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1 Publication delays due to war-time conditions prevented this issue from appearing in November, 1943, as was originally intended. We ask the readers indulgence.

FOREWORD

DORA SEU

War invokes radical changes and produces far-reaching effects in any society. Hawaii, living under restricted war time conditions, appreciates fully this situation. In this issue devoted to the theme, Hawaii and the War, Volume VIII of Social Process in Hawaii attempts to discuss and to analyze the impact of war upon some aspects of Hawaiian life.

Hawaii's social and military significance is increasingly being recognized by the outside world. Hawaii's problems are in a sense the problems of the world. Here in our midst are diverse racial, social, and cultural groups, all thrown together into one gigantic effort towards winning the war. That Hawaii is undergoing profound and fundamental social changes is obvious even to the most casual observer.

In the front line and on the home front the problem of morale is a crucial one. Especially is this true of Hawaii whose role is so vital to the successful prosecution of the war. To gauge morale, however, is an equally crucial problem. Andrew Lind in his article entitled A Preliminary Survey of Civilian Morale describes the use of the "carefully phrased anonymous questionnaire", as a tool for testing the temper and mood of the various elements in our population.

Military necessity and strategy have forced a close and careful vigilance over the Japanese, the single largest racial group in the islands. Their cultural and physical affinity to the enemy coupled with the belief of many that they cannot be assimilated have created and accentuated many problems. American citizens of Japanese ancestry and Japanese aliens alike have felt the impact of the war upon their personal life organization and society more than any other racial group. Yukiko Kimura, Secretary at the International Institute, Honolulu YWCA, describes the deep psychological and social changes experienced by the alien Japanese in her paper, Some Effects of the War Situation Upon the Alien Japanese in Hawaii.

The problem of finding acceptable modes for demonstrating their loyalty and devotion to the country during war conditions is a perplexing and difficult problem for the American citizens of Japanese ancestry. The story of how one hundred and sixty citizens demonstrated their loyalty and devotion is told in the article Varsity Victory Volunteers by two members of the organization, Yutaka Nakahata and Ralph Toyota, who are now serving in the United States Army with the AJA unit.

Immigrant assimilation, particularly in the sense of sloughing off the external aspects of the old-world culture, has been greatly accelerated by the war. Japanese culture particularly, because of its identification with that of the enemy, has undergone the most drastic change. Utilizing findings procured by students in an introductory course in sociology, Kimie Kawahara and Yuriko Hatanaka discuss The Impact of War on an Immigrant Culture. Winifred Tom discusses the same problem.
A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF CIVILIAN MORALE

ANDREW W. LIND

Introduction

The employer, the public administrator, and the promoter of any movement are constantly faced with the question: "How loyal and devoted are the members of our organization to its major objectives?" To answer this question accurately is to gauge an important factor in the success or failure of the enterprise. It is especially important in a community so vital to the defense of the nation to know the temper and mood of the various elements in the population toward the major objectives in the war, and the morale agencies in the community have sought to find some simple device for testing the loyalty and devotion of its peoples.

Obviously this is no easy task. There is no single accessible answer to the question just posed. Loyalty is a matter of the inner spirit of a man for which no wholly infallible or convincing proofs can be found. Certainly the professions of patriotic devotion, especially in war time, may require careful scrutiny.

The usual device for measuring attitudes or opinions in terms of the variable response to leading questions or even of overt behavior, such as the purchase of war bonds and the donation of service or blood, not entirely satisfactory under present conditions. The inducements to conform are obviously too great. Certainly no single index, and probably no combination of external criteria of morale can be found in this or any community.

It is the conviction of the sociologists at the University of Hawaii based on 14 months of experimentation that the most reliable and accurate information as to the inner moods and dispositions of the population can be derived from two principal types of sources: first, the frank statements of persons in the community, and second, the spontaneous reactions of the people. The crux of the problem, of course, is to find sure measures of frankness and spontaneity. One of the devices in which we believe a measure of success has been achieved is a carefully phrased anonymous questionnaire, the use of which will be described in the following report.

Method

The questionnaire used in this study was the result of collaboration among two sociologists, a statistician, and a faculty morale committee of the University of Hawaii. It was originally conceived as an exploratory device to uncover morale problems at the University, but it is here described as a preliminary effort to test and measure morale. It was submitted to an elementary survey course of approximately 275 students at the University on Friday, March 5, 1943, and to a group of 60 senior students at Punahou Senior Academy on March 12, 1943. No previous warning had been given the students of the proposed experiment, and none of the questions had been previously discussed in class.
The students were requested not to sign their names and were given every assurance that no personal identity could be disclosed. The "utmost frankness and accuracy" were therefore requested and, we believe, obtained in large measure in the answers. With only 20 minutes allowed to complete the answers there was little opportunity to ponder the possible implications of the questions or to contemplate the most politic answers. The comments in particular reflect the candor and seriousness with which the students entered into the venture. The schedules were tabulated in the Sociology Laboratory at the University of Hawaii under close supervision.1

Little attention was given in this preliminary venture to the problem of statistical sampling. The group of 253 students from the University who answered the questionnaire satisfactorily was made up chiefly of freshmen and sophomores from the College of Arts and Sciences and from Teachers College, and there is no certainty that it is wholly representative of the entire University. Similarly no claim is made that the responses from the 60 seniors at Punahou are necessarily representative of the entire student body. Certainly there is no guarantee that the answers from the 313 schedules summarized are representative of the attitudes of all high school and college students in the Territory. Primary emphasis was placed rather on the discovery of an instrument for gauging attitudes and feelings of representative groups within the community, and in this we feel that reasonable success has been achieved.

The utmost caution and reserve must be exercised in the interpretation of the statistical findings of this study. Because of the racial and cultural complexities of Hawaii's population as well as the diversity of community types, it is difficult if not impossible to characterize the morale in Hawaii as a whole at any given time. Even a racial minority such as the Japanese has only a doubtful and shifting group unity, and the morale of the Japanese varies in the many sub-groups on the plantation, the farm, and in the city, among the Okinawans and the Natchi, and among the issei, nisei, and kibei, to mention only a few subtypes. It must not be assumed, therefore, that these findings are representative of the various racial groups included, much less of the entire population. We have confidence, on the other hand, that they do reflect to some degree the attitudes of the limited portion of four racial groups which are enjoying benefits of higher education in Hawaii. Only a few of the more representative and significant findings will be summarized in this statement.2

Knowledge and Confidence

It is assumed that in a democracy "the strongest defender is the intelligent defender" and that enlightened devotion is more dependable than the blind allegiance to party or nation. Since this sample was drawn from a student group, however, relatively little attention was directed to the range of knowledge regarding war activities and war aims. The single question included in the questionnaire involving a factual judgment was difficult to answer and probably shed more light upon the feeling tone of the participants than upon their fund of knowledge.

Question 1: Are you a Japanese? No. (179) Yes. (74)

It is significant that 40 percent of the total wishfully listed the United States as having the strongest army. The men were better informed than the women and tended to designate either Russia (41.6%) or Germany (24.7%), whereas 47 per cent of the women selected the United States. As one might expect, the proportion of women who were unprepared to make any judgment was twice that of the men. It is noteworthy that 12 students of Japanese ancestry out of 179 were chiefly members of the army, a judgment which was not shared by any other students. The lack of any comments on this question makes interpretation difficult.

More central to the problem of morale were several questions designed to test the degree of confidence in the entire war program in which we are now engaged.

Question 2: Do you think the U.S. and her Allies could possibly lose the war?

The prospects of Allied success in the war program in which we are now engaged were rated reasonably high by all racial groups, the Hawaiians manifesting the greatest confidence, the Caucasians slightly less, and the Chinese and Japanese still less. In general the men were more confident of ultimate success than the women, although in another question (2) a higher ratio of men (75.9%) than women (45.3%) recognized the possibility of the United States and her Allies losing the war. The proportion of those who were clearly doubtful of our prospects in the war was highest among women of Japanese ancestry (18.3%) and of Chinese ancestry (15.0%).

The comments do not reveal any high order of conviction among those who expressed the greatest certainty or the most doubt. The Japanese were least given to expressing certainty in

1 A more complete description of findings is available in the files of the Sociology Department.

2 See also page 5.
Allied success, stating that "only fools are sure" and that overconfidence is dangerous. On the other hand, an uncritical confidence was discovered in all racial groups.

Germany is practically licked. (JF)

At the rate we are going we will certainly win. (JF)

We will not stop fighting until we have freed the countries that Germany has conquered and until we get our rubber supply back. (Ca,F)

Germany and Japan reached their peak a long time ago; if only by greater numbers we must win. (Ca,F)

We can't lose. (Ca,F)

We've just begun to fight. We have something to fight for. (CaM)

Occasionally one finds a more sober and mature judgment: Our production is outstripping the Axis, but most of our few victories so far have been small. There will have to be many more of them. Meanwhile, we talk too much before we have anything to crow about. (CaM)

Our enemies are fighting just as hard as we are for what they believe is right. (CaM)

If people don't get overconfident and can endure the hardships ahead, we shall probably win. Most of us fail to realize the seriousness of this war. (CF)

Question 10 was designed to reflect the more basic temperament of optimism or despair among the participants. The pessimists were clearly in the minority in all groups, but were more common among the men (16.9%) than among the women (12.7%), and among the Japanese (15.6%) than among other larger racial groups (Caucasian, 13.6%; Chinese, 4.9%).

The grounds for pessimism are naturally vague in character and reflect a basic mood rather than any carefully considered evaluation of the facts of the case. The usual stereotyped observations appeared: "human nature is warlike"; "wherever one nation exists that is weaker than the others, there will be war"; "history repeats itself." References were made to the post-war depression and debts and to the inevitable dislocations of industry growing out of war. Several non-Caucasians were depressed by the prospect of racial discrimination which was expected to outlast the war:

Racial ancestry causes prejudice regardless of citizenship. (JF)

We are of Japanese ancestry and we will always be prejudiced by most. (JM)

Due to racial prejudice. (CF)

Unless race prejudice is wiped out, the world will slip back into its same rut. (HF)

As in question 8, the naive optimism of adolescents was further expressed in all racial groups:

2 The following symbols will be used to designate the racial ancestry and sex of the informants:

C—Chinese
Ca—Caucasian
H—Hawaiian
J—Japanese
M—Male
F—Female
If we do everything to win this war and everlasting peace and liberty, I am sure our grandchildren will live better. (HF)
Naturally, we will prevent another war. Our children will definitely live in better conditions, since the depressions will not be so severe. (CF)
Mankind may retrogress, but the trend is distinctly for the better. Even Hitler, Mussolini, and Tojo and their ideologies must pass. Good men like us will see to that. We won't make the same mistake twice. (JM)
It should be better because we're really fighting this war to end all wars. (CF)
The world has been improving by degrees. Why shouldn't it continue to do so? (CF)

This instrument, of course, does not enable us to distinguish between simple-minded enthusiasm and unflinching faith and conviction.

Some indication of the confidence reposed in the local military is provided in the reactions to questions 17 and 18.

Question 17: Do you believe that the blackout is a necessary precaution for the defense of the Islands?
Yes ________ No ________ No opinion ________
Why? ________

Question 18: Do you believe the average service man is morally superior to or inferior to the average young man born in the Territory?
Superior ________ Inferior ________ Same ________ Comment:
The overwhelming majority of all racial groups appeared reconciled to the personal inconvenience of the blackout as a necessary precaution for the defense of the Islands. Only about one out of seven informants doubted the military judgment on this matter, with the men being somewhat more skeptical than the women. A readiness to leave such decisions to the military was, however, apparent in most of the comments.

Hawaii, being in the combat zone, needs whatever protection the O.M.G. or other military authorities may deem necessary. (JM)
For the protection of the Island residents and the Islands themselves as a strategic base, we cannot afford to be caught unaware or red-handed. (JF)

I feel that the blackout is a necessity not only from the standpoint of defense, but also from the psychological viewpoint. All too often we forget that we are at war, and the blackout as a reminder is a guard against this sort of complacency. (JF)
The importance of being on safe side, of not being too confident, and of being eternally vigilant was repeatedly mentioned.
In the war zone one never knows when the enemy may come (JF)
We cannot take even one chance. (JF)
How do we know the sneaky Japs will not come again? (JF)

Mention was also made frequently of the blackout as a means of controlling conduct.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions and Answers</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>8.</strong> In your judgment, what are the prospects that the Allies will win the war?</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Certainly</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 59.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>9.</strong> Do you think the world in which your children and grandchildren will live will be better or worse than the world in which you are living?</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>57.6</strong></td>
</tr>
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<td>3 5.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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5 This opinion was registered prior to the order of the Military Governor in July, 1943 permitting controlled lighting until 10 p.m.
To keep undesirable elements under control, both white and Jap. (CaM)
It may not be necessary for the defense of the Islands, but it is necessary to keep possible saboteurs off the street and from signaling. (CaM)
There are too many different nationalities here. (HF)
To reduce crime, if nothing else. (JM)
It is one of the main factors in governing crime and race differences besides protection. (CaM)
The critics of the blackout were impressed chiefly by the supposed ease of detecting approaching aircraft and of blacking out in adequate time in case of a raid.
If an air raid came, people could turn out lights just as easy as blackout time. Anyway, various government installations maintain lights all night, and it was for their protection more than anything else that the blackout was installed. What good does it do for us to remain dark when they shine out like the sun? (CaM)
London during its severest period of bombings did not have any blackout regulations. Besides, the army says air raid warnings are made 15 to 30 minutes ahead of the raid. That should give ample time to black out. (JM)
If forts and other defense units are brightly lighted, why not our homes? (CF)
A dim out would be sufficient. Why should we have a total blackout when Australia, which is closer to the enemy, only has dim-out? (CaF)
In objection to the blackout was the limitation it imposes upon recreation and the confidence that “Japan will not try to invade again.”
The reaction of civilians to service men is evidently neither one of profound admiration nor of uncritical condemnation.
The overwhelming majority of the informants felt that there was no significant moral difference and were disposed to be tolerant of minor moral lapses of young men away from home.
Perhaps in a few minor details one may be superior to the other, but in most respects the service men are no better or no worse morally. (JM)
Island people think the service men immoral because they have seen only the worse side, but it is the bad that only stand out. (JM)
Their “wolf instinct” is a natural phenomena of persons deprived of female company. (JM)
The trouble with most people is that they judge the whole bunch of service men by the few bad eggs. (CaF)
We find different kinds of people all over the world, and it doesn’t matter whether they are haole or Oriental. That can’t make them good or bad. (CF)
The only difference is that they are white. (CF)
They come from all walks of life just the same as the draftees from Hawaii. Just because they get drunk once in a while is no reason to rate them inferior. (CaM)

There was especially an appreciation of the draftees of both the Mainland and the Islands and an acceptance of minor moral deviations in both.
The very small group of those who rated the service men above the average local boys (8.3%) mentioned the superior educational foundation, the superior Americanism, and the larger proportion of foreigners of low class in the Islands.
I believe that their morals are higher because they have, most of them, received considerable education. Their educational standards both at school and at home are superior to ours. (JF)
They seem to have been exposed to a wider knowledge of things. (JF)
The clinching argument of one Chinese girl for the moral superiority of the service man was that “they converse better.”

