TABLE VIII: PERCENTAGE ENROLLMENT BY RACE  
AT PUBLIC SCHOOL AND THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII, 1929-30 - HAWAII<sup>(a)</sup>

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<u>Race</u>	<u>Grades 1-12</u>	<u>University</u>
Hawaiian	4.5	0.6
Part Hawaiian	10.3	10.5
Portuguese	8.2	2.8
Other Caucasian	3.9	36.5
Chinese	9.0	19.7
Japanese	54.1	27.0
Korean	2.4	1.9
Filipino	4.6	0.8
Others	3.0	0.2
TOTALS	100.0	100.0

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<sup>(a)</sup> Source: Livesay, T.M. A Study of Public Education in Hawaii, University of Hawaii Research Publication No. 7, Honolulu, 1932.

It may be noted that in 1920 a Japanese language department was established at the University and this was followed two years later by a department of Chinese.<sup>43</sup> This early introduction of Oriental languages shows how the University was sensitive to the interests of the community, a sensitivity which has resulted in the rather unique concentration on subjects Asian and Pacific in the University today.

After the Second World War the University of Hawaii continued to expand both in scope and enrollments. Current enrollment at the University includes 14,600 full-time and 3,600 part-time students. Data by race are not available but casual observation supports the conclusion that the racial composition of the University has changed substantially since 1930. The University, as a state university with low tuition fees, attracts in the main students from the middle classes. This group in Hawaii is predominantly Japanese. Thus the University appears to have a high proportion of local students of Japanese ancestry, as well as a large number from the other Oriental groups and a not insignificant number of haoles.

Fijian higher education is limited to institutions of post-secondary but not university status. There has been little demand until recently for university education as the colony has not as yet developed a universal secondary school system, and those who have reached university level and have sought university education have been catered for by scholarships to universities in other countries. Thus the people of

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<sup>43</sup>Wist, B.O., op. cit., p. 215.

Fiji, on the whole, have not had the advantages of a university education and have therefore been unable to use this as a means to upward social and occupational mobility.

A university is now planned for Fiji, with the opening date set for March 1968. This institution is to cater for students from several South Pacific countries, and will thus be truly multi-racial in nature. It is believed by this writer that the decision to include "foreign" students was taken not only as a means to provide a suitably large roll in the early years, and to attract financial support from a larger number of sources, but also to ensure that the Indian proportion of the roll was not too large.

## CHAPTER V

### PRESENT DAY EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS IN FIJI AND HAWAII

One hundred and fifty years ago Fiji and Hawaii had much in common. Today the situation has changed markedly. Fiji remains a colony with a small European administration and a population made up of a few clearly defined and fairly homogenous groups: the Europeans, the Indian professionals and successful tradesmen, the Fijian traditional elite, and the large proletarian segments of the population - the Indian workers or sugar farmers, and the Fijian villagers. While detailed analysis would show considerable hierarchical structuring within each group, and some overlapping between racial groups on a horizontal scale linking various occupational and status groups, it is possible to typify Fiji as a racially segmented society, where each segment is more or less socially self-contained. In Hawaii, on the other hand, the social structure cannot easily be divided into such segments. Particular groupings there are similar to those in any modern society. These are social class groupings which are not bound strictly by racial definitions. As we shall see in Chapter VII there tend to be concentrations of representatives of particular groups at different levels on the scale - with a predominance of haoles near the top and of Hawaiians and Filipinos near the bottom - but

nevertheless the bulk of the population fall into a middle range group in which all races are represented and which is so organized as to reduce the possibility of dividing into racial subgroups.

The educational systems, as has been shown, had diverged phenomenally considering that they began with nearly identical missionary schools under 140 years ago. These educational systems reflect the present-day racial situations in the two areas, are in part a product of them, but also help to maintain them. It would be naive to suggest that the educational systems are the sole cause of the present-day race relations in the areas; the history of the two areas has contributed greatly to the different circumstances, but the schools can play a significant role in the maintenance or change of the status quo.

There appear to be two ways in which education can act as an agent in determining social relations, in particular race relations. First we should recall the sociological theory that people who are alike tend to like each other: thus people who agree on various matters, who see things the same way, react in the same way to social and practical situations find each other likeable. The fact that they do this draws them closer together and makes them better friends which then leads to their thinking more alike, acting more alike, and becoming more similar which makes them like each other more. Education in multi-racial schools can contribute towards the creation of a society in which relationships are based on shared experiences and mutual liking rather than on racial identity by bringing the children of various races

together in the same schools and providing them with a variety of experiences in common. Clearly the use of a common language is one very significant factor in this process and one which the school may be the only agency capable of furnishing in some societies. There are, however, other important experiences the school can offer, ranging from a common approach to general information and knowledge to the experience of working and playing together in teams and less formally in the classroom and playground. While these experiences are most valuable if they are reinforced by other multi-racial experiences in the society at large, they nevertheless can contribute to the creation of better sentiments in that society and may be one of the few vehicles for the introduction of improved relations in some societies. However it is also possible that close contact with members of another cultural and ethnic group can reinforce already formed stereotypes "proving" negative concepts already internalised. This will be particularly true when such negative concepts have had many years to form without experiences to contradict them. Social theory seems to indicate that people exhibit most prejudice toward those of a distinguishably different group which is close to them in the social hierarchy and who appear to threaten their position. It could therefore be construed that if students are brought together in multi-racial institutions for the first time when they are reaching the higher levels of the educational system, this experience could have negative effects. This leads to the conclusion that the earlier children are brought together, before the prejudices of their parents have been completely ingrained,

the more effective the schools can be in providing a basis of inter-racial understanding.

The second way in which the schools can assist in establishing patterns of race relations is by providing opportunities for all children to obtain the same amount and kind of education so that they are all equally well-equipped to choose their occupations on bases other than those prescribed by the traditions of the racial group alone. Societies where the individual's activities are defined in terms of race and where all loyalties and interests lie within one racial group or another are societies where conflict is likely to occur. The economic and occupational interests of groups are particularly significant in this respect so animosities would be most likely to develop, for example, in communities where all of one racial group were involved in entrepreneurial activities and all of another in primary production. Once multi-racial schools were provided there would be increased likelihood that children would be prepared for a wide range of occupations. Furthermore, children of each race would receive the same opportunity to prepare for each career - although, of course, the different environments of the children would affect the extent to which they could profit from such schooling. When the society is able to provide this sort of schooling, and individuals in the society, feeling less prejudice towards the individuals of different groups, and feeling a desire and ability to take up work that interests them rather than prescribed by their racial group, a society of greater stability could develop. In this society solidarity would be obtained independently

of racial sub-groupings and the relevance of such differentiation would be reduced. Clearly economic factors play a major part in such a process, as the degree of division of labour is determined by the level of economic development in the society. However education's role is not diminished by this; education can assist in ensuring that the division of labour, no matter how fine or coarse, is not based on ethnic lines, and can also contribute to economic development. The reduction in racial tension would be considerable. To quote Coser: "The multiple group affiliations of individuals make them participate in various group conflicts so that their total personalities are not involved in any single one of them."<sup>1</sup>

To recapitulate, education can function to draw races together by providing a basis of similarity which can lead to liking, and by equipping the individuals of each racial group for an economy where skills and interests are more significant than racial origin. Such processes take time and it must not be assumed that the introduction of multi-racial education would immediately transform a society in a generation. Many years would be needed, each generation contributing more to the development of a society where racial origin was irrelevant. Education can also have the opposite effect of maintaining racial differences, and while it alone is only one determinant of race relations and is partially determined by them, so that race relations may change

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<sup>1</sup> Coser, Lewis, The Functions of Social Conflict. London, 1956, p. 154.

in spite of the educational system, a system which was based on segregation would be a powerful force against change.

### FIJI

The situation in Fiji today is one where racial group loyalties and, to some extent, a racially defined division of labour are still observable. The causational system reflects this and tends to contribute to its continuation. It cannot be said that education brought about the present situation which was the result of a combination of influences including economic structure, deliberate government policy, cultural and linguistic differences, geographical distribution and others. However, from early in the history of Indian immigration, as had been shown, the schools, or lack of them, have done little to reduce differences or to provide a basis of common experience for the people of Fiji. The role of the missions was an important factor in this process with their preferential treatment of those who had become Christians and with their encouragement of vernacular languages. It is only in the last 10 to 15 years that the government of Fiji has begun to play the leading role in education, working towards a gradual changing of the system. Consequently, Fiji's present educational system still reflects its missionary beginnings to some extent.

#### Primary Education.<sup>2</sup>

In 1965 there were 581 primary schools in Fiji and 20.2% of the

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<sup>2</sup>The figures quoted in the succeeding sections on Fiji are taken, unless there is indication to the contrary, from the Annual Reports of the Fiji Department of Education.

total population was enrolled in them. This does not indicate a 100% enrollment of children as suggested by the fact that in 1956 25.2% of Fijians and 30.9% of Indians were in the age group 5-14 years. There is still no universal compulsory primary educational system in Fiji. The majority of schools, although receiving some financial assistance from the Government Education Department, are locally organized and partially locally controlled. In most cases the Fijian, or Hindu, or Muslim community sets up a committee to run a school for its own children, and while active exclusion of others is not permitted, these schools are virtually segregated. Many areas have several small schools where one larger one may well have been more economical. Local Committee Schools are hampered by lack of funds and thus lack of equipment. Many parents soon take their children out of school because the fees charged to help pay for buildings and the teachers' salaries are high by Fijian standards. Almost all Indian and Fijian families are large, and the cost of keeping many children at school at once could be crippling to the average family. As Table IX shows, the dropout rate even in the earlier years of school is quite severe, especially for the Fijians and the Indians. However, the chances of there being larger numbers of children in the younger age group in the population at large must be taken into account when considering a table such as this which presents data for one year only. The committees which run these schools are manned by men, and occasionally women, from the district who have often had little education themselves, and who do not well understand the needs of teachers or children.

TABLE IX: PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENTS:  
PERCENTAGES BY RACE - 1965 - FIJI<sup>(a)</sup>

Race	CLASSES 1-4	CLASSES 5-8	TOTAL
Fijians	23.5	17.6	41.1
Indians	31.8	19.9	51.7
Europeans	1.8	1.2	3.0
Chinese	0.6	0.5	1.1
Other	1.4	1.1	2.5
TOTAL	69.1	30.3	99.4

<sup>(a)</sup> Source: Fiji Education Department Annual Report 1965.

TABLE X: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SECONDARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENTS  
BY RACE, 1946, 1956, 1965 - FIJI<sup>(b)</sup>

	1946		1956		1965	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
European	116	22.0	330	12.4	401	5.5
Fijian	191	36.0	673	24.3	2,031	28.0
Indian	211	40.0	1,650	60.6	4,525	62.7
Chinese	12	2.0	60	2.5	253	3.5
TOTAL <sup>(1)</sup>	530	100.0	2,723	99.8	7,210	99.7

<sup>(b)</sup> Source: Fiji Education Department Annual Reports, 1946, 1956, 1965

<sup>(1)</sup> This total does not include the category "Others" which in 1965 comprised 4.8% of the total secondary school enrollments.

Indian education especially has always been formal and based on rote learning. There is considerable resistance on the part of older teachers to changes in the methods of instruction. From personal observation this writer found that displays, teaching aids, and activity work were described as window-dressing and there was little understanding of education for democracy and individuality.

### Secondary Schools

The most significant trend in the last twenty years has been in the development, however belated, of a complex of secondary schools. It is at this level that the government, forced by economic necessity, has played the greatest role. In 1946 there were 7 secondary schools; in 1965 the number had risen to 58. Table X shows that the number of Indians in the secondary schools increased over twenty times between 1946 and 1965. While the number of Fijians enrolled had increased ten-fold during the twenty years, Fijians had lost ground to the Indians on a percentage basis between 1946 and 1956 and were proportionately less than half as numerous as Indians in the secondary schools in 1965. Table XI shows that the Indians also have a larger proportion of their number staying on at secondary schools after the first two years, indicating that more Fijians leave school after sitting the Fiji Junior Examination at the end of their Form IV year. The actual number of children gaining secondary schooling is low. In 1963 there were 6,853 children in Class 8; by Form IV in 1965, only 2,717 remained.

Several of these 58 schools are multi-racial, and their

academic records are high. Among the schools most highly regarded for their academic record are the Marist Brothers schools, especially Marist Brothers High School in Suva, and the Catholic Mission schools which cater mainly for girls. These schools offer particularly academic courses, and prepare their pupils for examinations very thoroughly. Because the schools are taught in the main by priests and nuns from New Zealand and Australia, or by Fijian nationals with overseas training, and because the schools are distinctly multi-racial, English is the language of instruction at all levels. Many of the pupils of these schools have received their primary education at Catholic schools (although children of all religions are accepted), where English was also the medium of instruction.

TABLE XI: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SECONDARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENTS BY RACE AND FORM, 1965 - FIJI<sup>(a)</sup>

	Europeans	Fijians	Indians	Chinese	Other	TOTAL	
						No.	%
FORM III	34.7	46.6	42.0	31.2	43.0	3210	42.0
FORM IV	32.7	39.5	34.4	42.4	38.7	2716	36.0
FORM Vb	13.9	7.4	12.0	29.6	10.0	829	10.8
FORM Va	10.7	4.3	9.7	10.7	5.9	620	8.0
FORM VIb	7.3	1.9	1.6	3.9	2.2	171	2.4
FORM VIa	<u>0.6</u>	<u>0.3</u>	<u>0.3</u>	<u>1.2</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>0.4</u>
	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	7575	99.6

(a) Source: Fiji Education Department Annual Report 1965.

Because of the emphasis on examination preparation, and because of the better and earlier teaching of English, the examination pass rates of the Catholic schools are higher than those of any other school in Fiji. For example, in 1963 of the 98 candidates at Marist High School for a national examination taken at the end of the second year of secondary school (Fiji Junior Examination), 22 gained A grade passes, 61 gained B grade passes, and 15 failed; while at D.A.V. Boys' College (an Indian High School, Suva) there were 64 candidates who gained 1 A pass, 18 B passes, and 45 failures. And at Ratu Sakunu Memorial College there were 67 candidates who gained no A passes, 31 B passes, and 36 failures.

#### Technical Schools.

Fiji, as an underdeveloped country, needs skilled and imaginative technicians, artisans, agriculturalists, architects, engineers, and administrators. Most of those attending secondary school at present are taking courses in English, Biology, History, Hindi, Fijian, and Mathematics; Latin and French are taught in some of the highest ranking schools, and Medieval History is favoured because it involves a period in development like that which Fiji has reached. Fiji Government officials agree that while these subjects are commendable, they are not preparing the right numbers of the right sort of people. Academic education is of course cheaper to provide than courses which need well-equipped workshops and laboratories and large amounts of materials and well-trained teachers who are at a premium all over the world. Many of the private schools are quite incapable of providing

this sort of education even with the Government aid that many of them receive.

Technical training of a specialized nature is being developed in Fiji. There are two schools offering courses in construction and building, metal work, etc., but the numbers in attendance (Fijian and Indian boys) is low - 37 full-time pupils at one of them. The main centre of technical training is in Suva and it has a full-time enrollment of 62 pupils, although many more attend on a part-time evening basis. Figures of enrollment by race are unavailable but there tends to be a larger number of Indians than Fijians at the Derrick Institute in Suva. On the one hand, there is an agricultural school near Nausori which is run by the Methodist mission and, while being open to all races, has had no Indian enrollment for 30 years. The Colonial Sugar Refining Company, too, runs an agricultural school for Fijian boys to encourage the production of sugar by Fijians. No such school is in operation for Indian boys although most of the sugar in Fiji is grown by Indians - 92% of the tonnage milled.<sup>3</sup> While such schools tend to bring more Fijians into the sugar industry and thus into a sphere of common interests with the Indians, the fact that their schools are exclusive is a negative factor not designed to increase understanding between the two groups at a level where considerable tension exists. If Fijians were to take over large-scale sugar farming they could develop a monopoly over the Indians who only lease their land from the Fijians

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<sup>3</sup>Ward, Land Use and Population in Fiji, p. 142.

and can therefore be forced off it. This is not likely to happen in the immediate future; in the meantime training facilities appear to be working in a direction which can intensify rather than reduce racial tensions.

#### Higher Education.

Because of their larger numbers at secondary school, more Indians than Fijians are available for higher education. Statistics on the holders of overseas scholarships (the main source of higher education above the Nasinu Training College level) indicate only a small differentiation between Fijians and Indians. However, although figures are not available, it is well known that many Indians travel abroad as independent students without bursary or scholarship support. The truth of this is indicated by the number of Indian lawyers and accountants to be found in Fiji, most of whom were not provided with financial support when students. Fijians, on the other hand, seldom need to provide their own funds for higher education as there are enough scholarships available for those who qualify for them.

The Indian attitude to integration, which will be considered in more detail later, is indicated by the fact that scholarships to India are open to Fijian students. At a ceremony awarding such scholarships for the following year a speaker said, "In selecting candidates for higher education in India on bursaries, the Ramkrishna Mission will give first preference to deserving Fijian students."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Fiji Times, 30 June 1955, p. 4.

The Indians see the need to improve their standing with the Fijians and probably see the experience of study at an Indian university as a valuable contribution to understanding between the races. There are several scholarships available to Fijians only, such as the Fijian Overseas Scholarships, the Fijian Provincial Scholarships, and the United Kingdom Scholarships for Fijians, while few are restricted to Indians alone, except perhaps one from the Pakistan Government. The 12 scholarships exclusively for Fijians account for just over 50% of all scholarships awarded to them in 1963.

Attitude to School Integration.

The number of primary schools with mixed rolls was given in 1961 but is not entirely satisfactory as the source does not indicate the proportion of students of each race in the various schools. At an education conference it was announced that 276 of the 621 primary schools in Fiji had more than one race on their rolls in 1963, and that of the remainder, 220 were situated in totally Fijian areas.<sup>5</sup> In many cases schools which are predominantly attended by one race may have an odd student from another, as it is not permissible to refuse entrance on the grounds of race. There is, however, very little desire among the bulk of the people, especially the Fijians, to speed up the introduction of truly multi-racial schools. Most early classes (for the first four years in fact) are taught in Fijian, Hindi, or some other Indian language and this contributes greatly to the justification

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 9 January 1965, p. 3.

for maintaining separate schools. Most elementary schools, therefore, are racially segregated.

The degree of integration increases at secondary school level, but is still far from complete. While many of the aided and Government schools are multi-racial, the unaided schools remain predominantly segregated because they are set up by a community to serve its own interests, rather than being provided by outside agencies. It is significant that those schools which are multi-racial tend to achieve the best examination results. This may be because English is invariably used and the pupils' ability in this, the language of the examinations, is raised. The secondary school places most sought after by Indians are in the schools with high examination pass rates, especially the Marist Brothers High School in Suva, while the Fijian boys of highest rank, both social and academic status, aim for the Queen Victoria School, which has a good academic standing, but is particularly desirable because of its very Fijian character and its traditional prestige. Thus the future Indian leaders are being trained in multi-racial schools while the future Fijian leaders are getting their education in a school which is cut off from outside influences, where the traditional Fijian hierarchy is observed, with young chiefs being awarded the ceremonial honours appropriate to their position and being addressed as Ratu<sup>6</sup> by their inferiors. It may be coincidental, but it is interesting to note that in 1963 whereas the

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<sup>6</sup>  
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elite Q.V.S. gained 6 passes in the New Zealand University Entrance Examination<sup>7</sup> from a candidacy of 25, Natabua High School, the originally Indian and now multi-racial school at Lautoka, presented 16 candidates and gained 16 passes; in this Natabua bettered Suva Grammar School (the school reserved for Europeans but with a multi-racial University Entrance Class which received chosen pupils from schools throughout Suva) where there were 9 passes and 14 failures.

Government policy on the racial composition of schools is ambiguous and typifies the gradualist approach to development. Any official statement on the problem cites the factors mitigating against multi-racial schools. These are the geographical distribution of the two races, the problem of different languages in the lower schools, and the problem that co-education can introduce. The first two points have already been adequately covered; the third is explained in the 1960 report of the Department of Education which says that the general trend throughout the world is towards co-educational schools and that Fijians and Indians are against having their children mix with children of the other race and sex. Reluctance to send children to multi-racial schools is "gradually being broken down in Fiji but the fact remains that the majority of the Colony's secondary schools are already co-educational and it may be some time before they become multi-racial."<sup>8</sup> While these three points may all be valid to varying degrees, they are

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<sup>7</sup> The highest level examination attempted in Fiji.

<sup>8</sup> Fiji Legislative Council. Department of Education Annual Report for the Year 1960. Council Paper No. 29, Suva, 1961.

ones which possibly should be broken down and ones which only the school can change, either directly, as in the case of language, or indirectly, as reducing the geographical separation of races by reducing the racial concentration in occupations. Official government policy is summarized in an Ordinance of January 1961. Referring to government schools the Ordinance said, "The Director shall, when considering application for admission to a government school, give priority to candidates of the race which predominantly constitutes the roll of that school; provided that the Director may, at his discretion, admit pupils of any other race." For schools which were aided but not by the Government, the provision read: "While an aided primary school may, when selecting pupils for admission, give preference to pupils of a particular race or creed, no pupil shall be denied admission solely on the grounds of race or creed."<sup>9</sup> This must be interpreted as a purposely vague approach to the problem. It suggests the way the government would like education to go but it carefully avoids the use of force or even mild coercion; no attempt is made, for example, to encourage multi-racial schools by the offer of extra grants-in-aid.

One reason for the Government's equivocal stand in this matter is that since the time of cession the British administrators have adhered to the view that it was their duty to protect and preserve the Fijian way of life. They were aware that Fiji had been entrusted to Britain voluntarily by its people, and that therefore had the responsibility

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

of observing this trust. It was considered a violation of trust to go against the will of the Fijian people - as expressed, one might remark, by the Fijian chiefs. It is because of this, and the specific responsibilities undertaken in the Deed of Cession, that Fijian land reform has not taken place and remains a major factor of contention between Fijians and Indians. Fijians fear multi-racial schools, as they believe these will lead to the breakdown of traditional ways. In January 1964 a conference of school managers was called in Suva by an Indian member of the Legislative Council to discuss the problem of school segregation. The major resolution of the conference read "That this conference agrees in principle that all schools should be open to children of all races, each school committee being permitted, if it so wishes, to give preference to children of a particular race or creed. The conference agrees that no child should be refused admission to any school solely on the grounds of race or creed."<sup>10</sup> This resolution was rejected. It was voted for by all Indian and European delegates, and against by all Fijian delegates who argued that such a system would destroy their customs and traditions. The resolution was a mild one, most of what was proposed being already incorporated in the 1961 Ordinance. The Director of Education had spoken for the resolution and had pointed out that "the Government had no intention of introducing a law to compel a school to admit children of any particular race."<sup>11</sup> The Fijians argued that their children would be "swamped" in mixed schools

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<sup>10</sup> Fiji Times, 9 January 1963, p. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

as they did not have such good examination records. The conservatism of the Fijians was further illustrated by the fact that another, even milder resolution expressing appreciation of and desiring the continuation of those non-government schools which were multi-racial, was also rejected.

The Indians, on the other hand, had long been proponents of multi-racial education. Their stand at the conference in 1964 was merely one of many such indications of this. No Indian schools exclude pupils of other races - although few Fijians and fewer Europeans attend Indian controlled schools. They had requested the government to open Natabua to other races. The Fiji Times records a donation by Indian businessmen of 16 acres of freehold land (a very precious commodity among Indians who generally have trouble in obtaining freehold land) for a new Marist Brothers school. "The donors made one request; the school when erected should not be confined to Indians but should be open to all races."<sup>12</sup>

#### HAWAII

The present day relationship between race and education in Hawaii is very difficult to ascertain. After 1947 education statistics were no longer gathered by race by the Department of Education, and it later became illegal to do so. At first glance this would seem to suggest that race had ceased to be relevant in education in Hawaii, that the various races had become so intermingled as to make racial distinctions

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<sup>12</sup> Fiji Times, 16 June 1955, p. 4.

meaningless. This, however, is not an entirely accurate picture of the present situation. Analysis of data on occupations shows that racial background does correlate to some extent with ethnic origin, and it can normally be expected that individuals from the lowest economic group will have a lower average achievement rate than those from wealthier, culturally more stimulating family backgrounds.<sup>13</sup> It would be possible to extract some general material on education in various culturally deprived areas and deduce information based on social status strata which would correspond fairly closely to a large group of Hawaiians and Filipinos. But the group which is under particular consideration in this study, the Japanese, is not so easily compartmentalised into one major status group. The Japanese are found in all walks of life and in all social strata, but they predominate in the middle class, along with members of all ethnic groups in the State to greater or lesser degree. This makes it difficult to extract information from the recent official sources concerning education and the Japanese.

Since September 1966 school attendance has been compulsory for all children under 18 years of age unless they have already graduated from high school. This rule will make it less meaningful in the future to attempt to ascertain the general level of education of a racial group by discovering the years of high school completed by its members. Of

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See papers by Bernstein, Nisbet, Rogoff, Floud in Halsey, A.H. et al. Education, Economy and Society, New York, 1961.

course drop-outs will occur but it has proved impossible to gain a meaningful breakdown of the drop-out rate because of the ruling against the collection of statistics by race. It is known that some areas have greater unemployment, delinquency, and drop-out rates than others but, without detailed racial breakdowns, we can only point to such areas as Waimanalo and Nanakuli and note that these are not areas of high concentrations of Japanese but as populated by Hawaiians, and to a lesser extent, Samoans and Filipinos. Having noted these qualifications and difficulties, we shall now attempt to outline what little is available and relevant in Hawaii's education system today.

#### School Enrollments.

Table XIII shows the distribution by race of those enrolled in school after the age of 14. It is a table with limitations as the lack of consistent data makes the various years rather difficult to compare, and for 1960 there is no adequate breakdown by age groups so that the total number 14 and above enrolled must be shown as a percentage of the population cohort in which most students are likely to fall (14-19), therefore the percentages shown are higher than the actual ones would have been. Nevertheless it is possible to gain some information from the table. The development of Japanese school attendance stands out clearly. Each decade shows an increase in the proportion at each age attending school; particularly worthy of note is the very large increase in the older age groups, indicating that more and more Japanese each decade stayed on past the compulsory attendance age, and presumably, attended university or other types of post-secondary

education.

It is also interesting to note that while the groups usually associated with lower social prestige, the Filipinos and, especially more recently, the Hawaiians, have low proportions of school enrollments, since 1940 the Hawaiians have shown some increase in the earlier years (14 and 15) as is to be expected as attendance was compulsory for all children of these ages. The part-Hawaiians have always shown a higher level of attendance than the Hawaiians and as they have become a larger group they are probably more significant. The data shows, however, that the Japanese group increased in attendance at the 18-20 level more rapidly than the part-Hawaiians. The 1950 data indicates considerable gains for all groups at the 16-17 level and the use of the combined Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian group by this date is significant as it shows that, even the lower socio-economic groups were able in large numbers to avail themselves of the educational facilities. That the "other Caucasian" (haole) group has a fairly low attendance rate in the 18-20 group at the later dates may be explained by the assignment of increased numbers of young enlisted men from mainland U.S.A. for duty at military posts in Hawaii.

#### Ranking of Public High Schools.

The Department of Education has recently surveyed the pupils of all the public high schools in the state in order to obtain a picture of the level of attainment reached in each. The survey was based on language and mathematical abilities and showed a considerable variation among the schools. Table XIV shows the rank order of the schools

and indicates in which county they are situated.

The enrollment figures given are for 1960 while the ranking was established in 1966. Two of the schools ranked were not in existence in 1960 and the rolls of the others may have changed somewhat in the intervening years. However the enrollments given will provide some indication of the size of the schools, assuming that while some will have grown and others decreased, in general the large schools will remain large and the smaller ones small. It can be seen quite clearly from this table that the schools with the highest achievement rates are predominantly situated in Honolulu County and particularly in the city of Honolulu. The top six are all Honolulu schools, Roosevelt, once the main English Standard School, heading the list. As we saw in the previous chapter, Roosevelt had, by the end of the 1940's, a large Oriental, and particularly Japanese, roll. McKinley was known as "Tokyo High", indicating that it too was a predominantly Japanese school. The Kailua area is populated largely by Caucasians who made up 65.8% of the residents in 1962<sup>14</sup> and Radford High School which serves the Pearl City area probably also has a large Caucasian population. Kalani, in the Koko Head area, serves an area with a high concentration of Caucasians (Caucasian 44.3%, Chinese 19.7%, and Japanese 29.5%).<sup>15</sup> Kaimuki, on the other hand, has a large Japanese population (49.5%) which is no doubt reflected in the school roll.<sup>16</sup> The three Honolulu

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<sup>14</sup> Hawaii Newspaper Agency. A Socio-Economic Profile of Honolulu Residential Districts. Honolulu, 1962.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

County schools which are ranked low, Waianae, Waialua, and Kahuku, have substantial Caucasian populations combined with proportionately large Filipino populations, small proportions of Japanese and Chinese, and in the case of Waianae in particular, a large proportion of Hawaiians. However this attempt to draw conclusions about school rolls from the material on the districts they serve provided by the Newspaper Agency Survey can only be approximate as the official school zones are not taken into account.

There is no information comparable to the Newspaper Agency's survey for the other counties in the State. It can be noted that Lanai and Molokai are both islands largely engaged in the plantation economy with enclaves of Hawaiians on Molokai who live almost at subsistence level, supplemented by wages from casual labouring, and thus will have a population of low socio-economic status.<sup>17</sup> In 1950 Maui's largest population group was Japanese (45.8%) with a large Hawaiian minority (19.0%). The schools on Maui rank from 9th to 24th. From this writer's observation the schools on Maui all have large numbers of Japanese pupils, but Baldwin also has probably the greatest proportion of Caucasians of any of the public schools on the island while Hana has a large number of Hawaiians. This seems to suggest that the Japanese population is well integrated into the society as a whole, being present at all levels. The island of Hawaii had, in 1950, a racial composition similar to that of Maui, and its high schools were ranked similarly

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<sup>17</sup> See Table XIX Chapter VI, Lanai has a 45.3% Filipino population while Molokai was 27.0% Filipino and 56.5% Hawaiian.

but a little higher.

Japanese Language Schools and the Public Schools.

In the previous chapter we followed the development of the foreign language schools in Hawaii and noted that they declined in importance, after a pre-war revival, as the races which they served became more integrated into the larger community. This trend has continued to the present. In 1966 enrollment in Japanese language schools totalled 12,592,<sup>18</sup> an increase of only 138 pupils since 1959. The number of children of Japanese ancestry from among whom the Japanese language schools could draw most of their pupils was much larger than this. The 1960 Census reported 39,116 children of Japanese ancestry in the age group 6-13 years and this number would have increased several thousands by 1966; moreover, in 1964 at least 462 Japanese language school students were of High School level,<sup>19</sup> and presumably over 13 years of age.

However this failure of the language schools to continue to expand is probably due to other forces besides those of assimilation. Of the 152 public elementary schools in the State in 1965, 22 had foreign language programs, 12 of them offering Japanese and 7 Chinese.<sup>20</sup> In all 2,330 pupils were taking Japanese in Grades 4-6. While the amount of time devoted to the study of Japanese is small (60-135 minutes per week), the chance of studying the languages in school probably reduces

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<sup>18</sup> Hawaii Kyoiku Kai, Hawaii Kyoiku Kai Jyosei Hokoku, as of May 1, 1954; May 1, 1966, Honolulu, 1966, p. 1.

<sup>19</sup> Hawaii Department of Education. The Status of the Foreign Language Program in Hawaii's Public Schools. Honolulu, 1965, p. 39.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

the demand on language school which must operate after public school hours.<sup>21</sup>

At High School level the stress on foreign language is even greater. Eight languages are offered by various schools throughout the State to a total of 10,330 students,<sup>22</sup> or over one-sixth of the 64,304 high school enrollment.<sup>23</sup> Of the eight languages offered, Japanese came third in order of popularity preceeded by Spanish and French.