Interracial Solidarity
Several of the questions were especially designed to elicit the attitudes and feelings of students with respect to the inter-racial solidarity of the community.

Question 5: Do you think that all races and groups in Hawaii have been treated justly and fairly under martial law?
Yes __________ No __________ Comment:

Question 15: Do you approve of the plan to induct men of Japanese ancestry into combat units of the U.S. Army?
Yes __________ No __________ Undecided __________

Question 16: What method do you approve for inducting men of Japanese ancestry into combat units of the U.S. Army?
Voluntary enlistment __________ Draft __________ Undecided __________

It was anticipated that any criticisms of the treatment of the racial groups, and particularly of the Japanese, would be revealed in response to these questions. The question of racial equality and justice was one in which everyone had some positive judgment, only one person out of 313 registering no choice, and the majority in all four racial groups seemed convinced that the Island tradition of race relations had been maintained even in war time. The Caucasians were the least aware (8.5%) of any group injustice, while the Hawaiians (31.6%), the Chinese (34.2%), and the Japanese (43.6%) were more highly sensitive to real or alleged discrimination toward their own or other groups. In general, especially among the Japanese and Caucasian groups, the men were conscious of prejudicial attitudes than women, but the men were more disposed to explain it in terms of civilian attitudes rather than of martial law.
The critical significance of the Japanese as a test case was assumed by most of the informants, as evidenced in their comments—the Japanese especially felt that “they were on the spot”, and even among the majority who felt they had been treated fairly and justly under martial law. There was an awareness of hostile attitudes existing in certain groups in the community:
Under the military laws we are all treated quite the same. The
only drawback seems to be in the treatment by some civilians towards others of Japanese descent. (JF)

There was little expression of bitterness even among those who called attention to their differential treatment in defense work, in shore fishing, and in citizen detention, and there were also evidences of gratitude for the privileges the Japanese enjoy here as compared with "enemy aliens" in Axis countries.

The enemy aliens are enjoying many privileges which would be denied if one were an American in one of the Axis countries. (JF)

Any unfairness to a racial group is done by people of other races and not by martial law. (JF)

It is felt alien Japanese are not treated fairly by many, but I feel that they are much more privileged than enemy aliens in Axis countries. (JF)

We have been treated more fairly than I ever thought possible. (JF)

Occasionally, Japanese would express bewilderment at what appeared to be unjustified discrimination.

I don't see why they discriminate against the Japanese when they have nothing to do with the war. (JF)

Many innocent Japanese have been persecuted even when their innocence was proven. (CF)

There is some discrimination toward the Japanese, more so than toward Germans or Italians. (JF)

I object, for instance, to the searching of only Japanese homes and not of others. Letting some people have short wave sets and not others seems rather inconsistent. (JM)

I know I am an American in heart and soul; the country doesn't think so. (JM)

In the main, however, the Japanese second generation appeared to accept a minimum of discrimination as the inevitable and not too heavy price to pay for the privilege of being American citizens.

The non-Japanese were divided in their attitudes regarding the treatment of the Japanese. A number, especially among the Chinese, criticized the alleged harsh treatment of the Japanese.

To me, the Japanese have been given a raw deal. They seem to be the people who are always picked on. Maybe it is because they violate the laws more often. I don't know. (CF)

The Japanese-Americans have taken a great deal of punishment to their morale. (HM)

Under martial law there has been justice, but some of the citizens have at certain times decided to take things into their own hands. They cuss at Japanese, which I think is quite unnecessary. (HP)

A larger number, especially Chinese and Caucasian women, expressed a contrary sentiment.

The thousands of Japanese holding American citizenship papers were treated as if their people had never started the war. (HM)

The Japanese here especially are lucky that they are receiving such easy treatment. (CF)

Some people have not realized just how lucky they are living here and have been stubborn in their attitudes toward martial law. (SF)

There are still too many dangerous Japanese aliens on the loose, but haoles might be allowed more freedom. (CaM)

Who hasn't been treated fairly? The Japs have been treated too fairly! (CaF)

There was likewise among the non-Japanese a minor resentment as to the treatment of the civilian as opposed to the military and of the non-Caucasian in contrast to the Caucasian.

There has been too much catering to military personnel and absolute disregard for needs and rights of civilians. (HM)

There is always the problem of racial prejudices. It seems to me that the haoles, as usual, have more privileges. (CF)

The haoles are definitely the ones who get all the breaks. They aren't any better. (CF)

We still are not given equal rights. The Chinese are not considered equal to the whites here. (CF)

A number of Caucasians in particular took occasion to regret at the passing of military control.

It is too bad the lawyers could not have left us the way we were from December 7, 1941, to March 10, 1943. (CaM)

I believe that Hawaii would be better off under martial law than under civil rule which has now been put into operation. (CaM)

Summary

Based upon an analysis of the materials in this study the following tentative conclusions with regard to method seem justified:

1. It is possible to obtain frank and relatively uninhibited responses from students on crucial issues by means of carefully phrased anonymous questionnaires. The classroom provides a satisfactory environment within which to elicit private and personal feelings, provided anonymity is guaranteed.

2. It seems probable that a controlled sample might be set up within the local school system so as to tap the attitudes of various elements within the community, assuming that the children reflect as well as influence the thinking of their families. This technique might serve, too, as a means of study of elements in the population which could not otherwise be approached. It is not to be assumed, however, that this method would provide any reflection of the attitudes in population groups not represented by children in the schools.

3. It would seem desirable to submit similar questionnaires at periodic intervals, perhaps monthly, to the same groups of students in order to establish trends in the social weather of the community. Some of the same questions might be retained in all of the questionnaires.

It is more difficult to specify the insights which these findings provide regarding the state of morale in Hawaii in March, 1943. For the limited portion of the community included within this sample the following conclusions may be
hazarded:

1. Morale, as measured by the verbal expressions of confidence in the national direction of the war, allied hopes of victory in the war, and the long term prospects for themselves and their children, may be said to be reasonably high in this portion of the local population. This evidence of confidence and hope was at the same time tempered by a reasonable recognition of the obstacles to be overcome—that the United States and her Allies could lose the war. To what extent these verbal expressions reflect an inner strength to meet actual adversities is, of course, not apparent from the findings presented here.

2. Similarly there is evidence of a fairly high degree of internal solidarity among the various sex and race groups on matters affecting the war and community welfare. The ready acceptance among most groups of the discomfort and inconvenience of the rigid blackout and the philosophical attitudes regarding personal and group discrimination in the Territory deserve mention. Among the minority groups particularly affected there was a recognition of the existence of irritations but at the same time a disposition to emphasize broader objectives held in common and a willingness to subordinate minor personal and group grievances to the interests of the common good.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions and Answers</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No Opinion</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Superior</th>
<th>Inferior</th>
<th>Same</th>
<th>No Choice</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17. Do you believe the average service man is morally superior to or inferior to men born in the Territory?</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1 1.7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Do you think all races and groups in Hawaii have been treated fairly and equally under the laws?</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
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4 A subsequent study was conducted early in May, 1943 with the same group of students, utilizing some of the questions of the earlier schedule in addition to some new ones. These findings will be described in a forthcoming article.
SOME EFFECTS OF THE WAR SITUATION UPON
THE ALIEN JAPANESE IN HAWAII

YUKIKO KIMURA

Sense of Extreme Insecurity

With the outbreak of the war the Japanese people became psychologically the most isolated portion of the Island community. The new situation undermined the whole social structure of their community. The Japanese who had been in a more secure position economically, socially, and psychologically than the more recent immigrant groups, such as the Filipinos, became suddenly the most insecure ethnic group of the state as a group became the lowest in this intercultural community. They had to assume a new and distasteful identification with the enemy country. An atmosphere of desolation was prevalent among the Japanese during the early period of observation. A loss of vitality was evident generally and there was an apparent cessation of all the functions normal to a society.

An extreme degree of fear was present. Their first reaction to a stranger was fear—fear of being questioned, fear of being suspected, fear of being accused of being Japanese. “What is going to become of us?” seemed to be the question they all asked. There was a fear of punishment, because the country with which they were identified by their legal status as well as their cultural background had committed an unforgivable crime. Their state of mind was comparable to that of a criminal expecting a severe punishment for a major offense. Vividly their imagination pictured the drastic punishment which would be meted out. In this situation their typical method of accommodation was the negative one of retiring. “We are afraid. We don’t know what to do. Even our own children don’t let us go out. If we go out, we will be the focus of hate and revenge. So we stay in the house.” This was how they often expressed their feeling. In a sense their withdrawal can even be interpreted as a kind of self-inflicted punishment and at the same time it was an attempt to reduce the embarrassment.

The possible relationship of this self-inflicted punishment with mental collapse and suicide deserves consideration. In the old country, both of these forms of personal breakdown in extreme situations may occur as deliberate acts of self-punishment, as “face-saving” devices, or as means of avoiding reality. But their report of the Honolulu Police Department reveals a negligible increase in mental cases among the Japanese during the past year. In these respects the Japanese apparently did not follow the old world patterns. One explanation of this may be that the group of Japanese who came to Hawaii had been little concerned about “face-saving” measures in their old country, because they belonged to the class whose fate was in the hands of their feudal lords and members of the upper classes.

Role of Rumor and Superstition

The prevalence of rumor is apparent when a whole group feels insecure, and it always accompanies an extreme situation. In a sense rumor is the projection of the collective imagination aroused by insecurity. Excited collective feeling produces irrational behavior because it excludes rational thinking on the part of the individuals. When the rumor of mass evacuation of the Japanese to the mainland spread in the community in autumn, 1942, the Japanese people did not question its authenticity. Instead, they rushed to the stores and bought trucks, suitcases, and warm clothes to prepare for evacuation. Only the official guarantee of security in the form of a denial that mass evacuation was planned brought a return of rational thinking.

Related to rumor-spreading was the sudden effectiveness of superstitions. The widespread story of the appearance in Japan of a half-human animal, which was an evil omen, made practically every Japanese family prepare their rice with red beans as a protective measure to avoid the impending peril. In an extreme state of insecurity the whole community becomes a crowd incapable of rational thinking and action.

Efforts of the Loss of Traditional Leadership and Definitions of Situations

Socially as well as psychologically the Japanese people had been largely confined to their ghetto society. Their social behavior had been defined mainly by the leadership within the ghetto, such as the priests of the Buddhist and Shinto temples and the language school teachers, as well as those naturally aggressive members of their ghetto who attained the status of leadership. With the coming of the war all these leaders were interned. The virtual elimination of the functions of the religious institutions was hard on their morale. It meant that the normal source of protection and security became suddenly a source of anxiety and danger. Taking away from the Japanese material conveniences and comforts is less likely to affect their morale. In the old country they had become used to material destitution. Even mental domination by others is less likely to cause them anxiety. Rather do the alien Japanese feel lost without the domineering guidance of leaders. Freedom and initiative are appreciated only by those who have experienced them. The Japanese people have not had the experience of freedom and initiative. Hence they do not miss them. But domineering control and guidance is greatly missed by them. The elimination of the organized activities of the religious institutions meant the loss of the guidance on which they had depended in defining the situation of everyday life.

In the case where the usual mode of defining a situation has become entirely useless and there has been no time yet for
a new scheme to develop, the natural behavior is to shrink from
any action. Even in the absence of the crisis of war, if the
usual definitions become invalid, there is a state of uncertainty
or even breakdown in personality organization, as in the case
of a new arrival in a foreign community before he acquires
a new scheme of life appropriate to his new environment. But
the immigrant has at least a certain mental preparation for
the change which reduces the degree of personality disorganiza-
tion. Even if the introduction of the new standard is compara-
tively fast, the process is usually gradual enough for one to
acquire the new standard without outward difficulties. But in
the case of the Japanese the circumstances in Hawaii had
permitted their segregation into a kind of ghetto, intact at the
time of the crisis. There had been no intermediate process
for them to prepare for what was coming. The process of gradual
penetration into the new society had been absent. Usually
change in society starts at the periphery, the new forces gradu-
ally penetrating toward the center where the sacred institutions
are effective. The breakdown of the old controls in an im-
migrant group usually comes through those who have come
into contact with the outside world and its new definitions of
situations. But in the case of the alien Japanese of Hawaii, the
coming of the war meant sudden disruption at the very core.
The source of social sanctions and their group standards of
social behavior became not only invalid but objectionable.
Literally overnight, they had to acquire the American standard
of behavior, but they had had no experience with this standard.

These aliens had of course expected change, but only in
their children of the second and third generations and not
in themselves. In fact one of the main reasons for the blocking
of Americanization in the first generation had been their
traditional habit of looking for the realization of their am-
bitions in their offspring. Therefore, while they had invested
a great deal of psychological energy as well as monetary re-
sources in their children to help them achieve these ambitions,
they had never expected Americanization for themselves. They
had taken it for granted that they of the older generation
would never become Americanized. Therefore they were men-
tally unprepared for the change which the war has now forced
on them. The war situation, which makes it necessary to re-
ject everything Japanese, required a total abandonment of their
usual mode of behavior and thinking, including their language
and clothing. Clothing they could and did change overnight.
But language takes a longer time to acquire. Some Japanese
cultural habits are almost impossible to eradicate. A gradual
process of getting rid of their traditional habits of life would
have been a healthy mode of assimilation into the cultural
and social patterns of the larger community. In the absence
of such a slow process, a group when facing a crisis is apt to
try the mechanisms known to them in their past experiences.
But the practice of their 'traditional way is objectionable.
Therefore, the negative adjustment of "not to act" is the only
possible solution.

Ordinarily when all physical and material circumstances
fail them, people as a last resort depend on religious and
spiritual assistance. But as this last resort was felt dangerous
and tabu, their spiritual mechanism of adjustment again had
to be a negative one. When the things which people consider
sacred and of supreme power and the source of their very exist-
ence are labelled as dangerous, life itself becomes uprooted.
Often in this extreme situation of insecurity where the tradi-
tional modes of expression have to be discarded, there is the
possibility of channelizing this suppressed emotional state in
the form of an expressive religious movement. But the pre-
requisite of such a movement is an excited emotional state
in the whole group. Since any gathering of the aliens was
not permitted, they escaped the development of such expressive
movements. Moreover, as their traditional religious institutions
became defined as a source of danger, there was both con-
scious and unconscious avoidance of all old religious forms
and institutions. This circumstance also contributed toward
their "shrinking into their shells."

The Desire for Change and the Tenacity of Old Mental Habits

The fear of being identified with anything Japanese and a
strong desire to become like non-Japanese was capable of
forcing them to behave in thoroughly unusual and unaccustomed
ways. This behavior was partly for self-protection but also
because most normal individuals wish to be identified with
something agreeable to others. When aliens in casual conver-
sation remarked, "You are lucky to have been born here. I envy
you," they revealed their innermost desire to be identified
with America. Such remarks also helped them overcome their
feeling of self-consciousness. Moreover, it then became easier
for them to accept and practice the new ways than ever before.
No one in the Japanese community dared to criticize such a
change. Everyone felt he had to change. They felt as never
before that they would have to live and act like Americans.