"Foreign languages are usually selected by the principal for the school curriculum on the basis of 1) demand made by the students; 2) availability of qualified personnel to teach the languages; and 3) the community or parental interest in particular languages."<sup>24</sup>

Thus it may be assumed that, to some extent at least, the schools offering Japanese will be those which have large enrollments of Japanese pupils. 1,463 pupils in all are studying Japanese, but not all these are of Japanese ancestry. The following table (Table XV) gives Hawaii's High Schools in rank order showing which offer Japanese to what level.

While it provides only a very approximate indicator, the table does suggest the schools where Japanese students and Japanese interests are likely to be present in significant proportions. It is worth noting that over half the schools offering Japanese appear in the top one-third of the ranked schools list. This may be due to the fact that the high

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 11-14.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

ranked schools have better facilities and are more able to obtain staff than the smaller, lower ranked schools which are geographically isolated. But as the schools are ranked according to the level of achievement of the pupils the fact that the higher ranked schools more commonly offer Japanese can be seen to imply that many Japanese have reached high levels of academic achievement, not to mention that they live in areas which feed these schools and which are, in the main, relatively well endowed socially and economically.

Some Intermediate Schools also offer Japanese classes but the Department of Education's report intimates that these are not of a high level and are not well articulated with the programs in the elementary or the secondary schools. In general it appears that many language teachers are inadequately trained and that the standard reached is low. However the existence of Japanese in the curriculum of the public schools is significant for this study in that it indicates that the Hawaiian school system is not entirely unwilling to include subject matter of a non-American, non-European nature.

The degree to which the state education system has become the patron of Asian languages, especially Japanese, can further be shown by the fact that since 1963 pupils in Japanese Language Schools have been given High School credit for their work. Proficiency examinations are conducted before credit is awarded and the pass rate is 40<sup>25</sup> out of 452 for 1963, indicating that the standards maintained in the Language Schools are

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 39.

reasonably high. Another example of cooperation is shown in the fact that only three teachers of Japanese in the public schools had not been students of language schools. This shows a reversal from the days when the public school teachers were antagonistic to the language schools and desired their abolition, and language school teachers were counted as disloyal to America. This reversal can not be attributed entirely to a liberalising of attitudes towards the Orientals in Hawaii, although the trend in this direction is undeniably present; the greater degree of integration and ability in English exhibited by the Oriental students of today, at least two generations away from Asia, must also be taken into account.

Comparing the situation today with that during World War II, we see that a much greater degree of tolerance towards Asian and Pacific languages has developed in the last twenty years. It is also worth noting that while in Fiji Hindi and Fijian are used in the public schools because these are the mother tongues of the pupils studying them, in Hawaii Japanese, Chinese, and Hawaiian are taught as foreign languages to children whose first, and in most cases only, language is English. Thus in Hawaii the school is beginning to take on the role of a preserver of the various cultures, indigenous and migrant, which could otherwise be lost in a wholesale "Americanisation" of the population. Such a role is not yet required of Fiji's schools although even they have the task of correcting corrupted Hindi and enriching impoverished Fijian.

Private Schools.

No data on the racial composition of private school enrollments in Hawaii has been collected by The Education Department since 1947. It is therefore impossible to comment at length on the role these schools are at present playing in race relations. It is, however, clear that they are influential as a general social status measure in the state. They play a much larger part in the total educational structure in Hawaii than do similar schools on the U.S. mainland; C.B. Stroupe, who conducted a short survey on reasons for attending private schools in Hawaii in 1955 reports that people who would send their children to public schools on the Mainland opt for private schools in Hawaii.<sup>26</sup> A variety of reasons are given for this preference but in general it seems that parents believe the private schools provide their children with useful social contacts and prestige. A.W. Lind speaks of a "continued deference" to private education. He says:

In 1960 roughly twice as high a proportion of our high school students (17.4%) were attending private schools as in the entire United States where the ratio was 9.4%. This anomaly becomes all the more striking in the case of our secondary students of Caucasian ancestry, of whom more than 29% were attending private schools, although even among our non-Caucasian students this proportion (14%) was significantly higher than in Continental U.S.<sup>27</sup>

In most cases today any desire of haoles to send their children to schools where there is a minimum of Orientals is not met by the private schools. Iolani and Mid-Pacific, for example, have very high proportions

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<sup>26</sup> Stroupe, C.B. Influx to the Private School on Oahu since 1900. M.A. Thesis, University of Hawaii, 1955.

<sup>27</sup> Lind, A.W. "Whither Education in Hawaii?" (An address to the Hawaii Congress of Parents and Teachers, April 24 1964.) mimeograph.

of Orientals on their rolls. Punahou, too, has dropped its quota system whereby no class was to have more than 10% of its pupils of non-haole parentage. Stroupe says:

In regard to policies for admission to Punahou, Dr. Fox (the President) pointed out that Punahou believes preference is due: 1. Descendants of its founders and financial benefactors; 2. Children of alumni; 3. Children of outstanding members of the community; 4. Children of outstanding ability. An I.Q. of 100 is required of entrants with some few exceptions. Its admissions are also affected by a policy of limiting Orientals. This policy has been relaxed in recent years from the 10 per cent that was followed earlier to about 18 percent today. Dr. Fox pointed out that the non-Caucasian enrollment would probably<sup>28</sup> always be limited, with 25 percent the probable upper limit.

While this statement would probably not be made today, after ten years of civil rights legislation, general opinion in Honolulu would hold it still to be true. It should be noted that, regardless of the 25 per cent limit, the list of preferences for admission will tend to restrict Orientals whenever there are more applicants than places. As the school has traditionally been a haole school, founders' and alumni's children will be haole, many outstanding people in the community are haole, or at least of the elite group composed mostly of haoles, part Hawaiians, and a few wealthy Chinese; it is on the basis of "outstanding ability" that many of the Orientals will be admitted to Punahou. Observers comment that in many cases the outstanding scholars and sportsmen at the school are non-haole.

It is clear that Punahou, with its tradition of eliteness and its general belief in its own high prestige, as indicated by Dr. Fox, stands

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 87.

as a symbol of prestige against which other schools are measured. According to Stroupe<sup>29</sup> Punahou, the most expensive school in Hawaii, has much lower tuition fees than comparable schools on the Mainland. For this reason, as well as the facts that public secondary schools were established late and the melange of cultural backgrounds slowed down learning, the public schools were able to thrive. Family incomes in Honolulu in 1962, for example, averaged \$6,990 a year with only 5.9% earning over \$15,000,<sup>30</sup> and it would therefore appear impossible for a large proportion to send their children to schools where tuition fees were around \$600 for day pupils.<sup>31</sup>

Stroupe suggested that "The prospects of competition from the long established schools in Honolulu should certainly deter private enterprise and even possibly restrain religious organisations from entering the field. This being the case it is highly probable that the number of students attending private schools on Oahu is rapidly approaching its upper limit."<sup>32</sup> Table XVI seems to indicate that he was right. Since 1950 there has been a steady and even decline in the proportion of the school population who are enrolled in private schools. This is probably at least partially accounted for by the development of dormitory towns around Honolulu where new, well-equipped public schools have been set up and have gained a reputation before private schools,

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., see Table I, p. 19.

<sup>30</sup> Hawaii Newspaper Agency. A Socio-Economic Profile of Honolulu Residential Districts, op. cit.

<sup>31</sup> From figures for Mainland private schools quoted by Stroupe, op. cit., p. 19.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., pp. 46-47.

with their limited resources, could be established. The fact that many of the newer residential areas have fairly high proportions of haoles may also have made elite private schools appear less necessary. However it may also fairly be construed that, as the differences between haoles and Orientals have decreased, with the rising economic levels and the greater assimilation of the latter, and the influx of more and more middle class haoles from the Mainland, fewer people consider public, exclusive education essential. Nevertheless the private school rolls are continuing to grow, albeit more slowly than those of the public school; their existence is still seen as a rung on the ladder to social "success", and they appear to continue to attract many of the able and most of the socially elite children in the state.

#### Conclusion.

The foregoing sections on Hawaii, limited and inconclusive as they have to be because of the limited availability of data, show how the present day educational system in Hawaii has become a servant to all races alike. The length of a group's stay in the islands appears, in most cases, to have had a considerable influence on the level of education they have reached, and race alone is no longer a criterion for exclusion from any school in the State except Kamehameha School. The Japanese, perhaps more than any other race, have permeated all levels of the educational system. They are present, although probably in disproportionately small numbers, in the most exclusive schools and make up a large part of the population in schools of all other rankings. The Chinese and Caucasians are most likely to be found in city schools

and, in the case of Caucasians in particular, in the private schools; and the Hawaiians (except for those who are included in Hawaii's elite society) and Filipinos are found in larger numbers in the schools with low ranks - often in rural areas.

This sort of distribution typifies a society where race itself does not act as a bar to advancement, but where the racial or cultural group into which an individual is born will act either as a stimulant or a depressant to advancement. However, as the Japanese case clearly shows, the cultural and social background of an individual in Hawaii is becoming more important than his ethnic backgrounds. Those Japanese children who attend Punahou or Roosevelt are there not because or in spite of the fact that they are Japanese, but rather because of the social class from which they come, the physical location of their home (which in turn is influenced by their parents' economic status).

Having reached this situation the Japanese of Hawaii are now able to rise or fall on the social ladder without very much hindrance from the fact of their racial background. There may be some small areas into which they cannot go because of their ancestry, but these are not particularly significant when taken with the whole range of opportunities. The important point is that the educational system by which they can advance is available to them; the Japanese have exhibited their ability to use this system and to put their achievements at school to good account when applying for employment. Contrasted with the Japanese are the Hawaiians who have not been able, for many reasons, including their decimation and prostration during the first century of racial contact,

to cope with the western-oriented educational system of Hawaii. Having become a depressed group they have the culture of the lower economic and social class everywhere, which acts as a negative factor in advancement. For the Hawaiians, as is true for many depressed groups, the existing school system is inadequate, for their social and cultural background makes it impossible for them to compete in it on an equal basis with others. However, it is wrong to indiscriminantly classify all Hawaiians in this way. While there probably are a large number of Hawaiians (according to general estimates by those working on the poverty programs, etc.) they are not the only racial group represented; the depressed group in Hawaii probably has members from almost every race present in the islands. Their problem is not race so much as culture. Inasmuch as educational achievement in Hawaii depends on social status rather than racial identity, the state has developed a society which could be designated as one where "multiple group affiliations"<sup>33</sup> will occur. However there are clearly still hints of a racially hierarchical society. True integration of the schools would be reflected in an approximately equal proportion of each race enrolled in every type of school. (This, of course, takes as given that there is no inherent difference in general ability level from race to race.) While this type of situation has not yet evolved, the school system does allow dialogue between the races and it is through this that multiple

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<sup>33</sup>Coser, op. cit., p. 154.

applications develop. It is probable that already a Japanese Punahou student, confronting a Japanese pupil of Hana High, is a Punahou student first and almost exclusively; the experiences and life expectancies of the two would be markedly different and the fact that they were both of Japanese ancestry would mean little more than that they were both Americans unless, for example, they were confronted with a situation where their "Japaneseness" was stressed by an outsider.

TABLE XII: OVERSEAS SCHOLARSHIPS, BY RACE OF HOLDER AND COUNTRY OF STUDY, 1962 AND 1965 - FIJI <sup>(a)</sup>

	N.Z.	Australia	India	U.K.	U.S.A.	Canada	Pakistan	Honiara	TOTAL
<u>1962</u> Fijians & Roturuans	20	16	1	13	3	-	-	2	55
Indians	20	8	19	4	6	3	1	-	61
Chinese	4	7	19	-	-	-	-	-	11
Europeans	6	9	-	-	1	-	-	-	16
TOTAL	50	40	20	17	10	3	1	2	143
<u>1965</u> Fijians & Roturuans	31	24	5	9	5	-	-	-	73
Indians	29	24	17	4	6	1	1	-	82
Chinese	1	6	-	-	1	-	-	-	8
Europeans	3	14	-	3	-	-	-	-	21
TOTAL	64	68	23	13	14	1	1	-	184

(a) From Annual Reports of the Department of Education 1963 and 1966.

TABLE XIII: SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AFTER AGE 14 AS A PERCENTAGE OF EACH AGE GROUP BY RACE, 1910-1960 - HAWAII (a)

		Hawaiian	Part Hawaiian	Portuguese	Other Caucasian	Chinese	Japanese	Korean	Filipino
1910	14-15	78.4	86.3	58.9	86.4	81.9	69.3	(1)	(2)
	16-17	38.4	57.4	15.5	63.8	57.3	29.9	(1)	21.7
	18-20	11.6	23.0	4.2	27.7	28.2	5.9	(1)	9.4
1920	14-15	78.4	97.6	66.7	91.9	91.1	77.0	(1)	61.9
	16-17	41.3	56.0	25.8	64.0	69.1	35.1	(1)	17.6
	18-20	13.9	21.0	8.3	12.7	33.7	12.4	20.2	1.7
1930	14-15	73.5	81.6	73.7	92.6	87.8	85.9	86.6	66.4
	16-17	37.0	55.4	35.6	70.2	76.7	54.3	68.0	24.2
	18-20	14.0	29.2	14.7	10.6	48.1	26.2	37.5	1.0
1940	14-15	81.3	85.9	91.7		98.7	95.9	(2)	89.9
	16-17	38.3	58.8	58.6		88.9	72.9	(2)	50.3
	18-20	8.6	18.8	7.5		45.2	24.4	(2)	12.0
1950	14-15	96.5		94.9		99.0	97.5	97.6	(1)
	16-17	78.1		91.0		93.6	94.1	86.2	(1)
	18-20	14.5		13.9		50.5	38.8	26.2	(1)
1960	14-19	(2)		43.1(3)		89.7(3)	80.8(3)	(2)	74.2(3)

(a) Source: U.S. Census data.

(1) Groups with a base less than 100 not given.

(2) Not available.

(3) Total enrollments 14+ as a percentage of the total population

14-19.

TABLE XIV: PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS IN RANK ORDER BY COUNTY, 1966, AND  
ENROLLMENT, GRADE 10-12, 1960 - HAWAII

School	Rank	County	1960 Enrollment
Roosevelt	1	Honolulu	1783
Kalani	2	Honolulu	1382
Kaimuki	3	Honolulu	2308
Radford	4	Honolulu (rural) <sup>(1)</sup>	1290
Kailua	5	Honolulu (rural)	1516
McKinley	6	Honolulu	2458
Hilo	7	Hawaii	1977
Pahoa	8	Hawaii	108
Leilehua	8	Honolulu (rural)	999
Baldwin	9	Maui	965
Campbell	9	Honolulu (rural)	(2)
Laupahoehoe	10	Hawaii	147
Lahinaluna	10	Maui	447
Kauai	11	Kauai	600
Castle	13	Honolulu (rural)	716
Waipahu	13	Honolulu (rural)	1268
Maui	14	Maui	545
Aiea	15	Honolulu (rural)	(2)
Waimea	16	Kauai	548
Farrington	16	Honolulu	2947
Kapaa	17	Kauai	312
Kau	17	Hawaii	188
Konawaena	18	Hawaii	461
Honakaa	18	Hawaii	375
Lanai	18	Maui	144
Kohala	19	Hawaii	238
Waianae	20	Honolulu (rural)	648
Waialua	21	Honolulu (rural)	375
Kahuku	22	Honolulu (rural)	333
Molokai	23	Maui	221
Hana	24	Maui	49

(1) Rural schools on Oahu include all those outside the standard Metropolitan Area of Honolulu.

(2) These schools are new and were not in existence in 1960.

TABLE XV: HIGH SCHOOLS OFFERING JAPANESE  
1965 - HAWAII <sup>(a)</sup>

Rank	School	Years of Japanese
1	Roosevelt	2
2	Kalani	-
3	Kaimuki	2
4	Radford	-
5	Kailua	Conversation
6	McKinley	3
7	Hilo	1
8	Pahoa	-
9	Leilehua	1
9	Baldwin	2
9	Campbell	-
10	Laupahoehoe	-
10	Lahinaluna	-
11	Kauai	-
13	Castle	1
13	Waipahu	-
14	Maui	2
15	Aiea	2
16	Waimea	2
16	Farrington	3
17	Kapaa	-
17	Kau	-
18	Konawaena	-
18	Honakaa	-
18	Lanai	-
19	Kohala	-
20	Waianae	-
21	Waialua	-
22	Kahuku	-
23	Molokai	-
24	Hana	1

(a)

Source: Unpublished rankings of Department of Education and Hawaii Department of Education. The Status of the Foreign Language Program In Hawaii's Public Schools. Op. cit., pp. 26-27.

TABLE XVI: PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOL ENROLLMENT  
1940-1960 - HAWAII

Year	Public	Private	Total	Percent Private
1940	92,424	19,836	112,260	17.7 <sup>(a)</sup>
1945	81,306	18,523	99,829	18.5 <sup>(a)</sup>
1950	93,903	24,196	118,099	20.4 <sup>(b)</sup>
1955	119,054	26,740	145,794	18.3 <sup>(b)</sup>
1960	143,465	30,038	173,503	17.3 <sup>(b)</sup>
1965	160,681	32,366	193,047	16.8 <sup>(c)</sup>

(a) Stroupe, op. cit., Table V, p. 45.

(b) Unpublished material from Hawaii Department of Education.

(c) Hawaii Department of Education. Statistics on Public and Private Schools Membership, 1965-66. Honolulu, 1966.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF EDUCATION AND POPULATION

#### AS A FACTOR INFLUENCING RACE RELATIONS

Population data have a bearing on race relations and also on the role the school plays in the race relations situation in a society. For example, if one race in the population has a low median age this will tend to depress the economic status of the group, for there will be a small proportion of their group in the economically productive adult category. Where such a situation prevails the schools must be equipped to serve the best interests of the large number of pupils who will enroll, especially where compulsory school attendance is enforced. The schools may, in some cases, have a difficult task to perform if the majority of pupils come from groups where there is a relatively small number of older people to provide a high standard of living for their children. In many such cases the family background is not as stimulating for the child as it would be in a more mature population and there is pressure on the children to leave school early and swell the ranks of the economically productive. Furthermore in a society with a proportionately small productive population there is likely to be less finance available through taxation for education, a factor which is

clearly a problem when there is a large childhood population in an area to be educated. Thus small initial funds must be spread to cover a larger proportion of recipients than in a more mature population.

AGE STRUCTURE

Table XVII and XVIII show how the components of Hawaii's population differ from each other and how the overall pattern of age distribution in Hawaii differs from that in Fiji.

TABLE XVII: MEDIAN AGE BY RACE, 1950-1960 - HAWAII<sup>(a)</sup>

	1950			1960		
	Male	Female	TOTAL	Male	Female	TOTAL
Total	26.2	23.6	25.0	24.5	24.1	24.3
Hawaiian <sup>(1)</sup>	16.0	17.1	16.5	32.8	32.2	32.6
Part Hawaiian				15.0	16.2	15.6
Caucasian	27.1	28.3	27.7	22.6	25.1	24.1
Chinese	28.3	25.5	26.9	29.3	28.3	28.8
Filipino	37.7	15.9	26.8	38.6	16.8	27.9
Japanese	25.3	24.6	24.8	28.4	29.2	28.8

(a)Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, 1950 and 1960.

(1)The 1950 Census makes no distinction between Hawaiians and part Hawaiians on this point.

TABLE XVIII: APPROXIMATE MEDIAN AGE, FIJIAN AND INDIAN, 1956 - FIJI<sup>(b)</sup>

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Fijian	18 years	18 years	18 years
Indian	15 years	14 years	14.5 years

(b)Source: Fiji Census, 1956.

It can be seen that Hawaii's population as a whole is more mature than that of Fiji. The three best established groups, the Caucasians, Chinese, and Japanese, have median ages which are fairly closely in line with the average for the population as a whole, but tend to be a little higher than it. It can be assumed therefore that the children of these three groups will have better chances of receiving adequate financial backing and mature guidance than would children from a group such as the Hawaiians where the median age is very much lower, indicating that the adult Hawaiians have more children to support per capita. It is interesting to note that a study of the median ages of each group as a whole could lead to misinterpretations regarding the Filipino component of the population. While the average median age for this group is comparable with that of the total population, the distribution of Filipinos shows an imbalance between the sexes, with an older male population due to the extensive importation of male Filipino labourers.<sup>1</sup>

Both components of the Fijian population exhibit median ages much lower than the average in Hawaii. The relatively recent upsurge in the Indian population has resulted in a very low median age for that group, and while the Fijians have a slightly more mature population, it too is low when compared with Hawaii. The implications of this for Fiji as a whole are quite plain. The colony is not economically advanced and therefore is limited in the amount of revenue available

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The 1960 Census reports the total U.S. median age for Whites as 29.4 for males and 31.1 for females. It can be seen that Hawaii's population is moving towards this national average.

for education and this problem, as can now be seen, is aggravated by the fact that a small adult population must bear the burden of financing education for a large number of children. Financial aid from the British Colonial Office may be a partial solution to the problem but it is at best a very temporary one. The large populations under 15 in Fiji will result over the next few years in an increased labour force which will not easily be satisfied, and prospects of continuing rapidly increasing population. This situation has implications for the future race relations of the colony. With a large population more and more individuals will have to leave the rural areas and search for work in the towns. In a state of increased economic competition the two races, previously kept fairly separate and thus not likely to experience a clash of interests which could not be controlled, will be brought into closer contact which might result in more overt conflict than is observed in Fiji at present. Thus, with small resources and a small proportion of wage earners, the people of Fiji are faced with the task of educating a large future generation so that they may take an active part in a modern economy and so that they will be equipped to deal with increased political independence. The task is not a simple one and the matter of racial differences acts as a factor to complicate it.

#### RACIAL DISTRIBUTION

As has been shown in earlier chapters, the history of immigration into Fiji and Hawaii differed not in type but in degree and variety. Whereas both areas were first "invaded" by Caucasian traders and

missionaries, then by administrators and plantation personnel, and then by immigrant labourers from Asia, Fiji did not receive the diversity of Asian workers that Hawaii did. The accompanying tables (Tables XIX and XX) show a gradual development of the present day population composition of the two areas. Discussion of the material presented in these tables has already been included at several points throughout this study, but it bears repeating that the diversity of ethnic types which now constitute the Hawaiian population has resulted in a situation where racial distinctions and segregation in schools are too difficult and costly to be maintained. While distinctions are made by the man in the street between Haoles, Orientals, and Hawaiians, widespread intermarriage has made even this type of distinction invalid on anything but the broadest level of generalisation. Even in official statistical data it is becoming more and more difficult to distinguish ethnic groups; while it is general policy to describe an individual's racial background by the race of the father, it has been the practice where the father is Caucasian to designate the children by their mother's race. This has been further complicated by the fact that many parents of this generation's children are not descended from a single ethnic stock but have two or more ethnic components in their ethnic makeup. Furthermore it has become less and less significant to know the race of individuals and more interesting to know what type of cultural and social class background they were brought up in. There are many designated as Hawaiian, for example, who have had little or no contact with anything but the superficial trimmings of the present

day Hawaiian culture. Among the Japanese it may be assumed that the economic, social, and educational status of an individual's parents will have more bearing on his achievements than the fact that he is ethnically Japanese.

In Fiji the situation is rather different. The racial group into which an individual is born plays an important role in his future life. Within each racial group there are different status levels so that an Indian from a lawyer's family will have more opportunity than one whose parents lease a small acreage of cane land in the hinterland of Ba. Nevertheless whatever the economic and social position of the individual's family, his ethnic identity will play a large part in determining his style of life and his position in the society at large.

Apart from the obvious difference in the number and variety of racial migrant groups in Hawaii and Fiji, the different proportions of Caucasians should be remarked. In Hawaii where the Caucasians now share with the Japanese the distinction of being approximately one-third of the population, they will play a very significant part as a reference group for the other areas. In Fiji the proportion of Caucasians has remained below 3% for seventy-five years and shows little sign of rapid increase.

Another noticeable difference between the two populations is the position of the indigenous group. While both Hawaiians and Fijians may have been displaced to some extent by later arrivals on their shores so that present day occupational statistics show them lagging behind economically, the position of the indigenous group is markedly different

in each population. In both areas the indigenous people suffered loss of numbers due to the introduction of alien diseases, weapons, and ways of life; but the decline has been much more marked in Hawaii where less protection was afforded the Hawaiians than in Fiji where traditional culture has been preserved to what some believe to be a stultifying degree. In the case of both countries the decline in the indigenous population gave the major immigrant groups, the Japanese and Indians, a chance to increase rapidly their proportions in the population and, particularly in Fiji, to establish distinctive niches for themselves in the occupational and social structure of the society. In Hawaii, the Japanese position was not quite as clear cut because much of the economic structure was controlled by the haole elite with the gaps being filled by those earlier arrivals, the first Chinese and Portuguese. Furthermore the high proportion of Japanese in the society during the first third of this century was eroded by the introduction of other labourers, also by the increase of persons of mixed racial ancestry, and by an increased migration of mainland Americans. For these reasons, the Japanese in Hawaii have not come into as much conflict with the indigenous peoples, although they, and to a lesser extent the other Oriental groups, have been seen by many as a threat to American democracy and financial interests. The present day racial complexion of Hawaii does not provide a clear cut basis for conflict as there is no danger of one group gaining ascendancy in the political arena and debate must therefore take place between different interest groups rather than racial groups. Thus while the growth of

Hawaii's population has taken place without any actual large scale protection being afforded to special racial groups, and thus at the expense of the Hawaiians themselves, this has resulted in the development of a society in which conflict between clearly defined groups which claim the total commitment of their members cannot flourish. In Fiji the protection of the Fijians has tended to emphasize differences between them and the Indians, has protected them from harsh and full scale exposure to alien forces and has provided them with adequate land resources to ensure that their way of life could proceed with as little interruption as possible.

#### INTERMARRIAGE

Another factor which contributed to the present day differences between the Hawaiians and Fijian was the amount of intermarriage which took place. It is difficult to determine exactly how extensive intermarriage has been for several reasons. For example the earliest Caucasians to reach both island groups can be expected to have left offspring behind them and this type of connection continued to take place for many years. The children of unions between most sailors or traders and native women would have been brought up in the indigenous society and it is highly possible that their mixed ancestry was not remembered in later generations. The descendants of this group are in fact not particularly significant because they were culturally Fijian or Hawaiian and thus did not create a distinct ethnic group. However at the present time the census data, one of the main sources of materials on population, acts as an agent to conceal more important

examples of race mixture. In the U.S. Census, mixed parentage is defined as follows: "mixtures of Caucasian and other races are classified according to the race of the non-white parent. Mixtures of non-white races, other than Hawaiian, are classified according to the race of the father."<sup>2</sup> Hawaiian mixtures are all classified as part Hawaiian. Thus it is difficult to ascertain the extent which involves intermarriage and which groups are most commonly involved. In the past separate figures were given for Hawaiians and part Hawaiians and these indicated that a majority of all those who had Hawaiian blood were aware that they were of mixed ancestry. However, there is reason to believe that many of those who claim to be pure Hawaiian are, in fact, not. Intermarriage is not unusual in Hawaii, it has been going on ever since there were two races in the islands, and was continued by the policy of bringing Oriental men to work on the plantations but not to encourage women to come. Hormann notes that over the 20 years of the 1930's and 1940's, 31.3% of the almost 200,000 children born were of mixed ancestry.<sup>3</sup> Lind shows that 37.6% of all marriages in the period 1960-1964 were interracial. Among these the percentage of each group marrying out of their own ethnic group varied considerably from 15.7% of Japanese grooms to 85.9% of Hawaiian grooms. On the whole those who belonged to small ethnic groups tended to marry out of their group more than those from numerically stronger groups. Thus

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<sup>2</sup>U.S. Bureau of Census - 1960 Census, Hawaii, p. VIII

<sup>3</sup>Hormann, B. "Racial Complexion of Hawaii's Future Population". Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory, Report No. 13, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, 1948. p. 11.

the Japanese and Caucasians married their "own kind" more than any other group. It appears that out-marriages took place mostly between individuals from groups which were of similar social standing.<sup>4</sup>

In Fiji, also, the census tends to obscure the type of inter-marriage being contracted. On the whole intermarriage is rare. The census includes all those of some Chinese ancestry under the heading of Chinese, giving no information on how many are of mixed parentage, nor of what ethnic backgrounds are involved. For the rest there is a category, part European, which does not indicate the full ethnic background of the individuals included therein. Only a little more than 2.0% of Fiji's population are returned in this category. Cato reports that Fijians will not admit to Indian parentage and thus are likely to falsify their census returns on this matter. The same writer could report no known cases of Fijian-Indian children being born in wedlock. In his field work he questioned Fijians on their attitudes to Fijian-Indian marriages and found that the majority were emphatically against it and said they would prevent their children from intermarrying.<sup>5</sup> Thus the major groups in Fiji are still intact and distinguishable; there is little or no bridging of the gulf between the Fijians and Indians by means of intermarriage. As was pointed out earlier this situation has made it easy to maintain separate schools

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<sup>4</sup>Lind, A.W. Hawaii's People, Chapter 5, p. 10, in manuscript form Third Edition unpublished, 1967.

<sup>5</sup>Cato, A.C. "Fijians and Fiji-Indians: A Culture-Contact Problem in the South Pacific." Oceania, Vol. XXVI, September, 1955. p. 19.

for the three major groups with the small groups of Chinese and other islanders fitting in where best they could; at the same time the school system thus organised acted to keep young people of the different races apart and provided little opportunity for existing stereotypes to break down, or for boy-girl relationships to develop across ethnic lines.

Many Indians still arrange their children's marriages; even dating within the Indian community is strictly controlled and discouraged.

At Nasinu Training College, one of the oldest interracial educational institutions in Fiji, the Fijian and Indian students eat separately and organise social functions along racial lines. A rumour in the 1950's that Indians and Fijians at the college were dating caused a local scandal which was debated in the newspapers.

#### Geographical Distribution.

The distribution of population throughout an area can also affect race relations. If there is an equal distribution of all races in all areas it can be assumed that race has ceased to be an important criterion for judging people in the community. If, on the other hand, groups are distributed in such a way that all of one race are urban dwelling and the other rural dwelling, or one group is concentrated in particular regions uninhabited by the other, there will be little basis of shared experience and mutual distrust is likely to arise even if it were not traditionally present. The urban-rural distinction can also be significant when the age distribution in the towns is compared with that in the country. All over the world there is a movement towards the towns and this is not absent in Hawaii or even in Fiji; the

movement comes, in the main, in the early adult years when people embarking on careers move away from home in search of employment. However the school can also play a part especially in a country such as Fiji where the main towns are few and offer the best educational facilities, especially at the higher levels.

Material on distribution by race, age, and geographical location is a little scattered for Hawaii. While the 1950 Census gave the distribution by island and race, it does not include an age breakdown on this basis. On the other hand the 1960 Census provides an urban-rural breakdown by age but not by race. By examining all this material however, it is possible to gain an overall picture. In 1950 the Japanese were over-represented on the three islands where they had been most concentrated during their plantation days. They were particularly underrepresented on Molokai and Lanai where pineapple plantations predominate with the workers being mainly Filipinos. The Japanese were also slightly underrepresented on Oahu, although they were the largest single racial group on that island. Overall the Japanese sex ratios were fairly normal indicating that this portion of the population was well established and no longer much affected by the immigrant phase. The Chinese and Caucasian groups were strongly represented on Oahu as would be expected from their predominantly urban occupations. The most significant point, however, was the great extent to which all races were distributed throughout the entire state, with the notable exception of the Hawaiian preserve of Niihau. Table XXI shows the proportions of each race which were to be found in the

various urban and rural categories in 1960. From it we see that the Japanese were strongly represented in the central city areas as were the Chinese. This suggests that these two racial groups would contribute strongly to the older central schools while the Caucasian group was to be found in the newer areas designated as urban fringe and would thus contribute considerably to the newer public schools. As we saw in the previous chapter, however, this would be tempered by the degree to which the various races tended to send their children to private schools. The Japanese tend to predominate too in the small rural towns. However, once again the various races are on the whole fairly evenly distributed throughout all parts of the society; there are exceptions such as the Chinese who are predominantly urban dwellers, and the Filipinos who are generally concentrated in rural and small urban areas.