But this feeling of wishing to be American found different
ways of expression in different types of individuals. Reaction
patterns may differ even though the basic subjective feeling of
allegiance to the larger community be the same. In a homoge-
neous group, where convention is the controlling factor, the
reactions of individuals are habitual, so that everyone in the
group expresses a fundamental feeling in the same conventional
way. When convention is strong, the behavior patterns are de-
cisive and unambiguous. On the other hand, a relaxation of
convention occurs in the second generation as a result of
extensive contacts with the outside world. This means that

3 When the J.W.C.A. commenced to use the rooms of the former temples,
shrines, and language schools for community service, the first thing these
women said was, "Please make sure that we will not be arrested when
we go there."
4 For this reason it is natural that the second generation who have wider
contacts than their parents should also have different, more varied, and
less clearly defined patterns of reaction.
even the transfer of the aliens’ old attitude of indifference toward the larger community to one of positive helpfulness will not necessarily involve a change in basic mental processes. Transfer of loyalty or attachment is actually easier than changing the underlying mode of thinking. Thus the new loyalty or attachment is expressed by the alien Japanese through the traditional channels. In this sense, while the shift of loyalty or attachment implies a positive identification with the land of their children and is a definite step in the process of assimilation, it is not the final stage. When the new attachments come to be expressed in accordance with the patterns practised by the people in the larger community, assimilation is more nearly complete. The change of loyalty or attachment is a conscious process while the psychological mechanism by which they come to expression is an unconscious operation. Therefore it is quite possible for a foreigner or newly arrived immigrant to be loyal to America without changing his old modes of thinking.

Most of the older Japanese have developed a strong attachment to Hawaii. They will be loyal to America. But their psychological processes still accord with traditional Japanese patterns. For example, they have transferred their loyalty to the President of the United States from the Japanese Emperor. In their conceptual pattern, however, the President is more like a god than a person. An example of this is revealed in a statement by an elderly woman speaking of her dream of the day when her son was a U.S. Army officer. She said, “Now I know that those honorable soldiers became the gods to protect this country. So, I am sure that America will win. I bow toward the south (indicating the Southern Pacific) every evening and offer a prayer for this country.” This conception is typically Shintoistic. But her loyalty is to America. Thus change in the psychological mechanism takes a longer time to effect than a change in an attitude, because the change in patterns requires a natural, unconscious process of interaction with the indigenous people of the land.

Reversal of Family Control

Previous to the war the Japanese parents assumed a dominant role in the family discipline. Most children accepted such parental control as inevitable although they disliked it. As long as the children were classified as enemy aliens, while the children are citizens. The second generation sons and daughters were by this circumstance of war forced to take over authority within their families. After December 7, the parents had to obey their children. They had to depend upon the interpretations of their children, particularly regarding the regulations governing the conduct of enemy aliens. This resulted in a radical disruption of the traditional roles of the members of the family and in a complete change in status between the two generations. For the sake of safety and convenience the alien parents now preferred to transfer their property or business to their citizen children. In many instances their children became the legal heads of the business. Where there were only daughters, the parents were forced to give up their old conception of the inferior status of women and let them run their business. Children on the other hand realized their new role and showed their independence overtly. Such disciplinary rules from the children as “Don’t talk in Japanese,” “Don’t use the telephone, because you don’t speak English,” “Don’t wear a kimono,” and “Don’t bow like a Japanese,” indicate the reversion roles at home.

In the course of such a shift in authority, sudden and unexpected changes in the mental and emotional behavior of the children was inevitable. The children, who had disliked the Japanese discipline, particularly such restrictive customs as strict obedience to the parents, became very articulate in showing a disregard for it. Due to the fact that the larger community was focusing hatred on anything Japanese, the children consciously and unconsciously felt the approval and whole-hearted sanction of the larger community for their disregard of the former parental discipline. Their parents’ disapproval of anything might now be refuted by an appeal to “American custom.” This radical relaxation of parental authority in addition to the existence of a disproportionately large number of males in the Islands created a new problem for girls. The increase in juvenile delinquency among the Japanese boys in contrast to the decrease in the general population is also an indication of the reduction of parental authority. Many young people experience rebuffs on account of their status as children of enemy aliens. They sometimes have to experience a denial of employment or other rightful privileges.

5 This idea is elaborated in a forthcoming article entitled “A Study of the Religious Concepts of the Japanese in Hawaii.”

6 Sometimes intensive interaction of short duration hastens the process of change in the behavior pattern, as in the case of a lone foreigner mingling among the native people. Even in such a case there must be a positive attitude or liking on the part of the foreigner, which prompts him to imitate or adopt the native mode of behavior and thinking. If there is a negative attitude on his part, no matter how close his phy­sical contact is to the native people, his reaction is likely to be without positive interaction. His behavior patterns remain unchanged. Therefore loyalty or attachment precedes the change in the more deeply rooted psychological patterns in the individual.

7 A comparison of the number of juveniles charged with various offenses by the Honolulu police in 1941 and 1942 reveals a 61 per cent increase of Japanese boys between the ages of 15 and 19. This increase, however, is chiefly ascribed to arrests of individuals who were not under 16 years of age, under 17 years of age, and under 18 years of age, respectively. The increase in arrested Japanese boys is chiefly due to arrests of individuals who were not under 16 years of age, under 17 years of age, and under 18 years of age, respectively.
Their rebellious attitude toward parental discipline is often their unconscious method of blaming their parents for such handicaps.

Another factor which reduces parental authority is the situation in regard to the use of the English language. The speaking of the Japanese language has been of course greatly discouraged both publicly and privately. Therefore the parents have had to attempt to learn English. Having to learn the language of their children as the most elementary of beginners has been a humiliating experience, particularly when their inadequate expression has had to be corrected by their children. On the other hand, parents have been very sensitive to the approval or disapproval of the children. Such statements on their part as “My daughter encourages me to come to work for the Red Cross,” or “My children feel that I am doing well in English,” show a great degree of appreciation and a new valuation by the first generation of the moral support of their children.

Changing Attitudes in the First Generation

Along with the transfer of authority from the first to the second generation, the changing attitudes in the first generation must be mentioned. Before the war direct participation of the Japanese women in the affairs of a larger community was almost nil. Even when an organization was strictly for women, such as the dressmakers’ association, the majority of the officers were their husbands. While the women did the work, men administered the business. Men preferred to keep their wives in the inferior role. Americanization, which meant equality of men and women, was particularly rejected by the alien males. They urged their women to keep the womanly quality of members of their sex in Japan and their lives were generally restricted to the life of the home. Women themselves were conservative about Americanization, knowing nothing about the role of American women. But with the sudden coming of forces favoring rejection of anything which had the mark of Japan and urging Americanization, men could no longer exercise the same authority over their wives as formerly. Even the most selfish husband has been forced to conform to the sentiments and the practices of the wider community and encourage the women to participate in community service. This means that, while the actual status of women within their homes and in the Japanese community has not changed, the women have accepted a new role in the wider community. In many instances their husbands have become very much interested in what they are doing and have given positive assistance in their volunteer work.

This type of change helps confirm the impression that the alien Japanese have a strong desire to be allowed to contribute to the common cause, in addition to their passive desire to be identified with America. Experience with the neighborhood service clubs of the Y.W.C.A. reveals this psychological development towards direct participation in community service. By thus working as a part of the larger community, they now have a chance of associating with non-Japanese people. Formerly their contact with non-Japanese persons, particularly the so-called hāole people, i.e. the Caucasian Americans, was superficial and secondary in nature, confined largely to the relationships of customer-trader or employer-employee or mere strangers on the streets. But now they meet many hāoles as friends who are interested in them as persons. Their new experience of being invited to the homes of the hāole members of the Y.W.C.A. has proved very helpful. Had there been such opportunities for these women when they first came to Hawaii as picture brides twenty-five or thirty or forty years ago, there would have been less of a problem of assimilation. While there had been a great deal of effort expended on the Americanization of the second generation, both the Japanese and the larger community had ignored the importance of Americanizing the first generation. So they had remained psychologically outside the boundaries of the American community. Since December 7, the whole community as well as the Japanese themselves has accepted a program of Americanizing the Japanese.

The alien women have had another experience through the Y.W.C.A. neighborhood service clubs. Their old dependence upon traditional Japanese institutions has been transferred to non-Japanese organizations. Along with this transfer of dependence, there has been a development of the sense of being at ease with non-Japanese institutions. Thus the very fact that the Japanese community became a leaderless group has stimulated a widening of contacts, because their dependence is now upon the leadership of the wider community including the agencies and the government authorities.

Dissolution of Cliques and Factions

In this connection the dissolution of cliques and factions within the Japanese community may be mentioned. The war situation affected everybody equally. Belonging to a “better” clique did not automatically bring security and prestige any more. Everyone in the same neighborhood regardless of former ties or status went to the same place to work for the Red Cross, etc. Their getting together in this way had a meaning transcending the petty quarrels of their old cliques. Their chief concern became the greater one of meeting the needs of the national emergency and serving their country. In this sense participation in the larger community is a wholesome unifying factor for the Japanese.

8 Such matters as contributions toward all outside organizations, family and personal problems, and even problems concerning the sales and the grades of the deceased members of their families are brought to the Y.W.C.A. for consultation. Other social agencies also revealed increased spontaneous cooperation of their Japanese clients.
Sharing Memories and Traditions of the Country

All this indicates how the creation of in-group feeling contributes to a great extent toward the process of assimilation. In other words, the feeling of being accepted in the in-group creates in the individual a relaxation of formality and an increased desire for further contribution toward the common good of the in-group. On the other hand, exclusion and the individual’s subjective reactions to it not only hinder his desire for participation but also encourages him to segregate himself from the larger community. Thereby the whole group is forced to form a separate in-group with intense reactions of defense.

If assimilation is the process by which an individual or a group is incorporated into the cultural life of another group by acquiring its memories and sentiments,9 the alien should have the opportunity to share the memories and history of America. This opportunity would probably help the Japanese to appreciate America more than any other experience. An appreciation of the past is in accordance with the psychological habits of the Japanese. The Japanese people particularly value their historical heroes. To direct this attitude to America, the stories of the lives of the great men of America should be introduced to them, so that they will learn to realize that America too has heroes who made possible the country of today and that all people now living in America are enjoying the fruits of their labors. The ideas of freedom and equality are foreign to the past experiences of the Japanese and therefore difficult to understand. But the stories of the lives of the heroes and services of the heroes of history will help them to appreciate America. A value is appreciated only within the framework of one’s own experiences. Japanese culture has no concept of freedom in the American sense. Freedom to most Japanese means freedom from moral restraint. Therefore it is identified with degeneration. America cannot therefore be understood by the Japanese by directly referring to the concepts of freedom and equality. The alien Japanese in Hawaii before December 7 never had the opportunity to learn to understand the American meaning of freedom and equality. But through the stories of the great men and women of the past, including the founders of the country, American ideals can from now on be instilled into the minds of the alien Japanese very successfully and they will be appreciated. The concept of the hero is within their mental experience. Thus by way of what they are accustomed to, the new and uniquely American concepts will be introduced easily and naturally. Appreciation of new values must be introduced through the old traditional values in order to make them intelligible and effective.

9 Park and Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology, p. 735.

Increased In-Group Experiences Through Natural and Personal Contacts

Since the outbreak of war some of the alien Japanese have had increased contacts of a personal, informal, and natural sort with the American community. Often through their children who are studying on the mainland but more often by mere chance, many of the Japanese families came to know as family friends American boys who are in the armed forces. These boys do not treat them as social inferiors and they behave not very differently from their own sons. The discovery that these haole boys come from varied economic and social backgrounds and that not all of them speak the king’s English reduces the so-called “inferiority complex” of the Japanese and make them feel comfortable when mixing with them. The reaction of the Japanese is expressed in remarks such as the following:

I talk pidgin, but they understand me and they don’t mind it.

They come to our house often and have meals with us.

Yes, I let them come in and help themselves in the kitchen and ice box.

When he comes, he mows the grass in our yard and minds my baby while I cook.

A soldier who used to come to our house recently returned from “down South” and he is in S Hospital now. He calls me and my husband his dad and mom in Hawai'i. He told us in his letter that he was going back to the mainland on his furlough very soon to see his family and that he was going to invite my son at Camp McCoy to his home to meet his parents.

I am taking care of a boy from Illinois in place of my son. He used to be my son’s roommate at college.

Through correspondence, friendships have also developed with the families which entertained their sons at Camp McCoy. Letters and parcels are frequently exchanged. Although the letters from aliens have to be written by their daughters or younger sons, the greetings indicate that the exchange is taken as one between parents of boys in the American service, rather than between Japanese and Americans. This experience is extremely helpful in helping the aliens identify themselves positively with America. In fact, for the first time the whole Japanese community has become keenly mainland-conscious because of the news of the experiences of the boys at Camp McCoy. They greatly appreciate the treatment their sons have received. They vicariously live through the kindness shown to their sons and nephews.

Incidentally, the proudest families in the Japanese community are those which have sons in the U. S. armed forces. Their relatives and friends share the pride of these families. Such informal remarks as, “Mr. S. has two sons in the Army and his three other sons have volunteered,” or “Mrs. A’s son-in-law has been promoted to the rank of sergeant,” or “My son has three stripes now,” or “In our neighborhood eight boys...
have volunteered," indicate their general feeling of pride. On the other hand, the families which have only daughters are extremely apologetic. This whole experience is not totally new to the alien Japanese. In fact this experience fits exactly the traditional pattern. Therefore, they are truly experiencing an inner satisfaction. In the old country all sons are to be dedicated to the cause of the country. They don't belong to the parents in the last analysis. Therefore, parents here are psychologically prepared for the sacrifice of their sons to this country. The remarks of several parents are revealing.

I gave my sons to this country. I am very satisfied and proud. Of course, once he is in the Army, he must not think of coming back safely. I won't have him return as a coward.

I am prepared to nurse my son if he comes back crippled. That is a small part I can share with him in his service to his country.

My son is in Europe, fighting the enemy. I feel that I am fighting too. I make Red Cross slippers for the soldiers with my body, mind, and soul.

My daughter-in-law and I decided not to let my son know about the death of his father. My son is in Europe and has just begun fighting. He needs courage. We must not weaken his spirit.

The foregoing analysis means that physical security does not necessarily give these people a feeling of security. A real feeling of security comes when they feel that they are trusted and allowed to take part in the common cause of the larger community, even at the risks of their lives. Language usage and other old world habits of the alien Japanese may lag behind their spirit and desire. But their having been permitted to participate thus freely and intimately in the war effort of the larger American community has substituted for their earlier feeling of fear a strong confidence in the leadership and administration of the United States government. In this sense, the experiences they have had since December 7 have helped solve a great part of the so-called Japanese problem in Hawaii, a problem which the last three quarters or half century had not solved.

International Institute,
Honolulu, Y.W.C.A.
March 26, 1943

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Out here in Hawaii, the community has come to regard the letters VVV, with special admiration and pride. To quote President Gregg M. Sinclair of the University of Hawaii, the VVV have become "the most honored initials in Hawaii." They represent one hundred and sixty Americans of Japanese ancestry (the Varsity Victory Volunteers) who met a serious crisis by concretely demonstrating their desire to serve their country in its need.