It was suggested at the beginning of this paper that the positioning of schools might act as a factor in determining the movement of the population. This has been found to be true in some underdeveloped countries,<sup>6</sup> where school facilities beyond a certain level are available only in the larger towns. In Hawaii, which of course does not qualify as an underdeveloped area, this does not appear to be markedly so.

Jitsuichi Masuoka, in a study of the immigrant family, showed that in the 1940's at least, education did not act as a primary agent in

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<sup>6</sup> e.g., Western Samoa.

drawing people away from the plantations. He suggests three alternative ways in which the Japanese in particular left the plantation. The first and most common method was "cooperative living without an immediate plan to leave the plantation". In this case several related nuclear families lived together keeping household expenditure to a minimum so that money could be saved for the whole family to leave. A second method was called "the specialized frontier method" and involved a skilled member of the family moving to the city where he gradually earned enough to bring other members of the family who also worked, increasing the family income until all could be removed from the plantation. The third method does suggest the role education can play in this process. It has been called "the clinging vine method" and consisted of one family member being sent to the University, obtaining a well-paid position, and then assisting his younger siblings through university until enough of them were financially secure and the whole family was able to leave the plantation. There is insufficient data readily available to show whether this type of practice is still continued (it is doubtful whether it would affect the Japanese today as much as the Filipinos), but it should be noted that in the second two cases the people who made the first move away from the plantation were likely to be young adults.

In Fiji a less equable geographic distribution of the races can

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<sup>7</sup> Masuoka, Jitsuichi. "The Life Cycle of an Immigrant Institution in Hawaii", Social Forces, 23 (1944-45), pp. 60-64.

be observed. As has been shown previously, the Fijian component of the population has been encouraged to remain on the land and has had no dearth of land to force him into the towns, although with pressure of an increased population and rising expectations this is changing. Fijians are spread throughout the colony but there are some areas where Indians are present only in very small numbers. This is a factor which has contributed towards the continued separation of the two races and has helped to justify the continued existence of separate school systems. Some areas, Kadavu and Lau provinces for example, have predominantly Fijian populations and while there are no areas, except Rotuma<sup>8</sup> where Fijians are almost wholly absent, they are well outnumbered by Indians in newly settled areas such as Nadi where Indian cane farmers and merchants predominate. Furthermore the Caucasian population is only sparsely represented outside the main commercial, administrative, and mill centres so that there are parts of Fiji, especially the smaller outer islands and the remote highlands of Viti Levu, where European culture and Indian competition have had very limited influence.

As we have seen, during the past 30 years the Indian population in Fiji has shown a rapidly increasing interest in education as a means to improved economic and social status. This increase in the demand for education has been accompanied by an increase in the proportion of Indians who are resident in urban areas. As Fiji is still not highly

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<sup>8</sup> An island to the north with a Polynesian population.

urbanised, data has been collected to show the proportion of Fijians and Indians in Suva rather than to consider all the lesser towns which are, in the majority of cases, little more than market and mill centres and tend to be largely Indian in population.<sup>9</sup> From Table XXII below it can be seen that a larger proportion of Indians than Fijians were resident in Suva in 1956, and that the proportion of Indians had been increasing at a faster rate than had the Fijian proportion.

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TABLE XXII: COMPARISON OF DISTRIBUTION OF FIJIANS AND INDIANS  
1936 and 1956<sup>(a)</sup>

		% of Race Living in Suva		% of Total Fijian and Indian population in Fiji	
		<u>1936</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1936</u>	<u>1956</u>
Fijians	M	3.9	4.6	51.1	50.6
	F	3.2	6.0	48.9	49.4
Indians	M	9.1	11.7	56.7	52.2
	F	5.0	11.1	43.2	47.8 <sup>(1)</sup>

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(a)Source: Fiji Census, 1936 and 1956.

(1)This table makes no allowance for the other, small components of Fiji's population.

It would no doubt be wrong to assume that this was due entirely to the attraction of education facilities in Suva, for Indians left the rural areas for a number of reasons, mainly economic, but the fact that residence in Suva facilitated attendance at secondary school would not have been overlooked and the larger the number of Indians in one place the more feasible it was to set up a secondary school - something

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<sup>9</sup> e.g., Nadi, Ba, Sigatoka, Lautoka.

which would have been beyond the resources of a scattered rural community.

In 1936 Suva's Fijian and Indian communities were both made up of above average proportions of young people between the ages of 15 and 29 years. This group included those who had left their rural homes in search of greater economic opportunities in the city. Some came merely to earn enough money to pay for an immediate need but many stayed on to take up permanent residence. As the cohorts showing above average proportions in Suva include the 10 to 14 age group, it may also be assumed that some older children were sent to Suva to continue their education. The strength of kinship ties in the Fijian society would make it possible for a child to be sent to Suva to stay with an aunt and attend primary school. In the case of the Indian population all age cohorts between 20 and 40 years show higher proportions in Suva than in Fiji as a whole, suggesting that many Indian families had been established in Suva by 1936.<sup>10</sup> There were also many Fijian families in Suva; Nayacakolau states that in a survey conducted in 528 households in Suva in 1959 it was found that 17% had been residents in Suva for more than 25 years.<sup>11</sup>

The 1956 Census shows that a larger proportion of both populations was living in Suva but little change had taken place in the age

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<sup>10</sup>Fiji Legislative Council. A Report On the Fiji Census, 1936. Council Paper No. 42, 1936. Suva, 1936.

<sup>11</sup>Nayacakolau, R. "Urban Fijians in Suva" in Spoehr, A., (ed.) Pacific Port Towns and Cities, Honolulu, 1963, pp. 33-41.

distribution of each population. A general ageing had taken place resulting in older age cohorts being over represented in Suva compared to Fiji as a whole, and once again the Indian Suva population was a little older than that of the Fijians. The 10-14 cohort had ceased to be above average in size in Suva which tends to suggest that educational facilities at this level were no longer being sought in Suva, but available in the other districts. In both 1936 and 1956 the Fijian component exhibited a larger proportion in Suva in the adolescent and young adults cohorts than at any other. The Indians, by comparison, although overrepresented in the same cohorts, were not as severely underrepresented in the infancy and childhood cohorts. This indicates that as late as 1956 Fijians still tended to migrate to the city between the ages of 15 and 29 while more and more Indian families were permanently settled in Suva. Nayacakolau's survey showed that 25% of all the Fijian households in the sample had been established only five years or less.<sup>12</sup> From time to time Fiji's newspapers discuss the problem of Fijian youths who gravitate towards the city, but, unequipped to perform any skilled occupation, are unemployed and become delinquent. It can be seen that these young men's lack of training is a hindrance which does not face the same proportion of Indians, many of whom are city-born and have had the advantages of Suva's wider educational opportunities, or may be assisted in gaining employment through their father's business associates.

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

TABLE XIX: POPULATION BY RACE FOR SELECTED YEARS, 1853-1960 - HAWAII (a)

	1853	1872	1884	1900	1920	1940	1960
Hawaiian	70,036	49,044	40,014	29,797	23,723	14,375	11,294
Part Hawaiian	983	2,487	4,218	9,957	18,027	49,935	91,109
Caucasian	1,687	2,944	16,939	26,819	49,140	103,791	202,230
Chinese	364	2,038	18,254	25,767	23,507	28,774	38,197
Japanese	-	-	116	61,111	109,274	157,905	203,455
Korean	-	-	-	-	4,950	6,851	n.a.
Filipino	5	-	-	-	21,031	52,569	69,070
Puerto Rican	-	-	-	-	5,602	8,296	n.a.
Other	62	384	1,397	881	658	834	17,417
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>73,137</b>	<b>56,897</b>	<b>80,578</b>	<b>154,234</b>	<b>255,912</b>	<b>423,330</b>	<b>632,772</b>
<u>PERCENTAGES</u>							
Hawaiian	95.8	86.2	49.7	19.3	9.3	3.4	1.8
Part Hawaiian	1.3	4.4	5.2	6.4	7.0	11.8	14.4
Caucasian	2.3	5.2	20.6	17.3	19.2	24.5	32.0
Chinese	0.5	3.6	22.6	16.7	9.2	6.8	6.0
Japanese	-	-	0.1	39.6	42.7	37.3	32.2
Korean	-	-	-	-	1.9	1.6	n.a.
Filipino	-	-	-	-	8.2	12.4	10.9
Puerto Rican	-	-	-	-	2.2	2.0	n.a.
Other	0.1	0.7	1.7	0.5	0.2	0.2	2.7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>99.8</b>	<b>100.1</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

(a)Source: Lind, Hawaii's People, and U.S. Census 1960.

TABLE XX: POPULATION BY RACE, FOR SELECTED YEARS 1881-1960 - FIJI (a)

	1881	1901	1921	1946	1960
Fijians	115,635	94,397	84,475	118,070	167,473
Rotumans	2,450	2,230	2,235	3,313	(1)
Indians	442	17,105	60,634	120,414	197,952
Europeans	2,307	2,459	3,878	4,594	10,667
Part Europeans	753	1,516	2,781	6,142	8,696
Chinese	-	-	910	2,874	4,943
Other Islanders	5,352	1,950	1,564	3,717	11,184
Others	156	467	789	714	103
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>127,095</b>	<b>120,124</b>	<b>157,266</b>	<b>259,638</b>	<b>401,018</b>
	<u>PERCENTAGES</u>				
Fijians	91.0	78.6	53.7	45.4	41.8
Rotumans	1.9	1.7	1.4	1.3	(1)
Indians	0.3	14.3	38.5	46.3	49.3
Europeans	1.8	2.0	2.5	1.7	2.7
Part Europeans	0.6	1.3	1.8	2.3	2.2
Chinese	-	-	0.6	1.1	1.2
Other Islanders	4.2	1.7	1.0	1.4	2.8
Others	0.1	0.4	0.5	0.2	0.0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>99.9</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>99.7</b>	<b>100.0</b>

(a) Source: Ward, Land Use and Population in Fiji.

(1) Not given separately - included in Other Pacific Islanders total.

TABLE XXI: POPULATION PERCENTAGES BY RACE  
AND URBAN-RURAL DISTRIBUTION, 1960 - HAWAII<sup>(a)</sup>

	Caucasians	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese	Negro	All Other
TOTAL	32.0	6.0	10.9	32.2	0.8	18.0
URBAN	31.0	7.5	9.0	34.0	0.6	17.9
<u>Urbanised Areas</u>	31.0	9.1	8.3	34.8	0.7	16.2
Central Cities	27.3	10.2	7.5	37.0	0.4	17.6
Urban Fringe	50.0	2.9	12.6	23.4	1.8	9.4
<u>Other Urban</u>	31.2	3.2	10.8	32.0	0.5	22.4
Places 10,000+	38.2	4.1	6.1	30.8	0.5	20.3
Places 2500- 10,000	20.0	1.8	18.4	33.8	0.4	25.6
RURAL	35.0	1.4	17.1	26.1	1.3	19.0
Places 1,000- 2,500	21.7	1.3	25.0	36.8	0.1	15.2
Other Rural	38.7	1.5	14.9	23.1	1.7	20.1
Numerical Total	202,230	38,197	69,070	203,455	4,943	114,877

(a)Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, 1960.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS A FACTOR INFLUENCING RACE RELATIONS

An area where the state of a society's race relations can profitably be examined is that of the occupational distribution of the various groups within the overall structure. In a society where the caste system in its ideal form was observable all members of one group would be found filling all the positions of a particular occupational and status group. On the other hand, in a society where race is in no way an influence on the distribution of individuals one would expect to find each racial group equally represented in each position. Consideration of the occupational distribution will also help to illustrate the effects of differing types of education on the various subgroups. Thus a study of the Fijian and Hawaiian occupational distributions will serve to show how the educational facilities described in the previous chapters have helped to create present day race relations in the two areas.

The material to be studied is limited by the availability of comparable sources of data. In the case of the Hawaiian situation much of the material used is taken direct from A.W. Lind's paper entitled "Mounting the Educational Ladder in Hawaii" where he discusses the

topic of the distribution of people in the various occupational categories from the 1950 U.S. Census. Unfortunately more recent data is unavailable due to the fact that the 1960 Census returns in which data on Hawaii, by then a state of the union, was not reported with reference to the state's peculiar racial composition. The U.S. Census, however, has the advantage of presenting occupational breakdowns in a manner which suggests the relative socio-economic statuses of the various groups. In the case of Fiji, however, occupational data is normally given on the basis of the industry in which the individuals are involved, such as agriculture or food processing, and only in the 1956 Census is any data available which indicates the status of the positions the various groups occupy. It is therefore not possible to conduct as complete a comparison as might be desired. Changes in the occupations of the major groups over the period are nevertheless discernable from the data available on Fiji and it is worthwhile to note that some industries appear to be almost the sole domain of one or other group. The 1956 material has the advantage of showing quite clearly the relative statuses of the three most significant groups in the colony.

#### PLANTATION-EMPLOYMENT

As we have seen, the immigrant labourers arriving in Hawaii and Fiji were in the main employed on plantations while they remained under contract. The way of life in Fiji<sup>1</sup> as described by contemporary

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<sup>1</sup> Burton, E.G., The Fiji of Today, and Chapple W., Fiji, Auckland, 1921

observers appears to have been similar to that experienced by racial migrants on Hawaii's plantations as described by A.W. Lind<sup>2</sup> and others.

Indians arriving in Fiji in the 1880's were immediately sent to work on plantations where conditions were often far from satisfactory. They were housed together in barracks known as lines, worked from morning to night in the fields and had their lives regulated according to the rules of the plantation. They had been promised wages of one shilling a day, which was considered a good wage in those days,<sup>3</sup> but this was seldom earned because a system of tasking was developed (a similar system called "uka pau" existed in Hawaii) whereby the men were paid by the task rather than the time worked. It was impossible to make a fortune on the plantation and in fact many workers died from overwork or poor food. Suicide was also reputed to be widespread.

Because the Indian workers came from many different walks of life, from different language groups, from different castes, and from different parts of India, there was a considerable degree of disorganisation in the lines. Missionary observers reported sexual laxity and "immorality" of various types. There was very little internal organisation provided by the workers themselves. At first there were apparently no established controls nor any leadership. However, frequent cases of over-tasking led to semi-organised reactions from the Indians on many occasions but

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<sup>2</sup>"Hawaii Backgrounds: The Plantation Frontier". Mimeograph [nd]

<sup>3</sup>As noted in Chapter II, Chinese labourers first came to Hawaii under three year contracts providing for a wage of \$36 per year. Sleeping quarters and food were supplied by the plantation. Kimura, in "Psychological Aspects of Japanese Immigration" notes that Japanese contract labourers were paid \$15 per month in the 1890's.

it was often found that recourse to the law was not satisfactory in a society where the courts were sympathetic to the plantation managers rather than the appellants.<sup>4</sup> Cases of mistreatment resulting in attacks on the overseer were reported but on the whole the Indians struggled with their work, tolerated their unsatisfactory living conditions, and saved what little they could for the day when their indenture period would be over. Few remained on the plantations after their first five year term had been served. They had to spend another five years in Fiji before they received a free passage for their return to India but the aim of this ruling - to maintain a large and experienced labour force on the plantations and to reduce the need for constant importation of new supplies of labourers - was not realized. Instead the "freed" Indians settled on land they leased from the Fijians, or took up hawking, in order to accumulate money to take home with them while avoiding the restrictions and regimentation of the lines. The actual result of this was that many Indians who may well have intended to return home became established in Fiji with a little plot of land and prospects of relative prosperity and were reluctant to return to an uncertain future in India. It is estimated that by 1911 three-quarters of all the time-expired Indians were settled on the land and that 60% of all immigrants stayed in Fiji.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Gillion, Fiji's Indian Migrants, p. 113.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 136.

MOVEMENT AWAY FROM THE PLANTATIONS

On the expiration of the contract, the majority of workers in both Hawaii and Fiji left their plantation to find new employment. In many cases this was seen only as a temporary phase in which to earn money to take home to India, China, or Japan. In Hawaii some immigrants came to the rural districts to become farmers, but the Chinese in particular moved to the cities to take up work as "laundry men, tailors, dressmakers, cooks, bakers, waiters and servants"<sup>6</sup> or to start businesses as vegetable vendors or store keepers. In Fiji farming on leased land was the most common occupation, although some freed workers became hawkers or tradesmen serving the plantation lines, or even established themselves in the towns. On the whole, however, the free immigrants, who had come from India at their own expense, cornered the retail market. Thus those Indians who had worked on plantations were inclined to remain in rural and agricultural pursuits rather than move immediately to the cities; this was also true, though probably to a lesser extent, of the later groups of plantation workers in Hawaii.

The different methods of sugar production and the different patterns of immigration experienced in Hawaii and Fiji resulted in a different way of life for those employed in the sugar industry in the two areas. In Fiji small tenant farmers grew cane which was processed at the company-owned mill. Their lives were regulated by the growing of cane and their incomes by world prices and the sugar company, but they were independent

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<sup>6</sup>Fuchs, Hawaii Pono, p. 91.

farmers none the less. As their farms were small, sophisticated mechanism had not been introduced. In Hawaii, on the other hand, the sugar companies organized cane production on a large scale. They needed labour, as we have seen, and although they received new groups of immigrants it was necessary for them consciously to provide incentives to keep workers on the land. A system of paternalism grew up, starting when new immigrants, lost in a new environment, needed guidance and direction; this grew into an all-pervasive control of the lives of the workers. At first the sugar company was a harsh father, but by the 1920's this was changing and the perquisites provided by the companies were relatively generous. Paternalism continued until the Second World War when unionisation was realised by the workers. Under unionisation the worker does not take what he is given by the company, but bargains through collective strength for concessions. One result of unionisation and the lack of an abundant cheap labour force has been the replacement of men by machines so that today only about one-third as many labourers are regularly employed on the plantation as in the early 1930's.

The constant outmigration from the plantations in both Hawaii and Fiji entailed changes in occupation, and has led to an up-grading of the general status of the migrant group. Improvement in occupation usually requires education and thus the degree to which individuals could rise up the occupational ladder depended on their level of education. The level of education achieved was, to some extent, determined by the financial and occupational status of the individual's parents. Therefore

a significant rise in occupational status often took several generations.

## HAWAII

### Occupational Distribution 1930.

Consideration of the occupational structure by race of the population of Hawaii in 1930 shows the influence of length of stay in the islands on the various migrant groups. The strong position of the farm labourers category shows how important was the role of agriculture in Hawaii's economy in 1930. It also acts as a good indicator of the social status of the various groups. With the exception of the Hawaiian groups, all non-haole racial groups in Hawaii have begun as plantation labourers. Table XXIII shows how the Chinese and Portuguese, being the first arrivals, had moved away from the plantation and agricultural economy to a considerable extent while the Filipinos, and to a lesser extent the Koreans and Puerto Ricans, had large proportions of their work forces in this category. The Japanese figure shows that this group too was moving away from the farm labouring category although their fairly large representation (17.7%) in the category which includes foremen suggests that they may still have been present on the plantations but in a more responsible capacity.

In 1930 the professional sector of the economy was small and was largely the domain of the "other Caucasian" (haole) group and that segment of the part Hawaiian group which was closely associated with the haoles, although the Chinese, Japanese, and Hawaiians had achieved a normal representation in this category. This suggests that the superior

educational facilities of the haoles in Hawaii or Mainland U.S.A. had enabled them to gain the advanced training generally required for positions in the preferred occupational classes. But it also suggests that, as they became more established in the society, the other groups too could rise up the occupational ladder.

The same pattern can be seen for all categories; the later the group had arrived, the more likelihood there was of its being over-represented in the lower socio-economic occupational categories. In 1930 no group conformed to the distribution pattern presented by the "all races" column, yet there were signs that time and increased educational opportunities would bring about a more normal distribution among the racial groups. There are deviations. For example, the Japanese and the Chinese had both gained statistically proportional representation in the professional field, but the Chinese had a much higher representation in the category of managers, officials, and proprietors than the Japanese, suggesting that the process of rising to high status positions is not the same for all groups. It is probable that the Chinese, being the first Oriental group on the open economic scene, have sought to raise their status through trade; while the Japanese, finding many of the opportunities for setting up trading enterprises had already been taken, saw that the accumulation of education, rather than capital, was to be their way to success. This is not to say that the Chinese had no respect for education. Consideration of the 1950 Census data will show that late generations reaped the benefits of their father's and grandfather's success in trade and were to hold a large proportion of positions which required high

levels of education.

The Hawaiian group is also an exception to the general pattern of upward mobility from the farm to professional positions. Although they had been exposed to Western education longer than any other non-haole group, they do not appear to have moved away from manual labour to the same extent as the Chinese and Japanese. This shows how the educational system in Hawaii which benefitted individuals from competitive cultures failed to serve those of a society recently decimated and transformed by the imposition of a new way of life.

The 1930 occupational distribution in Hawaii was one which showed the dominant position of the haole population but also indicated the way in which other groups would rise in status as their stay in the islands lengthened. The hierarchical structure of Hawaii's society was still based to a large extent on race in 1930 but the influence of universal education was clearly discernable.

#### Occupational Distribution 1950.

In his study of the 1950 Census data A.W. Lind<sup>7</sup> uses the same basic occupational categories as were considered in the preceding section. Lind found that the higher status occupations, those of professional or managerial rank, were filled by a disproportionate number of Caucasians, Chinese, and Koreans. The Japanese held a middle range position in the distribution of professional occupations stronger than the Puerto Ricans,

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<sup>7</sup> Lind, A.W., Mounting the Occupational Ladder in Hawaii, Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory, University of Hawaii, 1952, p. 2.

Filipinos, and Hawaiians, but lower than the part Hawaiians and the three groups mentioned above. In the managerial and proprietary occupations the Japanese position rose one level, displacing the part Hawaiians. It is interesting to note that the group most highly represented in this category was the Chinese who had about 20% more representation than the Caucasians.

In the middle range occupations involving clerical and sales work the Japanese were over-represented, outnumbering the Caucasians in clerical work and, in the case of saleswork, equaling the Caucasians and outnumbering the Koreans. Part Hawaiians were represented to almost the same degree as the Japanese in clerical work but had only half their number in the sales category.

In the semi-skilled category the distribution of the various races was more equal, although the Japanese were more strongly represented than any other group and the Chinese and particularly the Filipinos were under-represented although for different reasons. In the semi-skilled category the order displayed in the first two categories was reversed so that Hawaiians, Puerto Ricans, and Filipinos were over-represented while Chinese and Caucasians were much less than their expected strength. The Japanese again fell in the middle, with a little more representation than the part Hawaiian.

In the service workers category there were concentrations of Hawaiians, part Hawaiians, Filipinos, and Koreans, but this is a category which covers a wide range of occupations, from bartenders to

policemen, with varying training occupational requirements. Therefore no clear picture emerges, although the Japanese are the least represented among the roles.

The distribution of private household workers, servants not housewives, in a community acts as a good indicator of social standing of various groups, and also of the equalitarianism or otherwise of the society. A quarter of employed Puerto Rican women are in this category, while the Caucasian figure is 3.5% and the Chinese is 1.3%. The Japanese are in the middle position with 8.6% of all employed Japanese women falling into this category. In terms of representation, the Japanese are the third most highly represented group in this occupation.

The lowest status category is that of labourer. In this group the relatively late arrival of the Filipinos in the islands is shown by the strong over-representation of this group among the farm labourers on sugar farms. Hawaiians were strongly represented on other farms, presumably due at least in part, to the Hawaiian Homes policy of providing land to Hawaiian people. The Japanese were under-represented in all farming occupations except as family farm workers. The Chinese representation was almost non-existent. In other labouring positions Hawaiians and Puerto Ricans were once again over-represented to a very marked degree while Caucasians and the three Asian groups were under-represented.

This shows that by 1950 the immigrant backgrounds of the earliest migrant labourers, the Chinese, had ceased to be a hindrance to their economic and status mobility. They had outstripped even the Caucasians

in some preferred fields. Other immigrant groups were distributed almost according to their order of arrival. The Hawaiians form an exception to this, being employed mainly in lower status occupations although they have been in Hawaii longer than any other group. This type of occupational distribution indicates that in Hawaii it is possible for groups to rise in status over time, although they are subject to a gradual process of upward mobility which may take some generations.

The Hawaiian case is a peculiar one and one which requires considerable further research outside the scope of this study. It is generally assumed, however, that the Hawaiian social values placed little stress on competitive striving and material achievement so that in the early years the Hawaiians, cowed by a series of epidemics which reduced their numbers, and by loss of much of their land, lost ground to the immigrants and developed an impoverished culture common to all depressed groups from which it has been difficult for them to achieve. The Western school system with its stress on achievement may have helped to alienate the Hawaiians from the main stream of the community's progress.

#### Occupational Distribution 1960.

In 1960 no data was presented on the Hawaiians, nor of those other racial groups which are present in Hawaii but not very significant in other parts of the USA. It is therefore not possible to discover how the Hawaiians' status position may have changed in the intercensal decade.





Some material is available however to show how the Japanese and the Filipino have increased their numbers in some of the higher status occupations. The difference between the percentages in the two tables may not necessarily reflect only the improvement in status. The 1960 figures are based on a 25% sample and thus may be inaccurate. It should also be noted that the distribution of occupations for the population as a whole has changed considerably since 1930 and even since 1950. The proportion of people involved in skilled and professional jobs has increased while the proportion of these in labouring positions (and this includes agriculture) has declined markedly. This indicates that Hawaii's economy is following trends observable in all economically developed regions. The increase of preferred positions will of course provide more opportunities for members of all races who have the required education to advance up the occupational ladder.

While Filipino mobility 1950-1960 may have been lower than that for the Japanese and Chinese, all three groups show the same general trend. There have been increases in the proportion of each group in the professional occupations, and the same applies to the managerial occupations, except in the case of the Chinese where a drop of almost 2% was registered; this drop seems to compensate for increases in the clerical and professional categories. The Japanese group probably shows the greatest mobility with considerable increases being registered in the top two categories, the third and fourth remaining steady, and the fifth increasing slightly. Lower down the scale all groups experienced a reduced proportion of lower status jobs.

TABLE XXV: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF CHINESE, FILIPINO,  
AND JAPANESE MALES, 1960 - HAWAII <sup>(a)</sup>

	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese	All Races
TOTAL	9,866	23,828	52,154	136,821
Professional, Technical & Kindred	16.5%	1.8	10.1	10.3
Managers, Officials & Proprietors	16.5	2.7	13.7	12.3
Clerical & Kindred	13.7	3.5	8.6	7.4
Sales	7.6	1.3	6.2	5.2
Craftsmen, Foremen & Kindred	20.6	14.3	30.1	23.6
Operatives & Kindred	9.9	22.1	13.0	15.1
Service Workers (Private H'hold)	7.1	10.4 0.1	5.1 0.2	6.9 0.1
Labourers	4.3	40.0	10.0	15.6
Others, N/S	3.5	3.8	2.9	3.6

(a) Source: U.S. Census 1960.

Especially noticeable was the decrease from 53.8% to 40% in the proportion of employed Filipino males in the labourer category. There appears to be a halfway break on the scale at the "craftsmen, foremen and kindred" category. This occupational group seems to constitute top-status positions for the blue collar workers and the increase in proportions in this group for each race may also indicate a raising of the group's general occupational status, the increase being contributed by upward mobility within the blue-collar group.

#### FIJI

A study of occupational distribution in Fiji shows a different pattern from that present in Hawaii. The 1936 Census displays a lack of consistency which lessens its value. For example while the majority of categories are defined strictly by the type of production being engaged in, clerical typing and draftsmen occupations are listed separately. The categories in the 1936 Census do not correspond directly with those of the 1956 Census, which is clearly an improvement on the former. However, regardless of these limitations, some useful information can be obtained from the data. The tables presented here give a breakdown of the distribution of the two major races through the range of occupations. (See Tables XXVI and XXVII.) It is necessary to consider these proportions in relation to the actual numbers of the two groups which are employed in each category because this gives a clearer picture of the way in which some forms of activity are strongly within the domain of one race or another.

TABLE XXVI: EMPLOYED PERSONS 15 AND OVER, BY SEX AND RACE,  
1936 AND 1956 - FIJI (a)

<u>FIJIAN</u>	1936		1956	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Male	6,740	22.7	38,854	90.2
Female	482	1.8	2,417	5.5
<hr/>				
<u>INDIAN</u>	1936		1956	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Male	24,356	83.8	41,979	92.6
Female	834	4.6	7,259	18.9

(a) Source: Fiji Censuses, 1936 and 1956.

(1) The 1956 figures for Fijians include those engaged in subsistence agriculture who amount to 61.5% of the total employed Fijian males. The 1936 figures do not include subsistence agriculture.

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 TABLE XXVII: OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION FOR ALL MALES, 1936 - FIJI <sup>(a)</sup>


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Occupation	Number	%
Agriculture, Fishing & Extractive Industries	16,593	62.5
Processing and Manufacturing	4,046	11.5
Transport and Communications	2,126	6.1
Commerce and Finance	2,681	7.7
Administration and Defence	1,078	3.1
Personal Service	1,549	4.4
Professions and Allied Workers	1,640	4.5
Others, N/S	8	0.0
TOTAL	34,991	99.8

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(a) Source: Fiji Census 1936,

This was illustrated in the 1936 figures when 6.1% of employed male Fijians were working in agriculture other than sugar or coconuts, as compared with 16.7% of Indians, but it would be wrong to conclude that there were just over twice as many Indians as Fijians in this category. In fact the raw numbers show that only 414 Fijians as opposed to 4,071 Indians were involved in "other agriculture". This is explained by the fact that very many fewer Fijians than Indians were categorized as employed in the 1936 Census. In the 1956 Census a new category had been added, that of subsistence agriculture, and this had the effect of completely changing the proportional distribution of Fijians, for 61.5% of all employed male Fijians were placed in this category in 1956. Herein lies the most significant difference between Fijians and Indians in terms of occupations; it also points to the differences in the level of development in Fiji and Hawaii, where subsistence agriculture is virtually unheard of.

Table XXVI shows the occupational distribution for all males in 1936. The categories used are not entirely comparable to those in Table XXVIII because of inconsistency in the Census report. It should be noted that the professional category in Table XXVIII includes many who were connected with professions but did not themselves hold professional qualifications. The table is useful as it shows the division of labour in Fiji in 1936; the large proportion of the work force involved in agriculture should particularly be noticed. It can be seen that Fiji in the 1930's was more strictly an agricultural economy than was Hawaii.