There is hardly a group of Americans today being tried as severely as are the Americans of Japanese ancestry. Wherever they are, their loyalty is subject to some doubt. Here in Hawaii, where there were in 1941 159,534 Japanese out of a total population of 465,339—concentrated in a vital military outpost—authorities asked long before Pearl Harbor, "What would the Japanese in Hawaii do in the event of hostilities between the United States and Japan?" Before Pearl Harbor when lucrative defense jobs were open, many highly idealistic, as well as a few shortsighted and cynical Americans of Japanese ancestry, could not see eye-to-eye with the policy of barring Japanese from certain jobs because of military necessity. They held that an American was an American regardless of race, color, or creed. Immediately following Pearl Harbor—when fears ran high, when deliberativeness was at a premium, when action and speed were important, when a jittery population prepared for the next raid—the Japanese in Hawaii were in a precarious position. They did what they could; they volunteered with other races in civilian defense organizations, manned first aid stations, gave blood to the blood bank, joined Hawaii's volunteer labor unit, the Kiawe Corps, and thus endeavored to donate their services wherever needed. Some of their sons, brothers, fathers, and husbands were at Schofield Barracks as soldiers in the United States Army. At home their men had voluntarily joined the home guard called the Hawaiian Territorial Guard and together with other young boys of different racial backgrounds they helped guard important installations all over the island. Into this company, the HTG, had gone the University of Hawaii ROTC to serve as a nucleus, and it was these men who later were to form the backbone of the VVV.

It was not long before the heaviest blow fell on these Americans. An order coming from Washington on January 19, 1942 informed all members in the HTG who were of Japanese ancestry that their "services were no longer needed." These men were honorably discharged. With American citizenship on one hand, with doubt and suspicion of high officials on the other
hand, they searched for a way out of this perplexing dilemma.

These were men, however, who had enough faith, enough courage, spirit, and foresight to see that the battle was not lost but just begun. It will remain a source of unending inspiration to know how these Americans stood up, when all seemed lost, and took up the fight. They realized that this was no time to sit and bemoan their ill-fate when they could be looking for other means of serving their country in its hour of need and danger. Surely, they felt they could somehow aid in the successful prosecution of the war. With a few interested civic leaders, a group of these young men met to look for another phase of the war effort in which they could be helpful. This desire was augmented, now more than ever, by a desire to prove their loyalty beyond any doubt. There were doubts that had to be dispelled, suspicions to be cleared. The boys decided to act—spiritedly, boldly, and concretely. After much planning and discussing a petition was drawn up and signed by the boys asking the military governor, Lt. General Delos C. Emmons, to accept them unconditionally for whatever service they could contribute toward the winning of the war.

The letter sent to the military governor was as follows:

Honolulu, T. H.
January 30, 1942

Lt. Gen. Delos C. Emmons
Commanding General, Hawaiian
Department, U.S.A.
Fort Shafter, T. H.

Sir:

We, the undersigned, were members of the Hawaii Territorial Guard until its recent inactivation. We joined the Guard voluntarily with the hope that this was one way to serve our country in her time of need. Needless to say, we were deeply disappointed when we were told that our services in the Guard were no longer needed.

Hawaii is our home; the United States, our country. We know but one loyalty and that is to the Stars and Stripes. We wish to do our part as loyal Americans in every way possible and we hereby offer ourselves for whatever service you may see fit to use us.

Respectfully yours,

The General accepted them heartily and these former Guardsmen, joined by a few others who were not in the Guard, but who had caught the spirit, began quitting their jobs and withdrawing from classes to answer the call. They called themselves the "Varsity Victory Volunteers." On the morning of February 23, 1942 they traded their jobs, their caps and gowns, for the pick and the shovel of a labor battalion and set out to fight a twofold fight for tolerance and justice. There was the fight against henchmen. We all knew that. These boys had an extra fight to establish themselves, as well as thousands of others like them, in the American scheme of life. They were determined to win on both fronts, and their accomplishments do in some measure indicate how well they succeeded in their chosen tasks.

The group was attached as a company to the 34th Combat Engineers Regiment and was officially named the Corps of Engineers Auxiliary. The Varsity Victory Volunteers, as they were more commonly known, were housed in three two-storied barracks. There were therefore, six floors in all with about twenty five persons living on each floor. Each member of the VVV was a member of one of the work gangs. This was the basic unit in the organization. A foreman supervised each gang and was responsible for the work assignment of the members of the gang. There were ten of these work gangs plus a crew of office workers and a permanent kitchen staff, making twelve gangs in all. In the work gang the VVV member first

The attitude of the soldiers had very much to do with this. Before the VVV came out to join the Army Engineers, the commander of the Engineer Regiment to which the organization was to be attached issued a memorandum concerning the VVV. It takes a soldier, the man actually fighting this war, to disregard race prejudice. Perhaps the feeling was that "these men are going to work with us—they even volunteered for service in this labor battalion—they must be okay!" It was easy enough to make the acquaintance of the soldiers. The VVV worked with them and played with them (in athletic contests). Some of them preferred eating in the VVV mess hall rather than in their own. In many cases VVV members occasionally invited some of their soldier friends to their homes for the week-end.

The organization of the VVV was rather unique. Though a civilian group, the VVV was under Federal Civil Service Regulations with an efficient Army staff supervising its activities. The staff consisted of Company Commander Richard Lum, ably assisted by Executive Officer Lt. Thomas Kaulaku-kui and Master Sergeants George Aikau and William Jarrett. Directly responsible to this Army staff and at the same time
responsible for the group were Supervisor Ralph Yempuku and his assistant Ted Tsukiyama. The Army staff as well as the two civilian supervisors met with the squad foremen weekly, in what was known as the "foremen's meeting", concerned chiefly with the supervision of the work projects. The entire membership possession of ideas by every individual concerned. Working for the best interest of the members and responsible to the General Assembly were two standing committees the Membership Committee, to interview new members; and the Morale Committee, to initiate and sponsor such activities as would best promote the welfare of the group. Among such activities sponsored by the committee were monthly dances, conferences, essay and oratorical contests, as well as the investigation of complaints and the suggestion of remedies.

Briefly, a day in the VVV began at 6:15 when reveille was sounded. Breakfast was at 6:30. After breakfast the men tidied their beds and prepared for work. At 7:30 they assembled for work assignments and announcements. The men reported to their respective jobs and worked till 4:30 with an hour's lunch time in between. Supper was at five, after which the men were free.

Usually the early evening was crowded with some sort of athletic event including ping pong, horseshoe pitching, archery, weight lifting, boxing, baseball, football, basketball, golf, and badminton. The athletic equipment was varied and well used. Of particular pride to the organization was the VVV boxing team which capped three championships and three runner-up positions in the All-Schofield Boxing Championships. The VVV football team winning three and losing two games gave a good account of itself in the Citywide 135 pound Barefoot Football League. The 150 pound team took all comers and breezed through five games undefeated, leaving in its wake two members of the Interscholastic League, Farrington and Roosevelt High Schools. The VVV basketball team, entered in the Post League, gave the crowd a thrill with its speed and deception and when the VVV disbanded they won five games, lost three, and gained a host of soldier supporters for their thrilling play. Intra-barracks, inter-regimental and regimental teams encouraged as much participation as possible among the members.

For those less inclined to physical exertion a nearby movie theater, letter writing, reading, or listening to the radio occupied their time. As there were no lights in the barracks the evening's fun was somewhat curtailed. Card games flourished everywhere. And these fellows, although with incomes somewhat on the modest side, had money to gamble away. Occasional dice games in the barracks were also in evidence.

The purpose of the VVV being to contribute toward the winning of the war, the first concern of the group was to work as hard as possible. Starting with the building of prefabricated houses, its first major project, the group had within a year's time the following record of achievement: Six warehouses, and a large repair house built; several miles of barbed wire strung; tons of rock quarried; numerous cabinet shop articles such as chairs, desks, tables, lamps, black-boards, bulletin boards, mess hall articles, trophy cases, and recreational facilities produced; a road job completed; two roads under construction at time of disbandment; and odd jobs continually engaged in, such as barracks maintenance, general construction, and repair. Under the latter head come such jobs as building washing ramps, renovating Regimental Headquarters, Regimental Supply Office, and Officer's Quarters, building a reviewing stand and blacking out the Post Bowl. The above list, though brief, constituted 48 hours of work per member per week for a period of one year and formed the major activity of the VVV.

Aside from working admirably and participating well in sports, the Volunteers have another proud page in their history. They showed the way for other Americans in their biggest task as a labor battalion, and widened the road to victory "on the side." As a group the Volunteers made three trips to the blood bank during a year, donating 350 c.c. to 500 c.c. of blood each time. They also invested generously, every pay day, toward the bond parade, buying in a year $27,550 worth of bonds from their modest incomes. Two of its members supervised the Junior Victory Brigade during the summer months to coordinate the efforts of young boys between the ages of 12 and 15 in their earnest desire to aid Uncle Sam's war effort. They also aided in putting over a huge luau for service men from Wisconsin which was put on as means of reciprocating the hospitality accorded Hawaii's soldiers then stationed in Wisconsin.

The change from student to war worker provided interesting psychological results. For one thing the majority of the members seemed to lose interest in their studies. Arrangements were made with the University of Hawaii to have instructors conduct classes once a week in camp, and four courses were given during the one year of the VVV's existence: Post War Peace, Literature, Mathematics and Physical Education. For another thing work every day in the year hardened the men who had heretofore worked only during the summer vacations. Some of them actually acquired new interests and welcomed the opportunity to learn something about carpentry, cabinet making, cement laying, road construction, and interior decorating. The men even completed a sewer system. When monotony set in, the men were shifted to other jobs. In many of the tasks, men with training were assigned to whatever jobs fitted them. They thereby had the opportunity of putting some of their class-room training into actual practice and thus immeasurably gaining by the experience. On a road project five engineer students acted as surveyors. Another engineer student supervised the construction of a large warehouse, reading the blueprints and checking the construction. Agriculture students
started and maintained a large Victory Garden which supplied the VVV mess hall with some of its greens.

There is every reason to believe that each member is so much the better for the year's experience as a Volunteer. Aside from learning new skills and gaining by practice of things learned in school, perhaps the greatest asset gained from their adventure is the more fact of living or belonging to a group made up of so many different types of people with but one common purpose. Indeed it would be an experience to have belonged to a group where attitudes, ideas, and reactions were very much different. For people in a society who must constantly live in relation with their fellow men, the understanding of the collective behavior of people and of the characteristics of the individuals who make up this mass is highly important. It takes this understanding for men to know how to behave toward their fellow men and evaluate and tolerate their actions and thus gain their admiration and respect. The world society needs this understanding and the VVV was, indirectly, an experience in that direction.

The outlook on the future for these men has been considerably changed. Working men who have seen the realities and hardships of life differ from men secluded in the relatively sheltered coves of college classrooms. Their optimism, and eagerness, and the will to conquer the world may not have been impaired but the feeling may now be shifted to a new direction with new methods acquired through perspective and experience. Ambitions and preparations for a career have been cast aside in many instances.

Individually, members of the VVV differed greatly one from the other. About the only thing the VVV possessed in common was the objective they set out to achieve. On closer scrutiny, this homogeneity of purpose was the one thing that established mutual responsiveness or rapport. There were as many personalities as there were members, and although the primary aim kept the group together, it was the interaction and interrelationship of this diversity of personalities and characters that gave the VVV its value as a social group. In short the VVV was a heterogeneous group homogeneous in purpose.

The average age of the men in the VVV was 20 years. A great many were from the outside islands, Hawaii, Kauai, Maui, and Lanai who were studying at the University. Some were freshmen, others sophomores; there were quite a number of juniors and seniors. Twelve were University graduates with B.A. degrees. It did not matter, however, whether one had a B.A. or only a high school diploma. In the VVV, there was no demarcation along lines of education. Granted that one possessed the spirit of Americanism, his acceptance into the group depended on how much he could put out and how willingly he could do it. Because of this difference in educational background, men placed different emphasis on different values.

Hence the men displayed tastes of individuality, originality and peculiarity.

In a group tightly held by a common bond and in an organization living in a society of its own the members come to know each other intimately. A problem perplexing one member of the group was the concern of all. Under these circumstances, members were inclined to think in terms of "we" and "our".

There existed an unwritten understanding that whenever one member was hospitalized, the entire organization contributed money to help him out. This feeling could best be described by the Volunteers who prided themselves on being "one for all, and all for one."

While the VVV was in service there were two groups of Americans of Japanese ancestry serving as units in the United States Army. There was one group receiving their training at Camp McCoy, Wisconsin. These men had begun their training before the Blitz of December 7. Early in 1942 these men were shipped to the mainland to complete their training. There was another group, drafted after the Blitz, who were serving at Schofield Barracks without arms. It was long a contention of these men as well as of the Japanese in the community that these men should be allowed to bear arms in the service of their country just as any other Americans. Aided to a large extent by the favorable behavior of the Japanese community following the Blitz, and in no less a measure by the fair judgment of high officials in military and civilian circles in regard to the Japanese problem, orders came in January of 1943 authorizing the acceptance of Americans of Japanese ancestry as volunteers in a combat unit.

After more than 11 months of service with the Army Engineers the Varsity Victory Volunteers were inactivated on January 31, 1943.

The demobilization was requested by members of the VVV who asked to be released in order that they might enlist for service in the United States Army with the American Japanese combat unit.

At this writing these men are in training with the U. S. Army. They are at Camp Shelby, Mississippi. The spirit with which they started this fight is still with them—their task is not done, even if pride in them, and honor for them have been established.
THE IMPACT OF WAR ON AN IMMIGRANT CULTURE

KIMIE KAWAHARA
YURIKO HATANAKA

Hawaii is a microcosm of the many cultures which border the Pacific. To her shores have come immigrants from various parts of the world, but especially from Asia and America. Each immigrant group has brought with it a distinctive culture, and Hawaii has permitted each of these races or ethnic groups to follow many of its old world customs and traditions and to assimilate American culture only as it was disposed to do so.

Immigrants from Japan outnumbered all other ethnic groups, and today, persons of Japanese extraction comprise the largest single racial group in the Islands—about 34 per cent of Hawaii's total population. This large proportion of Japanese in Hawaii is partly responsible for the fact that Japanese culture remained the most intact of the immigrant cultures in Hawaii. This same group has felt the impact of the present war to a greater degree than has any of the other cultural groups. Their relatively large population, their extreme adherence to old world customs, and the status of their culture—that of an enemy—have subjected the group as a whole to criticism, suspicion, and in some cases, to suppression.

A visitor to the Islands before the outbreak of war would have seen many evidences of old world customs practised openly by the Japanese.

The people ate rice out of bowls with chopsticks. Rice was the staple food, although for breakfast bread and butter seemed to have replaced the customary ochazuke (tea in rice). The Issei (first generation immigrants) lingered over their luxurious hot tea imported directly from Shizuoka, the center of the tea industry in Japan. Japanese women wore kimonos, their colorful native costumes with large obis or sashes, and slippers for footwear. Large signs in Japanese characters were seen on Honolulu's streets, especially in the so-called "Honolulu Ginza", which was a miniature Ginza Street of Tokyo. Two large daily newspapers, "The Nippu Jiji" and "The Hawaii Hochi", were published in the Japanese language. Language schools were to be found in practically every community where there was any concentration of Japanese and were attended by the majority of Hawaii's Nisei, or second generation Japanese.

In the homes, various Japanese art objects such as paintings, family shrines, and statues of clay and metal were to be found. Magazines such as "Fujin-club" (similar to Ladies' Home Journal), "Shojo-club", and "Shonen-club" (magazines for boys and girls) were to be seen piled together with local bulletins and comic strips. These were some of the cultural traits and old world customs which were most prevalent before the war and which have been subject to marked change during the war.

Material Culture

The material aspect of the Japanese culture in Hawaii has undergone an immense change. The desire of the local Japanese to be like others and to be as inconspicuous as possible have made them lay aside many of their traditional forms of dress. The war has also made them acutely conscious of the similarity between their physical and cultural characteristics and those of the enemy and has led them to eliminate culture traits which would cause antagonism and disapproval on the part of the other racial groups. They have discarded their kimonos and have adopted the American dress, shoes, and stockings. Many women have also trimmed their long black hair to have it curled.

A study of the Japanese group in Kahului, which is a typical Japanese community on Maui where the old-country influence has been particularly strong, reveals the attitudes of some of the Japanese in regard to the adjustments which they have had to make since the war.

Prior to the war, kimon clad women were habitually seen doing their shopping at Kahului Market or at Ah Fook's. They were merely looked upon by the other racial groups with curiosity and were accepted as part of a colorful display of different cultures. Since the war, these women have folded their kimonos and put them away in trunks filled with mothballs. Many of them were seen for the first time in Western dresses. Those who had previously acquired the habit of wearing dresses added shoes and handbags to their wardrobe in place of slippers and furusaki (bundles wrapped up in cloth). But quaint figures in dress and slipper ensemble can still be seen at Kahului Market almost every day. They have yet to learn to accommodate themselves to the discomfort of ill-fitting shoes.

There was a time immediately after the outbreak of war when women of Kahului went about in search of black materials "to make black dresses, because we can't wear montsuki (formal black kimono stamped with family crests) any more."

An interesting conversation of a group of excited Issei gathered at the dress counter of a Main Street store in Kahului illustrates the developing pressure. It seems that all of the women had accommodated themselves to the dress situation except for one or two who continued to wear kimonos for shopping. The resulting reactions against these non-conformists were expressed in the conversation.

"Isn't it just like Mrs. . . . . . and Mrs. . . . . . theo? It's hard enough for us already without having them strutting around in kimonos."

"She'd better be careful or she'll be picked up by the F.B.I. agents."

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"One day I saw a 'haole' man staring at Mrs. . . . . at Ah Fook’s, because she was wearing a kimono. He must have thought that she was boosting for Japan from the way he looked at her."

The extreme opposite of this withdrawing tendency of the Japanese is shown by the Chinese and Koreans who tend to bring forth their old country apparel as a means of emphasizing that they are not Japanese.

Food habits have also been profoundly affected by the war. This is owing to the lack of certain commodities rather than to a change in the appetites and interests of the group. Since the stock of foodstuffs which had been imported before the war has been almost completely exhausted, the Japanese have found it necessary to adapt themselves to many new American dishes. In time, the immigrant will learn to enjoy some of the new foods. Special foods such as kazunoko and ika (sea food) and mochi (pastry made of rice) were absent from the table on New Year’s day this year, and the loss was keenly felt in many Japanese homes. Eating American food has necessitated the use of large dinner plates and knives and forks in place of the traditional small plates, bowls, and chopsticks.

Immediately after the outbreak of war, rumors circulated that any objects which were ‘Japanese’ were incriminating and that many Issei were being interned because of possession of them. During the days that followed, almost every Japanese family had a thorough house cleaning, and all objects which were kept for sentimental reasons were pulled out of trunks and destroyed. In many families the kamidana or family shrine which occupied a special niche on the wall and to which daily rites were performed has been taken down and burned, sometimes with appropriate ceremonies. Flags and emblems of the enemy, portraits of the members of the imperial family, and photographs of uncles and cousins in uniforms were destroyed. Books, magazines, periodicals, and personal letters were also burned.

You mustn’t keep anything in the house that has come from Japan, because the investigators are very suspicious, you know.

Did you know that Mr. . . . . was questioned at his home, and that the investigators took everything which looked suspicious to them? Why, they even tried to take away the little boy’s toy, which happened to be a miniature Japanese destroyer sent to him by his grandpa. But he cried so hard that they had to give it back to him.

\textit{Immaterial Culture}

The language of a group expresses its thoughts and beliefs, and it contains all the subtle nuances which the group alone is able to understand and appreciate.

2 Immediately after the outbreak of war, there was noted a tendency among the Issei to hoard whatever Japanese foods they could find. Prices rose to fantastic levels for any item which could be manufactured locally; pimiento (a special flavoring), dried fish, seaweed, and certain canned fruits and vegetables.

In Hawaii the language of the Issei group is a pidgin Japanese consisting of the dialects of the various Ken or prefectures such as Yamaguchi, Hiroshima, Kumamoto, Fuku-shima, etc. which are represented here. To this already heterogeneous language the Nisei have contributed their pidgin English, and the result is sometimes weird and wonderful. The war has introduced several factors affecting this trend towards assimilation. First of all, the inevitable tendency of the other racial groups to identify the alien group with the enemy has made the Issei a very self-conscious group. Remarks such as the following have been heard from time to time among the Issei.

We mustn’t speak Japanese, because anyone may think that we were enemies.

Don’t speak Japanese in the buses, because there are F.B.I. agents all over the place, and they can pick you up any time.

At home, with Japanese radio programs prohibited, the Issei strain their ears to attempt to catch a familiar word or two of the news broadcasts in English. Also, with the language schools disbanded, the younger children are forgetting their Japanese vocabulary and are including more and more “American” words in their speech at home. Mother and Dad have become temporary students of these children. This is a significant fact in that it has greatly weakened the control which parents previously exercised over their children through their language. Also, certain sentiments which any language conveys to its users— in this case, sentiments that are associated with Japan—are gradually losing their influence.

Till the beginning of the present conflict, Japanese language newspapers received their news directly from Japan via the official government news agency, Domei. With their large circulation among the Japanese homes, the Japanese language newspapers unquestionably played an important role in preserving the traditional mode of thought. The radio before the war, was used not only as an instrument of entertainment but also to interpret the news. Local radio announcers broadcasted Domei news on daily Japanese programs. Radio Tokyo aimed nightly at Hawaii with special programs. Today, no alien Japanese listens to any broadcasts emanating from Japan; no local programs are broadcast in Japanese; and only two of Hawaii’s English-Japanese newspapers are allowed to operate, under the code of wartime practices for the American Press. War news of the day no longer comes from Tokyo.

Recreation for the immigrants has also undergone a change. Before the war, there were numerous theaters showing Japanese films. These theaters were well attended by Issei and Nisei alike and played an important part in the recreational life of
the Japanese. They helped, moreover, to preserve much of the old world sentiment and helped the Issei recall the past. They furnished the Nisei with some idea of the cultural background of their parents, helping them to gain a better understanding of the language and to gain favorable impressions of Japanese customs and habits. It was the wish of every Issei parent to have his children understand the “old” way of doing things which often came into direct conflict with the American ways of his children. The movies were believed to have been an instrument in bringing this about.

Today, no one dreams of going to a Japanese movie. Instead, they have turned to American movies. Aged Issei couples are frequently seen toddling into a jammed theater where Hedy Lamarr and Spencer Tracy are being flashed on the screen. To many of them, this is the first contact with the American ways of life expressed through the movies, and doubtless, many have found them quite shocking and altogether strange, but they have quietly accommodated themselves to the situation. Perhaps, in the future, they may even begin to talk about them with some understanding.

Institutional Changes

The most important institution of any cultural group is the family. With the advent of war, family relations of the Japanese in Hawaii have undergone marked changes. The decline in the position of the alien father is a noticeable one. The Japanese custom elevated the man in the family to such a height that his word was almost law as far as the immediate family was concerned. The father’s active role has been lessened to a considerable degree. He is still looked upon for advice; yet he has lost much of the influence that he exerted before the war. He feels inadequate and insecure in these times, and so has come to depend upon a citizen son or daughter. The description of the wedding procedures in a particular family will help to illustrate this more clearly.

My sister’s wedding, which took place this last April, was very different from brother’s, which was held about ten years ago. The role of the father in a Japanese wedding ceremony is very important. I was only nine when brother got married, but I remember father discussing, planning, and giving consent to plans that were brought before him. I remember Father taking part in the formal ritual of drinking sake with the bride’s clan. But sister’s wedding, which took place last April, was quite the contrary. Her wedding was a quiet and simple church wedding. Father of course gave consent to the marriage, but he did not take part in the customary rituals, nor did he attend the church ceremony. Brother was there to take father’s place. Father knew that there was no legal restriction saying that enemy aliens are not allowed to attend large gatherings, but he nevertheless felt that it would be better for brother to perform his function at a time like this. The external conflict has caused an internal conflict in Father. Formerly, practically every situation was specifically defined by his native customs and there was no question as to how he should behave—there was only one way of behaving. But now he knows that these customs are frowned upon by the general public. The constant repetition of situations in which he is not sure as to how he should behave has subtly changed his former status. This change has made him a less obstinate and a more compatible person. For many second-generation children this comparative independence and power of authority are novel experiences. Some are accepting and meeting their new roles intelligently; others are not.

On the other hand, some of the stresses occasioned by the war have often served to increase family solidarity among the Japanese. Fear of internment and mass evacuation and a general sense of insecurity have tended to bind the group more closely. War-time conditions of blackout and curfew have thrown members of a family together more often. This has given them an opportunity to exchange ideas and come to know and understand each other better. The possibility of members of a family being separated is increased during war times, which immediately creates a greater desire to be with one’s own kin and leads to the intensification of the family solidarity.

A curious by-product of the war has been the impact of the soldiers from the mainland upon the Japanese family. In some cases the effect has been quite disorganizing. In others the Japanese family has met the new situation with some degree of success, as in the following case:

The Japanese immigrants have not resisted the mainlanders with whom they have come in contact. This is not true of all Japanese, but it is true for a good number of them. I know many service men who feel perfectly at ease with the Japanese people in and out of their homes. Until a year ago, I knew Father never even thought of inviting service men from the mainland to the house. Today, however, he has a number of very good friends in the service who come regularly to our home. The boys, who have found something of a home at our house, refer to father as “Pop” and he seems to be rather fond of this affectionate name. Both Father and Mother, who rather discouraged interracial dating before, now do not seem to mind my association with service men. The contact with and the acceptance of mainlanders were difficult things for my parents, and I know that they have done these mainly in consideration of their children.

Another case of a positive effect of the soldiers upon the Japanese family is illustrated in the following:

Father has been working for the K. I. Company for over thirty years. This makes it necessary for us to live close to the reservoir that father looks after, and thus we have to live in a rather isolated spot. When the war started, all the irrigation reservoirs that were concerned with the distribution of drinking water were taken over by the Army. They were made into military posts, and soldiers were stationed as guards. Our place was no excep-
tion, and soon seven soldiers were camping in our own yard. My alien parents of course felt very uncomfortable in this situation. My parents spoke a different language; they were of another cultural background, and thus had different customs and traditions; they were of different color; furthermore, they were enemy aliens. Besides these factors that went to make adjustment more difficult, there was in my parents the old ethnocentrism which is characteristic of any ethnic group.

In the beginning their association with the soldiers was merely on the impersonal and indifferent level. Then they began to say “hello” and “good morning.” Words were exchanged occasionally in Pidgin English; conversation was carried on more frequently; finally, father invited them over to our home.

It seems that our family relations have been enriched by these new acquaintances. Whenever these boys visited us, it was necessary for me to sit in the living room with my parents and often interpret what the other was trying to say. This has decisively helped to make my old-fashioned father understand some of the American ideas and consequently has made a difference in his understanding of his children. To cite an example: Father was very narrow-minded about social dancing. To these boys, dancing was a natural pastime and they talked about the good time they had at the U.S.O. dances. They told him how well these dances were conducted and mentioned some of the people who took charge of the dances. Before long, Father stopped condemning dancing and soon accepted it as just another social activity. New ideas and new ways of living that we second-generation children learned at school sometimes used to create conflicts, and oftentimes end in quarrels. But with the constant exposure to these ideas since the war, Father, in spite of his obstinacy, has learned to understand and to accept many of them. Father's change of attitude toward dancing is only one of the many changes that have come about. The significance of these changes lies in the fact that they have helped to lessen conflicts in the family.

Why have the immigrant Japanese lain aside the customs and traditions that guided their daily lives and accepted to some degree the culture of the American people? There are several reasons for this. One is the general fear of criticism from society as a whole—they want to carry on their activities with a minimum amount of criticism and condemnation. Another is the fear of internment and mass evacuation. This fear has largely subsided, but in a few cases it still remains. Still another is the concern over the safety and welfare of their children. The Japanese people at present are subjected to criticism from all sides; every move made by them is observed keenly by the community, and any false move is severely criticized. Parents feel they should help their children in every way possible instead of adding to their difficulties. They want to help establish some form of security for them. In many instances the immigrant family has realized that Americans must be brought up and taught to act in the American way.

A notable change in the social activities of the Japanese is the liquidation of many previously important clubs and organizations. The once important leader is now either interned or is leading a very quiet and inconspicuous life. Prominence in the Japanese community is no longer an asset, especially to the first generation.

The immigrant Japanese also refrain from practicing and observing certain customs for fear of being criticized by the public. The colorful festivities for Boy's Day, May 5, and Girl's Day, March 3, are things of the past. The large carp fish flags that used to adorn the house tops on Boy's Day have been tucked away. Beautiful dolls that were displayed on Girl's Day have been moth-balled for the duration. As one student observes:

One never sees now the annual mochi-tsuki, or mochi-pounding, which used to come around a few days before New Year's Day. This was a special occasion in itself. The whole family turned out for this event. Mother steamed the mochi rice, while father pounded the steamed rice into glutinous mass. Then young and old together formed the pounded rice into round mochi of varying sizes.

Religious practices have undergone an extreme change. The majority of Japanese people are of the Buddhist faith. Their activities have been more or less at a standstill at present due to the internment of nearly every Buddhist priest in the Islands. Religious festivals are no longer celebrated. The traditional bon dances which were staged in each district are things of the past. Great throngs of people used to gather upon these occasions to honor the dead. They would make merry by dancing around an elevated platform on which were men who furnished the rhythmic music for the dances. The customary lighting of hundreds of lanterns in the cemeteries is no longer practiced. The present war and its restrictions put a stop to all this during the first year of the war. Although the regulation prohibiting mass activities among aliens since has been relaxed, the Japanese people have refrained from this traditional practice. Again, this is mainly attributable to the fear of practising anything that is distinctly Japanese.

Prior to the war, most Japanese funerals were arranged by the local neighborhood group or kumi4 for the family of the deceased, and everyone in the community participated, at least as spectators. At present, because of the tabo upon alien group activities, funerals have become limited to family services. The kumi system has ceased to function. Previously, any death in the community was regarded as “big news” and was talked of until there were virtually no secrets of the deceased undiscovered. Although news of death at the present time is still “big news” and is passed on from person to person by

word of mouth, much of the color and the subtle implications of the stories have become minimized, because of the absence of social gatherings. Community gossips have a narrower range of activities, being limited to the immediate neighborhood.