TABLE XXVIII: OCCUPATION OF EMPLOYED FIJIAN AND INDIAN MALES, 1936 - FIJI (a)

		FIJIANS		INDIANS	
		No.	%	No.	%
PRIMARY INDUSTRIES	Coconut Agriculture	450	8.1	207	0.8
	Sugar Agriculture	465	6.7	12,501	51.3
	Other Agriculture	414	6.1	4,071	16.7
	Fishing	149	2.2	16	0.06
	Mining & Quarrying	1,009	14.9	44	0.2
SECONDARY INDUSTRIES	Sugar Processing	71	1.0	580	2.4
	Food, Drink & Tobacco	39	0.5	83	0.3
	Soap & Oil Manufacture	7	0.1	12	0.05
	Metal Workers	69	1.6	253	1.0
	Wood & Furniture	386	5.7	175	0.7
	Textile & Clothing	-	0.0	328	1.3
	Paper, Publishing & Photography	20	0.3	28	0.1
	Electricity	16	0.2	32	0.1
	Transport & Communications	436	6.4	775	3.2
	Builders, Painters & Decorators	155	2.2	147	0.6
Leather Goods	-	-	69	0.2	
COMMERCE AND FINANCE		111	1.6	972	4.0
GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION	Administration	257	3.8	29	0.1
	Defence	122	1.8	61	0.2
PERSONAL SERVICE	Entertainment, Travel	17	0.3	449	1.6
	Domestic Services & Hotels	234	3.5	733	3.0
PROFESSIONAL	Religion	426	6.3	112	0.5
	Medical Doctors	43	0.6	1	0.0
	Veterinary Surgeons	-	-	-	-
	Veterinary Assistants	2	0.03	-	-
	Midwives & Nurses	-	-	-	-
	Lawyers	-	-	4	0.01
	School Teachers	386	5.7	147	0.6
Other	-	-	14	0.06	
OTHER	Clerks, Draftsmen, Typists	169	2.6	147	0.6
	Operatives	4	0.06	30	0.1
	General Labourers	1,061	17.2	2,434	10.0
	Other	11	0.2	35	0.1
		6,740	99.9	24,356	99.9

(a) Source: Fiji Census 1936.

This was especially so as all those Fijians involved in subsistence agriculture are excluded.

In 1936 the Indians were still largely involved in sugar agriculture, their numbers far outweighing those of the Fijians, and 51% of the entire employed male population being in this form of economic endeavour. They were also more strongly represented in the sugar processing and transport industries, the world of commerce, although in this capacity many were no more than hawkers(220). There were few Indians, on the other hand, in the professional pursuits; these were nearly all school teachers (147) and in religion (112) but both are small figures of 24,356 employed males - a situation, however, which was to be expected at this stage in the development of Indian education in Fiji. The lack of educational facilities for Indians is also evident in their very sparse representation in those areas where training and higher education were required. There is also an interestingly low proportion of Indians in the fields of government administration and defense, an indication of the standing of Indians in the Fijian community of the period. It is worth noting, however, that while there were 122 Fijians in defense as opposed to 61 Indians, none of either race had commissions, all officers being drawn from the Caucasian population, many being seconded from the British forces in England.

Comparison of the data in Table XXIX with that in Table XXVIII at first suggests that there has been no change in the proportion of the labour force engaged in agriculture. However, as the subsistence agricultural pursuits of the Fijians have been included in the 1956 data, it is

clear that there has in fact been a reduction in the proportion of individuals in agriculture. However, it can be seen that although secondary industry had expanded, the economy of Fiji had not altered as rapidly as that of Hawaii, and the former remained agricultural and underdeveloped.

By 1956 the occupational distribution of Indians had changed considerably. The proportion involved in sugar farming had dropped but still stood at 43.6%. More Indians were represented in the professional categories where, although their numbers were still small in each profession, they outnumbered the Fijians in many cases, noticeably in medicine and dentistry, the legal professions, architecture and engineering. The Fijians in the main fell into the "allied" positions, and did not hold fully professional jobs. In education and religion the Fijians still outnumbered the Indians although this may have been because of the scattered nature of the Fijian population which necessitated the employment of a greater number of teachers and priests to serve the same or smaller numbers of people. The Indian population was still underrepresented in the government administration and defense, indicating the rather privileged position of the Fijians in the eyes of the colonial administrators, and also the fact that few Indians are accepted into the Fijian military services, or apply for admission. A much larger proportion of the Indian labour force is to be found in the secondary industries where they have in many cases overtaken the lead established by 1936 by the Fijians.

The 1956 Census analysis of the occupational status of the various groups within industries is of interest here. Comparing the three major

groups in Fiji, European, Fijian and Indian, we see a marked difference between the Europeans and the other two groups. While the Europeans constitute only a small part of the work force, their numbers are concentrated in the two top level statuses thus placing them in a position to wield power disproportionate to their size. In only three of the nine categories are there proportionately more Fijians than Indians in the top status group. These are primary industry where a proprietorial interest often means ownership of agricultural land, a traditional prerogative of the Fijian; government administration which has always employed more Fijians than Indians and where the Fijian Administration is so structured that a large number of officials are employed; and a miscellaneous category which includes the armed forces and the police, the former of which is almost entirely a Fijian preserve and which has, since World War II, had native commissioned officers. On the other hand, the Indians have large proportions of their workers in the lowest status group only in three categories. These are primary industry, where many Indians work as farm labourers employed by their fellow Indians who hold leases to sugar cane land, the electrical and water services, and the miscellaneous category for the same reason as given above for the high status of Fijians in this category.

While there tends to be a polarisation of Fijians and Indians into different forms of economic activity, this is not a straight forward or simple trend. In the 20 years between these censuses there have been some changes in the occupational distribution of the two groups.

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 TABLE XXIX: OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF ALL MALES, 1956 - FIJI <sup>(a)</sup>


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Occupation	Number	%
Primary Industries	54,757	63.9
Secondary Industries	13,433	15.8
Transport & Communications	3,361	3.8
Commerce & Finance	5,650	6.6
Personal Services	1,662	2.0
Administration & Defense	2,682	3.1
Professional & Allied	3,385	3.8
Others and N/S	726	0.8
TOTAL	85,537	99.8

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(a) Source: Fiji Census, 1956.

TABLE XXX: OCCUPATION OF EMPLOYED FIJIAN AND INDIAN MALES, 1956<sup>(a)</sup>

	FIJIANS		INDIANS	
	No.	%	No.	%
PRIMARY INDUSTRIES				
Subsistence Agriculture	23,906	61.5	424	1.1
Coconut Agriculture	1,287	3.3	597	1.5
Sugar Agriculture	1,266	3.2	16,951	43.6
Other Agriculture	1,496	3.8	4,629	11.9
Fishing	112	0.3	102	0.2
Mining & Quarrying	1,274	3.3	311	0.8
SECONDARY INDUSTRY				
Sugar Processing	468	1.2	1,708	2.8
Food, Drink & Tobacco	96	0.2	186	0.5
Chemical Industries	81	0.2	42	0.1
Lime, Clay & Cement	3	0.0	15	0.04
Iron & Steel Maintenance	301	0.8	681	1.7
Wood & Furniture	44	0.1	244	0.6
Paper, Publishing & Photography	53	0.1	157	0.4
Textiles & Clothing	3	0.0	815	2.1
Builders, Painters & Decorators	2,207	5.7	3,153	9.0
Electrical & Water Supplies	290	0.7	329	0.8
Transport & Communications	1,061	2.7	1,603	4.1
Other	-	-	129	0.3
COMMERCE AND FINANCE	1,072	2.7	3,153	8.1
PERSONAL SERVICES				
Entertainment, Travel & Hotel	275	0.7	509	1.3
Domestic Service	152	0.4	536	1.4
ADMINISTRATION & GOVERNMENT				
Administration	921	2.4	461	1.2
Defense (including Police)	580	1.5	192	0.5

(NOTE - Table continues Page 197)

TABLE XXX: (Continued)  
OCCUPATION OF EMPLOYED FIJIANS AND INDIANS (MALES), 1956<sup>(a)</sup>

	FIJIANS		INDIANS	
	No.	%	No.	%
PROFESSIONAL & ALLIED				
Architects & Engineers	-	-	9	0.02
" " " Allied	11	0.01	8	0.02
Chemistry, Pharmacy & Geology	-	-	5	0.01
" " " Allied	8	0.01	6	0.01
Cartography & Surveying	-	-	4	0.01
" " " Allied	28	0.04	12	0.03
Agriculture & Veterinary	-	-	3	0.01
" " " Allied	284	0.7	44	0.1
Medicine & Dentistry	1	0.0	13	0.03
" " " Allied	24	0.03	23	0.06
Nursing & Midwifery	105	0.3	35	0.09
" " " Allied	206	0.5	186	0.5
Education	594	1.5	467	1.05
" Allied	57	0.2	28	0.07
Judiciary & Legal	-	-	21	0.05
" " " Allied	8	0.01	95	0.2
Ecclesiastical	234	0.6	100	0.2
" Allied	113	0.3	8	0.02
Other	-	-	3	0.01
MISCELLANEOUS				
General Labourers	539	1.4	17	0.04
Other, Not Stated	823	2.1	1,242	3.2
	<u>38,854</u>	<u>102.2</u>	<u>41,979</u>	<u>99.9</u>

(a) Source: Fiji Census 1956.

These have not all been examples of polarisation. In the agricultural occupations it is still possible to generalise by saying that Fijians are subsistence farmers and Indians are sugar farmers but there has been an increase in the proportion of Fijians becoming sugar farmers which far outweighs the Indian proportional increase in this field (a 175% increase for Fijians as opposed to a 25% increase for Indians). This is also true for the sugar processing industry and this information leads to the inference that the Fijians are gradually moving away from simple village agriculture and into the cash economy by means of occupations still centered in the rural areas and formerly the domain of Indians of the peasant class. The Indians have made gains in the secondary industries with 22.4% of the employed labour force in that subgroup in 1956 as opposed to 12.9% in 1936. It is difficult to ascertain how the Fijians have fared in this category because the introduction of subsistence farming into the 1956 Census has affected the statistical distribution, but it can be seen that they have lost their lead over the Indians in occupations such as woodwork and furniture manufacturing and in the building industry. The proportion of Indians involved in sugar agriculture in 1956 was almost 10% less than in 1936 and it can be assumed that it is this loss which has contributed to the increase of Indians in the secondary industries. It should be remembered that it is in the period since 1936 that the Indians have begun to demand better educational facilities and the rise in the proportion of Indians now in skilled jobs can be attributed in part at least to their increased educational opportunities.

TABLE XXXI: STATUS WITHIN INDUSTRIES, 1956 - EUROPEANS (%)					
Proprietorial Managerial & Executive	Supervisory & Clerical	Skilled Workers	Semi- skilled Workers	Other Workers	TOTAL NUMBERS
<u>Primary Industry</u>					
M 56.6	25.7	12.0	2.6	3.0	233
F 45.5	54.5	-	-	-	11
<u>Secondary Industry</u>					
M 73.8	12.5	13.4	0.5	-	345
F 73.1	26.9	-	-	-	26
<u>Construction</u>					
M 20.8	55.2	19.8	2.1	2.1	96
F -	100.0	-	-	-	5
<u>Transport &amp; Communications</u>					
M 23.8	32.4	41.1	2.6	-	299
F 4.0	88.0	-	8.0	-	50
<u>Commerce</u>					
M 35.7	54.3	0.5	9.4	-	350
F 33.1	79.9	1.5	15.5	-	194
<u>Electrical &amp; Water Services</u>					
M 13.3	33.3	37.8	11.1	4.4	45
F -	100.0	-	-	-	1
<u>Entertainment &amp; Personal Services</u>					
M 46.7	22.5	25.8	4.8	-	62
F 23.2	71.4	1.8	3.6	-	56
<u>Administration &amp; Government</u>					
M 44.7	44.7	8.0	2.7	-	150
F 5.5	33.2	44.4	16.7	-	36
<u>Miscellaneous</u>					
M 98.3	0.4	1.2	-	-	240
F 55.5	44.4	-	-	-	27
	<u>Professional</u>	&	<u>Allied</u>		
	88.6		11.3		405
	69.1		30.9		337

TABLE XXXII: STATUS WITH INDUSTRIES, 1956 - FIJIANS (%)					
Proprietorial Managerial & Executive	Supervisory & Clerical	Skilled Workers	Semi- skilled Workers	Other Workers	TOTAL NUMBERS
<u>Primary Industry</u>					
M 85.3	0.7	1.0	1.1	11.9	29,341
F 76.2	3.2	-	-	20.6	63
<u>Secondary Industry</u>					
M 0.09	3.0	31.3	15.6	49.9	1,049
F 4.7	28.6	14.3	33.3	19.0	21
<u>Construction</u>					
M 0.7	3.2	44.7	9.3	42.0	2,207
F -	100.0	-	-	-	3
<u>Transport &amp; Communications</u>					
M 6.8	4.8	12.1	49.1	27.2	1,061
F -	50.0	-	50.0	-	8
<u>Commerce</u>					
M 12.2	11.5	1.3	19.6	54.5	1,072
F 5.3	52.6	-	42.1	-	38
<u>Electrical and Water Services</u>					
M -	2.0	33.8	26.5	37.6	290
F -	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Entertainment &amp; Personal Services</u>					
M 0.5	2.6	19.7	30.9	46.3	417
F -	0.5	1.6	2.8	95.1	1,278
<u>Administrative &amp; Government</u>					
M 2.0	6.9	15.2	66.1	9.3	921
F -	-	62.2	-	37.8	45
<u>Miscellaneous</u> <sup>(1)</sup>					
M 42.6	3.0	17.0	7.9	30.0	823
F -	66.6	-	11.1	22.2	9
	<u>Professional</u>	&	<u>Allied</u>		
	55.8		44.2		
	79.4		20.1		1,673
					952

(1) This category includes armed services, police, and all occupations in the categories Other as Not Stated.

TABLE XXXIII: STATUS WITHIN INDUSTRIES, 1956 - INDIANS (%)					
Proprietorial Managerial & Executive	Supervisory & Clerical	Skilled Workers	Semi- skilled Workers	Other Workers	TOTAL NUMBERS
<u>Primary Industry</u>					
M 52.7	0.4	0.04	0.09	45.8	22,965
F 89.5	-	-	-	10.5	287
<u>Secondary Industry</u>					
M 8.1	3.6	36.7	23.1	28.5	3,977
F 10.4	22.9	43.7	14.6	8.5	48
<u>Construction</u>					
M 4.8	5.4	50.0	13.6	26.1	3,528
F -	100.0	-	-	-	8
<u>Transport &amp; Communications</u>					
M 27.9	7.8	5.7	49.4	9.2	1,063
F 10.0	80.0	-	10.0	-	10
<u>Commerce</u>					
M 33.5	16.6	0.8	35.3	13.7	3,153
F 19.7	42.6	-	36.8	0.5	106
<u>Electrical &amp; Water Services</u>					
M 1.0	8.4	28.6	19.4	42.5	346
F -	33.3	-	-	66.6	3
<u>Entertainment &amp; Personal Services</u>					
M 13.6	1.3	28.1	33.9	23.1	1,025
F 2.9	1.7	8.0	5.7	82.4	176
<u>Administrative &amp; Government</u>					
M 0.4	5.4	9.1	76.8	8.2	461
F -	4.5	81.8	13.6	-	22
<u>Miscellaneous</u>					
M 1.3	2.6	21.8	7.2	67.0	1,434
F -	66.6	11.1	-	22.2	9
	<u>Professional</u>	&	<u>Allied</u>		
	61.6		38.4		1,070
	77.9		22.0		390

While there is no occupational group in the primary or secondary industries which is the absolute preserve of either group it can be seen that in only a few are the racial groups represented in anything like comparable proportions, the building industry, transport and communication, electrical and water supplies are the industries which come closest to an equable representation of the two races. The Indian population retained a strong hold over the commercial occupations although Fijians had increased considerably there.

The greater tendency for Indians to remain in the institutions of formal education than for Fijians to do so affected the distribution of the two races through the professions. In all professions where overseas training was required, there were more Indians than Fijians. This was particularly noticeable in the fields of law and medicine. On the other hand, Fijians far outnumbered Indians in the fields of education and nursing in 1963. However the Indians' interest in education since the 1930's is reflected in their much greater increase in the teaching field by 1956 (from 147 to 467 as compared with the Fijian increase from 386 to 594). Cultural aversion to the handling of bodies of a different caste or race may have played a part in maintaining a low representation in the nursing field. It is also possible that, especially at an earlier date, preferential treatment was given to Fijians to enable them to attend local post-secondary education institutions. In general a comparison of the 1936 and 1956 figures shows that over these twenty years the Indians have made good use of formal academic education to improve their standing in the community

and in the professional world in particular.