The elaborate marriage ceremony has disappeared from the local scene. The burdensome hair-do with tsunokakushi (veil), montsuki, and the obi (large sash) are no longer appropriate. The claim of the Issei that "Japanese must get married in Japanese style" has lost its strength, and marriage for the Nisei has become a simple affair. "All you need is five dollars and a judge," they say. The baishakunin (go-between) and noshi (dowry) and the more subtle practices that can be continued without attracting attention of the other groups have managed to survive. The reception following the ceremony, which was a grand occasion for the singing of native songs with the accompaniment of the handclap, has also passed out of the scene.

Assimilation

Normally, assimilation is a slow and gradual process. In time of war, as in the case of the Japanese today, it is necessarily speeded up. It is not only accelerated consciously by the larger community in terms of such "stimulations" as the "Speak American" campaign and military and legal pressures, but it is also speeded up unconsciously by the Japanese themselves. Many Japanese, prior to the war, lived in a sort of tolerated marginal position, but the war has necessitated the abandoning of this position of "sitting on the fence" between two cultures. For a large number of Japanese, mainly the second generation, the choice was an easy one. For the first generation, the situation produced an inner conflict. Most of them, however, feel a passive loyalty to Hawaii, if not to the mainland United States. This may be due to their prolonged residence here in Hawaii and the economic and social opportunities accorded them. However, many new ways have been forced upon them since the war. Their acceptance of the new ways can hardly be called assimilation. It is more accurately a process of accommodation.

Assimilation is a two-way proposition. It not only requires willingness on the part of the Japanese to acquire the American culture, but it also requires an attitude of receptiveness on the part of the Americans. Thus far in Hawaii, both the general public and the Japanese have promoted the slow process of assimilation through various accommodations. There is a constant fear in the minds of many Japanese that their assimilation will be hindered by some "black sheep" within their ranks, and by short-sighted and impatient Americans. It is perhaps well worthwhile to emphasize again that assimilation is normally a slow and gradual process. People will absorb only as much of a culture as they are able to. It takes time for any immigrant group to become a part of a new cultural pattern and to feel "at home" within it. Furthermore, a too speedy assimilation may even be detrimental to the group and to the community as a whole. A short-cut assimilation will likely result in personal and family disorganization and would affect the community adversely.

All these tangible and intangible changes in the cultural life of the community have made life in general more complex, confusing, and bewildering for the Japanese in Hawaii. The mechanisms which used to operate so effectively in keeping their lives well integrated have ceased to function, and they are faced with the problem of remaking a life pattern which is consonant with the pressure and needs of war-time Hawaii.

Although some of the immigrant culture traits may be revived after the war, many of the changes will remain permanent. Many interesting phenomena of cultural assimilation and race relations will continue to occur, and some day, within Hawaii's laboratory of human relationships there will be found common interests, common memories, and common loyalties. Then can we truly say that the "peoples" of Hawaii will have become one people?"
Dress. Immediately after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, Japanese women remodeled their kimonos into American dresses, which made it difficult to identify them according to their manner of dress. Some Chinese women who had adopted the American dress quickly donned their Chinese gowns so they would not be mistaken for Japanese on the streets or in the public.

Weddings. At one time, the bride left home to meet the groom in a car decorated with lighted lanterns and a red sash over the roof. A professional go-between, firecrackers, and the back-breaking custom of “kow-tow” were all part of the ceremony. Even at Americanized weddings, where the young folks were united by an American minister, many Chinese customs were observed when the bridal party returned home. Many couples took part in these Chinese ceremonies none too willingly. Prostrating themselves before the ancestral tablet was a cause of embarrassment, especially when their Americanized friends looked on. Only reverence and obedience to their parents made them conform. Today non-conformity is no longer viewed as a sign of disobedience. Whereas wedding ceremonies in some cases lasted for several days and nights before the war, a wedding party today is over before curfew, due mostly to blackout regulations and gasoline rationing.

Funerals. It has always been the custom for the family of the deceased to stay up all night before the day of the funeral to keep watch over the body. At regular intervals, there would be chanting, wailing, and marching around the coffin in the wee hours of the night. Due to blackout regulations, however, this practise has been literally forced out. To be sure, day ceremonies are still being carried out, minus many of the old customs, however. Under normal conditions, possibly no one would have had the courage to set a precedent of eliminating the night ceremonies.

After the funeral ceremonies, the family of the deceased used to observe months of mourning and seclusion. Since the war, however, many families have ignored this aspect of the funeral ceremony. The months of mourning and seclusion have been completed in one single day. Attendance at vital war work is more important than attendance to the dead.

Another change in the past year and a half is the use of cremation as a proper method of disposing of the dead. In the past, custom and tradition dictated the burial of the dead. This was done so that the bones might be dug up after a period of ten years to be sent to the clan cemetery in China. War and expediency, however, have changed all this. Two examples are at hand—two immigrant Chinese, one a well-known merchant and the other a Chinese school teacher. Both of these men were cremated. Prior to the war, this procedure would have been unheard of.

New Year’s Celebration. Of Chinese festivals, the celebration of the new year, especially that of the lunar calendar, was the most festive and elaborate. Weeks before the end of the old year found Chinatown bustling with people and preparations.

Red posters plastered on telephone poles and walls wished all a happy, prosperous new year. Firecrackers in strings of every length, hanging from shop ceilings, piled high on shelves, reminded one of a Fourth of July celebration. Stalls along the sidewalks overflowed with oranges and tangerines (symbols of heaven and earth, usually ate no meat on that day.) Narcissus plants, fragrant with their white blossoms, were placed on sale everywhere. What the Christmas tree is to the American on Christmas, these plants are to the Chinese on New Year’s. They symbolized purity and prosperity, and a display of them was found in every celebrant’s home.

A new year’s celebration would not be a celebration without the delicacies of the season—dried ducks, dried oysters and chicken liver, candied fruits, lichee nuts, and puffed rice cakes. The outstanding “must-have” was the watermelon seeds, which symbolized money. The Chinese word for the meat of the watermelon seed is “ngun.” Translated, it means money. The belief was that the more you ate, the more money you would have in the year to come.

At this season, it was customary for the merchants to close their shops for several days to join in the festivities of feasting and drinking. In many cases, the new year season was the only holiday season of the year for them.

What was Chinese New Year’s day like after the blitz? It went by almost unnoticed. Chinatown heard no hustle or bustle of new year shoppers. Storekeepers had no delicacies for sale, so the Chinese went without their dried delicacies. Partly due to the military order of no fire-works and the interruption of foreign trade, no firecrackers were seen or heard. Then too, just as the majority of the local population went without Christmas trees, the Chinese went without narcissus plants. For their “must have,” the imported melon seed, a substitute, mainland imported pine nuts, was used instead.

In short, New Year’s day was like any other ordinary day.

Drama. Anyone acquainted with the Golden Wall Theater on School Street in Honolulu knows what Chinese drama means to the large group of immigrants and first generation Chinese—colorful costumes, beautiful singing, artistic movements, and recollections of the motherland. The drama was one of the most important forms of recreation and relaxation. With the war, however, these actors and actresses stored away their wigs, masks, and costumes to don the war worker’s uniform. The old ladies who used to spend the better part of a night at the theater are now forced to spend the evenings at home. Sleep seems to be the only cure for their misery and plight, for they do not read English nor enjoy or understand the American movies.
Chinese Radio Programs. Sunday afternoon, prior to the war, was a source of great enjoyment and relaxation for the immigrant Chinese. Both of the local radio stations broadcasted Chinese programs. The announcer spoke in Chinese, and Chinese music was played. Consequently, he welcomed Sunday because it was the one day out of the seven that the radio produced meaningful and enjoyable entertainment, instead of foreign jaber and nerve-wracking jazz rhythms.

Today, foreign radio programs have been cancelled from the air, and the immigrant Chinese sits and yawns through their Sunday afternoons, longing for a return to the old days.

Language Schools. Prior to December 7, the majority of the immigrants had enrolled their children in one of the many Chinese language schools. Every afternoon found the reluctant and the rarely eager students going from public school to Chinese school—to please their parents, to provoke their teachers, to learn to speak and write the mother tongue, and to prepare for a career in the Chinese community. With the advent of the war, however, all language schools were closed by the government. Language school teachers, putting away their books and cultural heritage, went on defense jobs or into business enterprises of their own.

The closing of the language schools marks the end of an institution which has kept alive the Chinese language and culture in Hawaii. The new generation find it socially more convenient to speak English. Without this reinforcement to parental pressure they will most likely not learn to speak Chinese.

Chinese students who have acquired English names have made an attempt to conceal their Chinese names. Call Robert Lo "Ah Bong," and watch the excitement on his face. Without the Chinese schools, it is probable that Chinese names will hereafter appear only on birth certificates.

Although the closing of the Chinese schools has brought relief and gratitude to many of the young people, resentment and regret have been expressed by the parents. The fear that their children would become more like the "foreign devils" has been expressed by more than one anxious parent.

Religion. As in other parts of the world, the Chinese women are more devout worshippers than the men. These immigrant women spend much of their time talking to the ancestral tablet and to the idols, representing the gods of nature. Much money is spent on incense, candles, and mock money which they burn daily. (Formerly, firecrackers added to the expenses.)

Since the war, it is not unusual to find a woman being reprimanded by her husband or Americanized children for wasting her money on such offerings. Even today, however, in the face of shortages of incense, Chinese candles, and mock money, the devout continue to pray and to make offerings, but with substitutions. In the past only the best perfumed incense were used. Today, they use mosquito punk. In place of red painted candles are ordinary American candles. For "ghost money" they burn wrapping paper cut into squares.

The war has caused many immigrants to turn more to their faith. They pray daily for an early victory, for their sons to return home safely.

Summary. Americanization programs, the influence of the ever increasing number of mainland arrivals in Hawaii, together with a form of patriotic pressure, have forced a large number of common Chinese practices to one side. It is merely that many of these displacements are not temporary wartime events but rather that they are permanent changes; changes that will tend to gradually reduce oriental mannerisms and customs to a minimum, if not to eliminate them entirely. Whether these displacements, taking place as rapidly as they are, will prove harmful or helpful to the community as a whole remains to be seen.

SOME EFFECTS OF THE WAR ON THE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES IN HAWAII

ARLEEN PRITCHARD DUNCAN

The following report is based on individual interviews with twenty-eight Christian ministers and five other persons closely associated with some church. The ministers comprise fifteen haoles, eight Japanese, one Chinese, one Korean, and one Filipino. Generally speaking, the four latter groups discussed congregations of their own racial group. Caucasians, however, discussed not only predominately haole congregations but mixed congregations or those of another race as well. The entire task of one haole minister, for example, was to administer to the needs of the Filipinos in one section of Honolulu. At least four of the haoles are in supervisory work where they view all races in many congregations on the four islands.

Church Attendance Since the Blitz

The ministers testify, as any casual observer cannot help noticing, that the prominent city churches are full on Sundays. In some cases, notably for a special service such as Easter or Christmas, the congregation may occupy the seats ordinarily reserved for the choir. The point to be noted, however, is that a great many of these worshipers are soldiers, sailors, or mani-mani war workers. At best, the number of civilians has barely held. Seven-day war work, evacuation to the mainland, difficulties of transportation, and, in at least two cases noted, an obvious decline in interest in church attendence accounts for absenteeism from church.

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Since our major interest lies in the civilian population, it should be noted that a sudden withdrawal of all service men and war worker attendance would leave the churches with many empty seats.

Several Japanese ministers note the absence from church of the middle-aged and the elderly, presumably the aliens who have withdrawn from the spotlight since the Blitz.

Churchmen of two denominations, the Roman Catholic and the Seventh Day Adventist, spoke of a noticeable increase in church attendance right after the attack on Pearl Harbor. In other churches, notably those attended by Japanese worshippers, a noticeable decrease of attendance characterized the immediate post-Pearl Harbor period, with a slow rise thereafter.

**Prosperity of the Churches**

As a result of general prosperity, especially on Oahu, the collection plate has been heaped high with contributions. One prominent Honolulu Protestant church announced joyfully that its entire debt has been cleared since February of 1942. In this same church an individual cash contribution (a roll of money with a rubber band around it) in one collection was forty-six dollars, this in a church where tithing is not the rule. Even in a haole “society” church where the expenses were cut right after the blitz to meet an expected decrease in contributions due to evacuation of white families, contributions have kept up so well that no such cut need have been made.

Where distinction is made between pledged money in envelopes as distinct from “loose collection,” it appears that local residents who are sharing in the general financial prosperity of the Islands are making larger contributions to church than they did before the war.

**The Sunday School**

The Sunday school appears to have suffered the circumstances of war-time Hawaii. One Sunday school has been dropped because of the inability to get teachers. In another church Sunday school attendance has fallen off 50 percent. This drop is explained in parents’ fear of sending children away from their homes right after the blitz, and the consequent loss of the “habit of coming.” Another church notes a falling off in attendance at Sunday school but offered no explanation, since no investigation of the cause was made. (Here is indication of a “let-down” in the efforts of some ministers. Several pastors manifested a disheartened attitude, evidence that a sense of depression comes even to these generally cheerful persons.)

On the other hand, another Sunday school has grown from a pre-Pearl Harbor attendance of ninety to an enrollment of two hundred and thirty, where there has been an influx of Japanese children. In the opinion of some ministers, the Christian church is an integral part of Americanism and attendance is an effort to manifest a stand for American ideals.

**Social Activities in Church**

With the exception of the Sunday lunches for service men guests, social gatherings centered in the church are fewer in number as a consequence of blackout and other war restrictions. A unique effort by one minister to give groups of young people evening recreation resulted in the “slumber party,” where the guests sleep in the church buildings after the festivities.

**Work of the Ministers**

The effect of the war on the kind of service demanded of ministers was aptly expressed by one man who said he is called upon for “services of work” rather than “services of worship.” Ministers serve as air raid wardens, to name only one mundane activity.

**Parental Control**

In the opinion of some ministers the breakdown of parental control is not so noticeable in the Christian homes of their acquaintance as in the general community. Two Japanese ministers mentioned specifically, however, that children are inclined to remind the parents that these elders are enemy aliens and so not entitled to an opinion on the activities of their children who are American citizens.

**Inter-Racial Relations**

Among Christians in Hawaii generally there appears to be inter-racial amity, an outward expression of the ideal of the brotherhood of man which is an integral part of the Christian faith. While ministers have observed some antagonism toward the local Japanese since Pearl Harbor, this hatred is usually found in the community outside the active Christian church-going group. We are told that Chinese still patronize Japanese stores and marry Japanese-Americans. Two Chinese ministers have observed a closer friendship between Caucasians and Chinese as a reflection of membership of the United States and China in the United Nations group. In one so-called inter-racial church, Japanese work side by side with Filipinos.

**Movement Toward Inter-Racial Churches**

The war seems to have accelerated the movement toward inter-racial congregations in Hawaii. As we shall see, men of the armed forces enter all churches even where the congregation is Japanese. Negro singers perform as soldier guests at Japanese and Chinese churches. More and more non-white persons attend service in the so-called haole churches.

As an interesting sidelight, a perusal of the church page of the Honolulu Star Bulletin for March 13, 1943, indicates that although the exclusively Chinese, Korean, and Filipino churches are so designated still, the word “Japanese” is no longer used by churches which were formerly so distinguished. This observation is also borne out by the Hawaii Evangelical Association report for 1942. Small wonder that non-Japanese persons who are newcomers to the Islands wander into a
church which is called by as American-sounding a name as “The Harris Memorial Church”, the additional designation “Japanese” having been dropped.