As in Hawaii, in the field of domestic service women play a larger part than men. However men are not insignificant in a country where colonial norms are still observed by the Europeans and "boys" may still be found in some of the richer homes. In 1936 domestic servants were not given as a separate group and thus their numbers are not available. It is significant to note, however, that while there were many more Indians in service (853 to 416), Indian women did not figure predominantly, there being only 120 enumerated as opposed to 182 Fijian women. In 1956 domestic servants were listed separately. By this time there were 152 Fijian men, 1,150 Fijian women, 536 Indian men, and 151 Indian women. In neither group are women widely represented in the labour force but Indian women particularly are kept at home unless they are skilled or trained for a relatively high status occupation. Thus while there were only 2,417 Fijian in the 1956 labour force, and 7,259 Indian women, only 215 of the latter were in the lowest status group as opposed to 1,232 Fijians.

Occupation, therefore, could be counted as only a minor influence in Fiji's race relations in 1956. The 1966 Census data, when available, will undoubtedly show that the professional ranks are being filled more and more by local people. It seems likely that this group will find more in common than has normally been the case between the two communities. The role of education has been important in the development of the economic structure and occupational distribution in Fiji

and we have seen how the increase in facilities for Indian education has offered opportunities for members of that race to improve their occupational standing while the Fijians, whose level of education has not increased so rapidly, albeit that it was higher than the Indians' in 1936, have tended to fall somewhat behind on the economic scale. While it must be recognised that the Fijians' protected position with regard to land has made it less pressing for them to move into the cash economy than was the case for the Indians who could not survive outside it, this does not negate the significance of education's role in contributing to the present day situation. It rather points once again to the interrelatedness of education with the other factors influencing race relations in the colony. Without the need to survive in the cash economy, the Indians may not have been so vociferous in their demand for education, and without education they would not have raised their status from that of peasant farmers to their present position as an integral part of the non-agricultural segments of the economy of Fiji.

## CHAPTER VIII

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In Chapter I A.W. Lind's propositions on the factors affecting race relations in the Pacific were outlined. We have now traced the development of Fiji and Hawaii and considered in detail the inter-relationship of education and race relations, a factor not emphasised by Lind. It will be recalled that Lind stresses the importance of the type of initial contact made between invaders and indigenes in establishing the tone of future race relations. He also draws attention to the effect on the initial tenor of race relations that other agents of foreign civilizations such as the plantation system can have and how these later contacts interact with and are affected by the existing situation.

While Hawaii and Fiji appear on the surface to have had similar race contacts, especially in the early stages, it has been shown that the development of the two areas has differed and some of the forces which contributed to the differences have been considered. Initial contacts, particularly, appear similar but even here the degree of receptivity of the indigenous people played a large part in facilitating acceptance in Hawaii and making it more difficult in Fiji. When

the invaders became established and a formal government structure was developed differences between the two groups became more marked. The indirect rule established by the British colonial government in Fiji did not encourage the assimilation of Fijians and Europeans, although it did ensure the continuation of Fijian traditions unlike the system in Hawaii of local sovereignty and gradual alienation of power and lack of protection of native interests.

Both areas experienced the plantation system and the importation of labour but in Hawaii the plantations and their financiers played a larger part than they did in Fiji where the government was made up of other interests which attempted to control practices on the plantation. The composition of the labour immigrant population was significant in affecting race relations in each area. This is a point which is not stressed by Dr. Lind but which this thesis has shown to be particularly relevant.

The manner in which the various racial migrant groups were brought to their respective new countries was in itself an influential factor in setting the course of future race relations. The officials of British India insisted on a large enough quota of women being imported to ensure that the migrants could marry within their own race. In Hawaii, on the other hand, the Chinese migrants were almost all men so that intermarriages, or at least common law relations with indigenous women, were widespread. Further the Indians in Fiji were treated in the main as a single homogenous group, with only the most superficial distinction being made between Muslims and Hindus and the various language groups.

This resulted in the concept arising of two separate non-white groups, the Fijians and the Indians, while in Hawaii the various groups of racial migrants arrived at different times from different countries and were usually identified as Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, etc. The fact that an experienced eye can discern physical differences between the various racial migrant groups in Hawaii made it possible for distinctions to continue, and as each group was at a different stage of assimilation at any given time it was not possible to discriminate against all Orientals or to set up special schools for them alone.

Thus in Fiji it was possible for separate relations to be established between the colonialists and the various subjugated groups because each group was regarded as distinct and separate. While relations, however paternalistic, between the Fijians and the British have been cordial throughout colonial history, the type of relationship that Lind suggests would result from a plantation society, with white superiors and envious non-white workers, developed between the Indians and the Europeans. This set-up led to a mutual distrust and antagonism between Indian and Fijian who saw their destinies in different but conflicting terms. The standard Indian escape from the plantation was onto small leasehold lots where cash cropping and subsistence agriculture could be practised. Because the supply of Indian labourers was cut off and was not replaced by other groups, plantations were reorganised with small farmers providing cane for the large mills. In this way the Indians gained some degree of independence without coming

into competition with the whites or, except over the availability of land, with the Fijians.

In Hawaii the migrant workers were encouraged to stay on the plantations by perquisites from the company. When they left they were inclined to go to city jobs although many became small farmers like the Fiji Indians. They were, however, not a single identifiable group, but a succession of groups of different ethnic origins. They moved, as much as possible, into occupations where they were competing with white Americans and they became more integrated into the large Hawaiian society than have the Indians in Fiji. While vestiges of the plantation remain, and there still tends to be some class grouping along racial lines, the differences between the races have been blurred, both physically by intermarriage and socially through occupational mobility.

This thesis is an attempt to draw attention and analyse the role of education in the "race relations continuum". It is because of factors considered above that Hawaii now has a relatively well-integrated society although of heterogeneous racial and ethnic origins, while the population in Fiji has remained compartmentalised. The differences in the two educational systems have arisen because of the influence of the various agencies in each area. The educational systems of Fiji and Hawaii both began as missionary spheres of influence and it seems clear that initial contact between the missionaries and the natives did much to establish the first seeds of difference between Fiji and Hawaii. The Fiji missionary activity, hampered by the existing state of Fijian

society, did not extend its influence far beyond education, while in Hawaii the formal government of the islands was to become a missionary-influenced domain. Initial contact, as Lind suggests, appears to have been significant in the field of education as the Hawaiian missionaries were put into a position where they could establish a government educational system based on the mission's ideals of universality.

The government plays a large part in the field of education and thus the different orientation of the two governments has played an immense part in determining the educational systems. To the extent that the governmental structures reflected the race relations of the area, the educational system was no more than a reflection of an existing situation. However it goes further than this. Schools are instrumental in changing or perpetuating social systems. In this they are, of course, to some extent guided by public opinion outside themselves, but much of the school's approach and organisation can be directed by a small minority to become an instrument for change. We saw that this was the case when progressive educators controlled the schools of Hawaii at the end of the last century.

Throughout this thesis stress has been laid on the concept of interrelationships and this concept must never be ignored. The cases of Fiji and Hawaii show this clearly. In neither could it be claimed that the school system had caused present day race relations, nor that it was entirely caused by them. In both the educational system has grown and taken on its particular character gradually as the larger society around it has developed; in both areas the educational system

has acted to maintain and strengthen the existing race relations pattern. While in Fiji the system of virtually segregated schools has helped to keep the various races apart, to discourage the natural development of mutual understanding and to maintain differences in language, culture and expectations and achievement levels from race to race, in Hawaii the less segregated society of the nineteenth century gave birth to a common school system which facilitated the equal development of children of all races in close contact with each other and with the same cultural and linguistic content offered to all. There are exceptions in Hawaii, groups which for one reason or another do not make full use of the public school system. The haoles have fallen into this group in the past, and still do although not to such a large extent. The depressed group, made up mostly of Hawaiians and Filipinos, does not benefit from the competitive system as much as it should, while some Hawaiians enjoy a protected status in the Kamehameha Schools where open competition with the whole population is avoided. The Japanese, the Chinese, and the Koreans, on the other hand, have benefitted from the open educational system. They have found in it the way to advancement and have consequently been able to take advantage of the potentially open social structure of Hawaii and become established at all levels on the socio-economic scale.

In Fiji education was also a powerful agent of social advancement, as the Indians came to appreciate. However this advancement was, in the main, in terms of the racial community rather than society as a whole. A young Indian boy, given financial backing, a great deal of

ability, and hard work, might improve his status within the Indian community by becoming a lawyer. This would entitle him to a better standard of living, more recognition from the society as a whole and more influence on the community. Nevertheless he would remain, first and foremost, an Indian, and because of this he would have little genuinely in common with men of the other ethnic groups; law is seldom pursued by Fijians, probably because it has become an "Indian profession", and most Europeans who are involved in the law in various capacities are inclined to maintain a coloniser-colonised relationship which precludes intimacy. The lack of constant personal contact at school limits the ability for individuals to interact on a personal level when they are enmeshed in the adult world with its structured patterns of interaction and well-defined economic, occupational and ethnic groupings. That which has not been learned during school days when the various races would have had something in common does not readily occur when the basis of common experiences is removed.

Thus the hypothesis suggested in the introductory chapter that Fiji's education tends not to be democratic is only partially true. The Education Department provides trained teachers and finance to all recognised schools in an attempt to maintain at least minimum standards for all; however much depends on the area in which a child lives. The chances of gaining a University education are fairly remote for a boy whose primary school years were spent in a remote Fijian hill village. Geographical location and financial support are both important in affecting a child's educational achievement.

This is true also of Hawaii, although to a lesser extent. As the school system in Hawaii is more developed than that of Fiji, the type of education available in rural areas is not of such a low standard. As Hawaii's educational system is compulsory and free, while Fiji's relies heavily on local finance and fees and makes no requirements regarding attendance, there is more likelihood of children in Hawaii gaining at least a basic education. Furthermore Fiji's single-race schools emphasise the differences between the racial groups and often result in a lower standard of education being offered to one racial group than to another.

The hypothesis suggesting that education would influence the geographical distribution of various racial groups has not been conclusively proved. It appears that the positioning of schools, at least, does not act as a very significant agent in attracting population to particular areas. However it appears that the type of education received is determined to some degree by the geographical location of individuals, and the degree of geographical mobility of people, particularly from rural to urban settings, is probably affected by the type of education they have received. While the degree to which this is true differs from Hawaii to Fiji, it nevertheless applies in both areas. In both areas the majority of high ranking schools are situated in urban areas, thus providing better opportunities to urban dwellers. In the main the most geographically mobile group is the young adult group, those who have completed their formal education and are seeking employment. Thus the educational level achieved by the various racial

groups can affect their mobility to secure desirable urban employment and where particular groups are concentrated in areas with poor educational facilities they are likely to be less mobile or, at least, permanent and remunerative urban employment is more difficult for them to secure. This appears to be true of the rural Fijians and Hawaiians in particular and has resulted in a continued concentration to some extent of these two groups in rural areas thus providing one basis for differentiating these groups from the rest of society. In areas where plantation labour has been equated with low status, continued agricultural employment probably tends to carry a degree of social stigma.

Regarding occupational structure, it was hypothesised that Hawaiian society would have a better integrated occupational hierarchy than Fiji, and that this would have been determined to some degree by the type of education system available. Data in Chapter VII shows that in Hawaii the length of time a racial group has been exposed to the Hawaiian educational system does influence their occupational status. However it has also become clear that the Hawaiians themselves have not, for reasons not fully explained by this thesis, benefitted from the educational system as much as have the Asian racial migrant groups. Proportional distribution of all groups throughout the occupational structure in Hawaii has not taken place, due to the time differential, the special case of the Hawaiians, and probably the protected position previously enjoyed by the haole group. It appears, however, that for later arrivals in Hawaii, the Japanese, Filipinos, and even the 'malahini' haoles, education plays a particularly important

role in providing the means of upward social mobility. The previously wide open economic field, which confronted the Chinese, no longer offers opportunities for rags to riches success, as large island companies and established mainland chains have developed a modern economy. Study of the trends in occupational distribution over the last thirty years has shown that, on the whole, Hawaii is moving towards a racially integrated occupational structure.

Fiji's occupational structure, on the other hand, shows how far apart the various groups have been. The data presented from the 1936 Census indicated that Fiji was a society where a considerable degree of racial separation was maintained. The Europeans held most of the responsible jobs requiring considerable formal education while the Indians were overwhelmingly concentrated in the field of sugar production. As was pointed out, the Indians at this stage held very few positions where formal education was required, while the Fijians, although mostly involved in subsistence agriculture, were included along with Europeans in the field of administration.

The 1956 data showed how this had changed. The increase in Indian education had resulted in a larger proportion of this group being represented in non-agricultural pursuits, and particularly in trade and the professions. Education has clearly contributed to the Indians' movement away from agriculture. While education has remained segregated, its availability has in itself contributed towards a more equal distribution of Indians and Fijians through various industries; however, the status of the two groups within industries shows that the

trend towards equal distribution of status positions is very far from completed. The greater range of secondary school facilities now available to Indian pupils contributes to this status differentiation. It would therefore not be possible to claim that an unintegrated school system has resulted, in Fiji, in complete occupational and status separation of the major groups. It appears that as long as education is available to all and all positions are open to everyone a society's occupational structure will gradually develop a job distribution based on merit rather than race. However it is almost certain that the equal distribution of jobs will take longer to attain in a society where racially separated school systems tend to emphasise ethnic differences and maintain intra-racial concepts and traditions. Fiji, of course, has several occupations which are habitually, although usually unofficially, reserved for one race. The majority of senior administrative positions are held by Europeans, many other administrative and defense jobs are normally held by Fijians, and the Indian population has developed an almost exclusive control of the smaller retail businesses. The land tenure system in Fiji also tends to prescribe the activities of the various groups. In the light of this it is not unlikely that racially exclusive schools will tend, implicitly at least, to stress particular vocations, rather than preparing their pupils for all walks of life.

The separate schools of Fiji serve to perpetuate the cultural differences between the various races while the common schools of

Hawaii act as a synthesising agency drawing something from the experiences of each group. It is easy to argue that interaction between the groups in Fiji is difficult because of cultural differences and to deduce from this that a common school system is therefore not feasible. Yet such was also the case in Hawaii less than fifty years ago. We have seen how, in Hawaii, the schools have acted as a synthesising agent. This has been a gradual process and has at times been an uncomfortable one and one which has resulted in the loss of much of the richness and tradition of the less powerful constituent cultures. In the earlier periods the differences between the background of the haole children and that of the various other groups, and therefore differences in ability of each to cope with a predominantly American education, led to the establishment of some special schools. It was the function of the elite private schools and the English Standard Schools to provide education at a higher level for those, particularly haole, who would have been hampered in schools catering to all segments of the population. The English Standard Schools were discontinued when they were no longer necessary or justifiable.

It may be argued that separation is also functional in Fiji, and is providing the best preparation for eventual assimilation. This, however, is a doubtful argument. The racial atmosphere in Fiji is not one which promises rapid integration. The likelihood of self-government or independence grows greater every day and it is doubtful whether the mutual distrust between Indians and Fijians will be greatly reduced by the gradualist approach in time. It is probable

that conscious efforts should be made to encourage integration wherever possible, and the schools appear to be a good agency with which to start. As Fiji does not have the rather liberal atmosphere concerning race relations that was true of Hawaii in the mid-nineteenth century, it is unlikely that school integration on a large scale will take place automatically. Furthermore the present day system of school administration, with its local community-financed schools is antithetical to spontaneous integration.

It seems that positive government action would be necessary to initiate a change; this could take the form of special subsidies to multi-racial schools wherever there was more than one race to be served, a clear-cut policy of multi-racial education at all government schools and increased efforts to produce competent language teachers who could improve the level of English to make it a more efficient medium of instruction. A policy such as this alone could not change the entire race relations pattern of Fiji - geographical distribution of population alone would make a totally integrated system difficult to achieve - but, as the Hawaiian case indicates, could contribute in forming a basis for mutual understanding. Geographical location, as we have seen, limits the extent to which school integration can be accomplished. This will not be changed until land tenure policies are revised and until Fijians are equipped to earn their living outside the village. While the latter requires education the former will not be achieved until politicians from each racial group have become nationally rather than racially conscious, and this too will

require education.

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