The Armed Forces and the Local Japanese

The friendly relationship between service men and the local Japanese in the church environment provides sufficient material for a paper in itself. Whether for lack of any other nearby civilian church or as a change from worship in camp or simply out of curiosity, service men do attend Christian churches where the congregation is entirely or largely Japanese and where the minister is of the Japanese race. In one church, service men help with the Sunday school work, sing the hymns in the Japanese language (from Romaji), join in fellowship groups, and help with the choir. In another Japanese church the glee club from the regiment of Negroes on Oahu sang at Sunday service. In one instance a Japanese minister had an American sailor boy as an overnight guest in his home. Another Japanese minister in a lengthy interview boosted the morale of a sailor who had contemplated suicide. On an outside island an American chaplain ministers alike to service men and to the plantation Japanese whose church building he uses.

The story which best summarizes the relationship between service men and the local Japanese Christians is the overheard remark of an American soldier leaving a church service. Doesn’t it beat hell, Jack? Here we are sent over to shoot the Japs and about the first thing that happens we go to church and worship with them. (Hawaiian Church Chronicle, September 1942.)

Another remarkable story concerns the receiving of Communion by service men from an alien Japanese minister in the Japanese language for the lack of an ordained minister to conduct the sacrament in English when the service men unexpectedly half filled a Japanese Christian church.

Negro-Caucasian Amity in War-Time Hawaii

As extreme as Filipino-Japanese friendship during the present war is the report from one minister that a prominent Honolulu haole woman of both social prestige and wealth opened her home for a party for Negro soldiers.

Hospitality to Service Men; the Free Sunday Lunch

The custom of inviting service men to remain after the Sunday church service to eat a free lunch served by workers in the permanent congregation is so widespread that the church which does not provide such meals weekly, or at least occasionally, is exceptional. The advocates of this hospitality are enthusiastic about the civilian-service fellowship developed. The minister critic of the custom comment with varying degrees of acidy that the soldiers and sailors must wish to pay their way instead of being treated as charity patients and that the church should not engage in the restaurant trade but should attract worshippers by means of a spiritual message. In the words of one critic: “Some of the ministers who are so hot about preaching to the service men and feeding them are going to find themselves left after the war.”

Interest in Religion

Has there been a spiritual revival in Hawaii since the outbreak of war? Whenever this question in some form was presented to the ministers, almost without exception they have answered in the affirmative. As evidence they have mentioned the following: that church attendance is good; that people stop in at churches for meditation and prayer at other than service hours (this especially with regard to Roman Catholic and Episcopalian churches); that the young people especially are listening more intently to “straight religion”; that attendance at mid-week prayer meetings is good; that the sale of Bibles and other religious literature has broken all records; that contributions are generous; that pastors making home calls find people eager to talk religion (where formerly presumably the minister and the visitor chatted about the weather and other impersonal subjects.)

However, it should be kept in mind that our study should be primarily concerned with the civilian population of the Islands. It is apparent to one who attempts to generalize from the various interviews that unfortunately the opinion expressed is colored intensely by the presence of service men and malihini war workers in such numbers that they alter the picture perceptibly. External evidences can at best only hint at a possible greater degree of interest in pure religion since the war. Attendance, Bible sales, contributions are all externals affected by hordes of temporary residents of the Islands, and the ministers, somewhat bedazzled, have failed to discriminate in their observations of civilian church goers.

In the final analysis, too, even a minister must rely on guesswork when he attempts to say whether persons are more spiritually minded, since a change of the inner workings of a man’s thoughts and emotions is generally imperceptible to an observer.

In sum, there would seem to be a real lack of evidence for the assumption that a spiritual revival has taken place in the civilian population since the Blitz. The story of men who have been in battle is another story, and not ours to tell here.

There is some evidence to support the conclusion that certain persons returned to church-going after the war or certain persons returned to church-going after the war (in the case of previously non-Christian Japanese) undertook the study of the teachings of some Christian church. Here it is the church presenting a very definite set of theological beliefs that attracts the returning sheep or the newcomer to Christianity. There is evidence that the Roman Catholic Church, the Church of the Latter Day Saints (Mormons), the Seventh Day Adventists and some smaller sects have secured converts rather than the “liberal” faiths such as Congrega-

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tionalism, where persons are not asked to accept a set creed or dogma. In war time, distressed persons would seem to be looking for the comfort of some absolute. Where a sect says, "Our church teaches the truth, and no other denomination does," persons turn to such a definite set of beliefs to which they can cling for satisfaction and comfort.

SOME EFFECTS OF THE WAR ON THE SUGAR PLANTATIONS

PHYLLIS YAP

Sugar was one of the first foods to be rationed on the mainland, and that fact has been taken by those interested in Hawaii's sugar industry as symbolical of the importance of sugar in the successful prosecution of the war. Furthermore, for decades past, Hawaii's sugar industry has been the basis of the whole economy of the islands. The livelihood of a majority of the island's people has depended directly or indirectly on the continued functioning of the sugar industry. Both from the point of view of the efficient functioning of the American war economy and from the point of view of the long term economic welfare of the islands, the leaders of the sugar industry felt justified in maintaining production at the highest possible levels.

At the same time, the military and naval leaders of the nation have defined Hawaii's role as indispensable in the defensive and offensive operations of the Pacific war theater. Since Pearl Harbor, Hawaii is more than ever America's greatest fortress. This role is of the time being paramount and has entailed many important and often painful adjustments on the part of the sugar plantations.

The first half of the paper will deal with the more technical adjustments which loom particularly large in the minds of the technically trained managers of the industry. The second half will deal with the social adjustments, the human reactions of the people living in the plantation communities. This part is of course of peculiar interest to the social scientist.

Hawaii's plantations, in general, have successfully met these obstacles and challenges of war conditions. From quiet little communities they have become busy defense areas. The scene in our plantation fields today includes tanks and guns, as well as cane harvesters and tractors. Nineteen forty-two saw a decline, in production due to a decreased supply of labor and the taking over of cane land by the armed forces. However, the sugar industry for the entire territory supplied the mainland with 670,000 tons of sugar although Federal prediction early in the year was only 600,000 tons. The present satisfactory conditions in the sugar plantations are due largely to the fact that the business interests controlling the plantations anticipated the war emergency and made preparations accordingly.

P. E. Spalding, President of C. Brewer and Company, agents for fourteen of Hawaii's thirty-eight plantations, defined the major problems covering the whole "gamut" of plantation operations as supplies, production, and marketing.

Certain essential supplies are now unavailable. Hence make-shift materials have had to be substituted. The annual report of Wai'alea plantation, for instance, states that their mill smoke-stack was considered a flying hazard; consequently, the army cut it down to 63 feet. Since a forced draft fan was unavailable, a makeshift was used all season. The limitations on the use of metal materials has resulted also in difficulties with mechanical equipment. This situation will become increasingly serious, according to Mr. Spalding. ASimilar point of view is expressed by J. Waterhouse, President of Alexander and Baldwin, agents for various plantations, who argues that the shortage of both men and equipment will be greater in 1944.

Plantation supplies and harvesting equipment, such as trucks, tractors, and cranes, were borrowed extensively by the army. Materials of every sort were also furnished by the plantations, from jute bags and structural supplies, to medical and surgical instruments. Machine shops and blacksmiths and carpenter shops were turned over to military uses, at times up to 80 per cent of men and equipment. Millions of gallons of water were furnished to the armed services as evidenced by Ewa plantation, which supplied 15 million gallons in one month. Waialua plantation was able to save on fuel because mountain water was plentiful enough for irrigation purposes and the steam pumping plant did not have to be used often.

Production has been reduced due to the manpower or labor problem which is certainly the greatest obstacle in production. Plantation laborers are assisting in the construction of hundreds of military projects. Plantations as a whole in the first year of the war contributed over 400,000 man-days to the government. This situation was rendered more acute because prior to the war, manpower had been set in exact ratio to the expected production. Plantations have been seriously handicapped by those

1 This article gives only a sketchy picture of the situations faced by the plantations due to the war. It is based chiefly upon secondary accounts which have thus far appeared in print, and a limited number of direct observations.
2 "C. Brewer $11,50 A Share, President Spalding Reports," Honolulu Advertiser, March 30, 1942, p. 11, col. 7.
4 Ibid., p. 32.
5 "Raising Sugar in Wartime," Hawaii Farm and Home, Volume 6, No. 8, May, 1943, p. 6.
7 "Raising Sugar in Wartime," op. cit., p. 6.
8 Ibid., p. 6.
9 Ibid., p. 6.
10 "Raising Sugar in Wartime," op. cit., p. 6.
12 Annual Report for Year 1942, Waialua Agricultural Co.
who have entered military service, including the Japanese-Americans who entered the special volunteer unit, and still others who have taken more lucrative defense jobs. The plantations were handicapped by the loss of several technical managers to the armed forces. This labor shortage has made it impossible to harvest some mature cane according to the normal milling schedules. Some of this excess stock which piled up in 1942 was harvested only in January, 1943. A longer harvesting season was necessary on most plantations before the traditional custom of tossing hats into the cane signifying the season’s end could be observed.

Hope for an easing of the labor shortage came as the result of the statement of General Delos Emmons, former Military Governor, on November 20, 1942, to the effect that some of the major defense projects on Oahu would be completed within a few months, thus releasing labor for private enterprise. In the meantime regular plantation labor has been supplemented by a student victory corps, a plan of the public and private schools which enables pupils to work part-time on food production.

Much plantation land has been taken over by the government. Waialua plantation had to clear 1,000 acres for military use and consequently harvested some fields too early and plowed under others. Ewa plantation lost 371 acres to the government. A plantation lost 1,109 acres of cane land, 123 acres of fallow land, and 486 acres of waste land for defense projects.” Hawaiian Commercial and Sugar Company on Maui and Kahuku Plantation have also reported similar losses of land. Kahuku plantation harvested only 2,206 acres instead of the planned 2,735 acres. Onomea Sugar Company on Hawaii faced a curtailment of harvesting in 1942, although it had yielded higher than expected.

Difficulties in milling operations were created by frequent shutdowns due to alerts, inability to keep mills supplied with cane, blackout regulations, over-time shifts, and grinding of immature cane. The plantations faced the difficult tasks of harvesting and transporting at night as well as operating the mills at night under blackout conditions.

Diversified farming of such food crops as lima beans and carrots is another war activity which of course reduces the amount of sugar land. In order to further this work, sugar plantations have pooled their labor and equipment and are confining their farming to two large areas, one of which is in Waialua. In cooperation with the H.S.F.A. Experiment Station, plantations are also promoting the development of home vegetable crops. Experiments are being conducted with the objective of developing “varieties of vegetables better suited to local requirements.”

Marketing has been complicated by the problems of wartime shipping. Obviously the movement of ships has not been on schedule and the amount of available shipping space reduced. The problem is being met partially by bulk shipments of sugar. In April, 1943, for instance, 40,000 tons were shipped in bulk to the mainland from Maui’s plantations.

The leaders of the industry consider the immediate outlook a good one. Hawaii expected to deliver a minimum of 600,000 tons of sugar to the mainland in 1943. This optimistic outlook is not unusual as one year of wartime difficulties has fairly well defined what the major problems are and how the best possible adjustments can be made. Plantation managers have gained valuable knowledge and can now plan ahead. Favorable weather conditions for ripening of cane and for field work have given impetus to sugar production although the major determining factor is still the question of labor. One hundred fifty thousand tons of sugar in unharvested cane were carried over from 1942.

Cooperation in the war will continue to characterize the sugar plantations. John E. Russell, President of the Sugar Planters’ Association and of Theo. H. Davies and Company, states:

It is necessary to keep in mind the basic principles, keep production to the maximum, our costs to the minimum, our efforts constant to attain and maintain our rightful place in the national economy and continue fullest cooperation with the military authorities.

Kohala Sugar Company on the island of Hawaii, as part of the plantation “Cooperative Program” in producing food crops other than sugar, is conducting experiments on new crops, such as Surinam Spinach and Yam Bean Root. Promotion of fruit growing is also being done by Manager J. S. B. Pratt. Hawaiian Commercial and Sugar Company on Maui has promoted a home garden contest. Five plantations, Wailuku Sugar, Maui Agricultural Company, Pioneer Mill, Baldwin Packers, and Maui Pineapple Company, intend to plow 480 acres for vegetable growing and corn with planting and cultivating by individual farmers.

Plantations are working jointly with civilian and military authorities in advancing new projects of benefit to the whole community. One such scheme is the building of a tunnel under

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14 “Beacon in Hawaii,” op.cit., p. 52.
15 “C. Brewer $11.50 A Share,” op.cit., p. 11.
19 Ibid., p. 7.
20 Annual Report for Year 1942, Waialua Agricultural Co.
21 Ibid.
22 “Hawaii’s Harvest Approaching End,” Sugar, Vol. 37, No. 11, No. 1012, p. 22.
24 “C. Brewer $11.50 A Share,” op.cit., p. 11.
25 “Hawaii Sees War Effort Paramount,” op.cit., p. 16.
26 “Hawaii’s Campaign Begins Well,” op.cit., p. 27.
Mount Kaala on territory land leased to Waianae plantation which will give 2,000,000 gallons of water supply for that region, with its insufficient rainfall.28

At the same time, plantations expect to improve existing facilities to further production of sugar despite war difficulties. Waianae plantations will erect a cane cleaning plant, and Maui Agricultural Company intends to bring its power plant up to date.29

Plantation community life has been reorganized to meet the needs of the defense program. Red Cross centers have been organized, as well as first aid stations and evacuation centers. People have had to adjust to rationing of food, liquor, and gasoline, handled usually by plantation executives appointed by the military governor for their respective areas. The plantations have also set their own volunteer military defense units in the eventuality of an enemy attack.30 Volunteer groups perform without pay various other tasks essential to victory. An outstanding example is the Aiea Victory Volunteers consisting of 150 American-Japanese men who cleared trees on their day off for many months under Manager Austin's direction. They have been officially honored by Major General J. Lawton Collins of that sector. Another commendable group is the Waialua Victory Unit, which raised $2,800 for the Red Cross Fund.31

An interesting picture of changes in plantation life is given by Tim Warren in his article, "Sugar Goes to War." In it, he gives his personal impressions of tours made to Aiea, Waipahu, and Ewa plantations.32 In Waipahu he found every conceivable preparation made for possible attacks on Oahu. Five hundred acres of potatoes were being harvested by school children. In the village, he saw vegetable gardens in every front yard where there had formerly been flower gardens. The plantation stores were well stocked. In the fields, 100 plantation workers were ditch-digging for the army. In the clubhouse, 40 women volunteers daily made bunny gas masks and rolled bandages. At Ewa plantation he found the machine shop doing repair work on tanks, trucks, and antiaircraft installations. In the village, recreational facilities were being shared with the armed forces. This is true of most plantations. An illustration is seen in Waialua plantation which has given up Tenney Recreation Center and 28 residences and other units for the quartering of troops and for supply depots. At Honolulu plantation, he saw further evidences of cooperation between plantation and army officials.

A closer view of two plantations may be worthwhile. One, visited by the writer, is close to a large number of defense projects and is, therefore, defined by military authorities as being within the combat zone. This has necessitated military policing, and particularly stringent control of the blackout and night passes.

The social life of the community has been reduced to a minimum. One clubhouse was the only recreation center unoccupied by the army. The moving picture machine was used almost exclusively for men in the services. They also used the gymnasium and athletic field.

The war has furthered the development of Americanization among the Japanese in this community. The elaborate Japanese weddings of former years have disappeared. Now only the simplest of ceremonies takes place. Japanese schools have been closed, and the property is being liquidated. The Japanese children now have more time for play and, according to some observers, their health is better. At the same time the traditional controls in the Japanese family are breaking down. The younger children have opportunities to earn more money than ever before and they dare to assert their independence from the home. They are, as one informant put it, "shooting craps and sneaking into town for the movies." Interracial dating is still another new aspect of plantation life. Many plantation girls, mainly of Japanese ancestry, are being taken out by men of the services.

The labor situation presents, in a somewhat intensified form, the same picture as on other plantations. Many employees are leaving the plantation for jobs on government projects. The older men, however, tend to remain on the plantation either for security or because they are aliens. Frequently when a young man leaves his plantation job he is replaced by his sister. Many women now work in the mill, some of them even on mechanical jobs.

Plantation wages have been raised to meet the keen competition from government projects. In the first year of the war there was a 25 per cent bonus on gross earnings, but as men continued to leave, each individual is now paid on the basis of services rendered and length of residence, plus a bonus of 10 per cent of gross earnings and one week's vacation with pay if he has worked 260 days out of the year.

This plantation is also participating in the development of new experimental crops and manufactured products made necessary in view of war conditions. A commercial yeast plant has been installed. Walter E. Smith, technologist for C. Brewer and Company, states that "60,000 pounds of compressed baker's yeast will be produced in one month, meeting civilian and military needs. The yeast is grown at the expense of the surplus molasses, a by-product of sugar manufacture, plus nitrogen and added nutrients. From the exhausted mash, from which the yeast is separated, about 5,000 gallons of alcohol will be recovered," alcohol being a by-product of yeast.33 This plantation is also engaged in producing syrup, now on sale in the local market.

28 Ibid., p. 2.
29 "Hawaii Sees Some Labor Relief in 1943," op. cit., p. 23.
31 "Hawaii's Harvest Approaching End," op. cit., p. 22.
A picture of an outside island plantation is somewhat similar, according to an interview with a person living on one of the smaller plantations on an outside island. Race relations, especially between the Filipinos and Japanese, continue about as prior to the war. A Japanese morale committee on the island has been instrumental in the abandonment by the Japanese of old customs, such as the wearing of kimonos and slippers. English classes are sponsored for the older generation. The clubhouse has been taken over by a branch of the army. Recreation is reduced; athletics and sports are being abandoned due to the small number of young men left on the plantation. Kerosene, necessary for home cooking, is being rationed. High school students and women are now in plantation jobs. Wages have been increased.

Hawaii’s major industry is thus gradually finding its way out of the maze of difficulties created by the war and it expects to be intact when the war is over, having in the meantime found various useful ways of contributing to the successful prosecution of the war.

SOME SOCIAL ASPECTS OF MAINLAND DEFENSE WORKERS IN HONOLULU
CORY WILSON

Early in 1941 Honolulu opened its gates and started running another social group through its already strained digestive systems. To this capital city of the Territory of Hawaii, still struggling to assimilate such racial, cultural, and social groups as the Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, Portuguese, Puerto Ricans, Caucasians, Hawaiians, plantation workers, the Army and Navy, another group known as mainland defense workers had to be added.

This group was designated defense workers before December 7, and in spite of efforts to change the appellation to war workers, or many other variations, they are still known as defense workers, and likely will be after the war is over.

As a social group, defense workers compare more nearly with the Army and Navy in their relation to the rest of the population than with any other of Honolulu’s varied groups. To the other social groups, Honolulu is home, but to the Army, Navy, and defense workers it is merely a place of sojourn, a place to spend a year or two, serve out a contract or enlistment, and then to leave, adding this to past experience and the list of places visited. This factor and the attitude necessarily arising from it has a great deal to do with the relation of these three groups to the remainder of the population.

1 The author makes no pretense of exhausting the subject material.

At the outset it would be well to consider the types of men who make up the defense group from the mainland. First of all these men tend to be rather young. Most are in the age bracket of twenty to forty. This is only logical since a man with several children isn’t as likely to accept a job in the more remote corners of the world as a man with no dependents. However, there are a surprising number of men who have left rather large families on the mainland to work in Honolulu.

Four out of five men, if asked why they came, will give varied reasons, but all agree that one reason was a curiosity about the islands. For young and old alike the romantic lure of the islands caused by years of successful advertising is the underlying reason for their coming. In addition to this fundamental reason, there are various other reasons such as: an opportunity to make more money than ever before, adjustment socially or in the job at home, desire to escape compulsory military service, a chance to make a little industrial training go a long way because of the excess of demand over supply in industrial manpower in Honolulu, and, not to be overlooked, the natural call of a congenial climate.

Most of the older men with families came because they thought it possible to maintain themselves here, and their families on the mainland, and still be financially ahead. A few came because of a desire to escape an unpleasant home. Most of these married men who came before the United States’ participation in the war had expected to be followed shortly by their families. The sudden outbreak of war kept these families from joining them, and at the same time prevented them from returning to their families.

Since the war, the men who have come, both young and old, have come mainly because of patriotic compulsion. Thousands have transferred from mainland Navy yards to the Pearl Harbor yard with something of a crusading spirit to help repair the damage done at Pearl Harbor.

There is no reason to believe that these men represent anything but the average mainland industrial and construction worker, except perhaps that they are the more adventurous of the lot. However, what they represent on the mainland has nothing to do with the way they are regarded in the islands. In Honolulu they are having to answer to a new set of standards.

Self-disillusionment is one of the first processes the newly arrived defense worker has to go through in Honolulu. He may be either the product of a small community where he is well known and considered a man about town or else he came from a city like Brooklyn, Chicago, New York, or Philadelphia, and feels that this gives him the natural right to make light of smaller cities.

The primary lesson this fellow has to learn is that he is no longer a glamour boy. In Hawaii that is reserved for the air corps and beach boys. The second thing to learn is that no matter how clever or how handsome he was at home, there
are a thousand defense workers, two thousand sailors, and three thousand soldiers just a little more clever and handsome. The next important lesson is that no one in Honolulu especially cares to hear about what a great personality he was at home, or how high the buildings, how deep the snow, how long the trains, or how late the night clubs. As a result of those lessons this fellow may lose his former attitude, take on a persecution complex, and go around with a chip on his shoulder, criticizing, discontented, and maladjusted.

If the average Honolulu were asked to characterize a typical mainland defense worker, the characterization would probably go something like this:

“When you meet him on the bus, if he’s going to or from work, he is usually dressed in dirty work clothes and wearing a badge that seems superfluous for identification purposes. If he is not going to or from work he is probably wearing either a faded polo shirt or a purple spangled aloha shirt. Defense workers have almost taken these shirts away from the natives and Filipinos, but if they knew how poorly they wear them they would hasten to give them back.

“This defense worker is usually seen with one or more friends with whom he talks boisterously. Though he looks at other racial groups about him with condescending air, we suspect that his social status at home was somewhere in the lower brackets.”

The characterization would continue: “If there is any liquor in town he is either drunk or drinking. If he can find any girl with correspondingly low morals he is probably ‘shacked up.’ There is no doubt that he is making a wheelbarrow load of money which he doesn’t know how to handle wisely. It doesn’t seem right that these men, a majority having less than a high school education, should make more money than our college graduates.”

This characterization, while it is obviously unfair, and can in the most part be applied to only a small percentage of the group, has nevertheless been earned for the entire group by its minority. It is the stereotyped picture in the average Honolulu’s mind.

This city, which has been host to the Pacific fleet for twenty or thirty years, and is beginning more and more to feel like a suburb of Schofield Barracks, has little time and sympathy to waste on men who have no other civic interest than that of having the bus service improved, territorial income taxes abolished, and the housing situation relieved.

Proof of the tendency to place all defense workers in a single category is shown in a telephone conversation between a young Hickam Field office worker and a Honolulu housewife. This chap, a former Arthur Murray dancing teacher in Detroit is attending the University of Hawaii at present, and is an exceptionally fine mannered and cultured young gentleman.

Upon this particular occasion he telephoned a home in Manoa that advertised a room for rent. The first inquiry the lady of the house made was whether he was a defense worker. When he replied in the affirmative she shot back, “We want no defense workers here” and slammed the receiver down.

The defense workers to arrive in Honolulu for the most part lived in the naval commissary or in barracks provided at Red Hill, Wheeler Field, or wherever the project was located. But more and more there was a tendency to disperse over the city. First the downtown hotels were patronized. Then the districts up and down the main streets of King and Beretania were patronized. Gradually workers moved into outlying middle class districts of Kalahi, Kaimuki, and Kapahulu. The big movement, however, started for Waikiki. Now that tourists could no longer patronize the hotels and apartment houses of famed Waikiki, the defense workers were about the only ones remaining with enough money to afford them. Most of those who have moved to Waikiki are the younger men who want to take advantage of the beach, the bars, and the bowling alley. These are the smart set of the defense workers. It is chiefly they who wear the multi-colored aloha shirts with tails flapping in the breeze, and it is they who have the reputation for pitching endless numbers of wild parties.

One of the most socially significant things about the adjustment of the defense group in Hawaii is their relation with other races, mainly the Polynesians, Orientals, and Filipinos. As can be expected, these men from the mainland come with mainland attitudes toward these racial groups. To those from the west coast, Orientals were not an uncommon sight, but the sight that was uncommon was inter-racial association. Each newcomer underwent the same shock. They all came to the conclusion that Honolulu was indeed unique in that aspect.

But time and a dearth of Caucasian women made their changes, and most of these men changed more quickly than they had ever thought possible. The first clue that a change was taking place was when the defense workers began to note distinction in beauty among the Hawaiian or Oriental girls and to discover that some of them are prettier than others. This was a sign that they were beginning to regard members of other racial groups as individuals. From there on the change was rapid. Most of these young men were surprised at the freedom of some of the girls from inhibitions. Many of them seemed more like the girls at home than the usually badly spoiled Caucasian girls remaining on the island.

The defense worker received the jolt of his life when he found that the other races had turned the tables on him and were eyeing him appraisingly, were calculating his probable social status, and were often “looking down their noses” at him when he moved into their community. To some of the lower class or more poorly educated girls of other races it might seem an aid to their prestige to be seen with Caucasian
boys, but to the elite and educated, this is definitely cheapening and an open announcement that they cannot attract boys of their own race. Furthermore their parents object just as strenuously as do those of the Caucasian boy. One Oriental girl tells of how her brother, stationed at Camp McCoy, Wisconsin writes tantalizingly to his mother about the blonde he goes out with there. His mother each time writes back and warns him against returning to the Islands with a blonde wife.

Many of the educated girls of Oriental ancestry, however, do associate with Caucasian boys simply for the thrill and satisfaction of over-stepping social taboos—just as many mainland girls glory in drinking and attending wild parties when forbidden to do so. Most educated Island girls of other races, however, object to close association with defense workers, not because they harbor any strong racial prejudice against Caucasians, but because the intentions of these men are generally held not to be too honorable. This is perhaps true in many cases, but there are exceptions which are becoming more and more frequent.

A great part of the female population of Honolulu, however, is not highly educated and is not worried a great deal about social taboos. This is the element that figures prominently with defense workers in establishing a new pattern of life in Honolulu. As has been mentioned before, most of these men feel that they are here for only a short while and are on something like a vacation, a camping trip, or a spree. Their mothers and Aunt Mary’s not being here to give a disapproving frown, they “let themselves go,” and give their morals a holiday. However, some of them express surprise at the ease with which some of the island women can accommodate themselves to such a “morality of convenience.”

One young man who was sharing a quasi-relationship with an Island girl was almost dumbfounded when she asked if she might bring her mother over and introduce her to him. Still unable to understand how a mother could approve of her daughter sharing such a relationship, he gave his consent. The mother came over and talked to him as if he had been her favorite son-in-law. He is still scratching his head.

Another cherub-faced Pearl Harbor worker of about twenty years of age is sharing an apartment with a pretty Portuguese girl of about twenty-two. Her devoted husband spends a great part of his time visiting them, and seems to think almost as much of his wife’s lover as he does of his wife. The yard worker’s conscience bothered him because her husband was so kind to him. He tried to persuade the girl to go back and live with her husband once more, but she refused. So her husband continues to visit his wife and her lover. He sits with them in the living room adoring his pretty wife and enjoying and admiring her new love.

It is unfair to say that these cases are representative of the way defense workers as a whole are passing their time and amusing themselves, but the number who are participating in this type of adventure is too large to go unnoticed.

Some of these men will marry and become citizens of the community, continuing to live here after the war is over. Some men will send to the Mainland for their wives and sweethearts after the war is over and spend the remainder of their lives in the Islands, but the majority will return to the Mainland at the first opportunity offered. The majority will have their thoughts and their hopes on the Mainland though they themselves are here. This is only natural since most of their wives or prospective wives are there.

The men do a great deal of complaining about petty things—little annoying things about the community or about their jobs. They complain if they have to work long hours for weeks on end without a day of rest, but rebel at once if forced to take off one day in eight. If work is piled on them they complain; on the other hand if work is slack they cry out even louder and want to return to the mainland where they are really needed. They complain about the pep posters posted about defense projects and about the liquor shortage. To the casual observer it might appear that the number of complaints are entirely out of proportion, and that the only type of workman sent here is the perennial malcontent. But those who have lived and worked with these men know that these are only surface problems. They know that an underlying cause of the discontent is the absence of their wives and children or of feminine companionship of their own race. In short, they are lonely. There is no apparent way to relieve this discontent, but if there were, the petty grievances would doubtless disappear by the hundred.

The favorite topic of conversation among defense workers is anything relative to the mainland. When one defense worker greets another, instead of the traditional “hello” or “how are you” he’ll say, “When are you going back to the mainland?” If two defense workers talk together for more than five minutes the conversation will drift around to: “How would you like to be on the mainland for just one night?” “Well, tonight is Saturday night, now if we were at home we’d just be getting ready to . . .” and so it goes on incessantly.

Many of these men will of necessity be in Hawaii, particularly Honolulu and Oahu, for the duration of the war. Their adjustment will improve as time goes on, but never to the point that they will cease to stand out as another of Hawaii’s many social groups.
ATTITUDES ON DATING OF ORIENTAL GIRLS WITH SERVICE MEN

DOROTHY JIM
TAKIKO TAKIGUCHI

An interesting outgrowth of the present war in Hawaii is the problem of social relations between civilians and service men now stationed all over the islands. The influx of these mainland soldiers has created a sociological problem that no doubt will play a large part in shaping our social and cultural life in after years.

Hawaii has long been known as "the melting pot of the Pacific"—its very population is so diverse in character and culture that on the surface the addition of another social group will not affect our social and cultural groups. However, these men are not merely another cultural group immigrating to the islands for the purpose of becoming somewhere a permanent element in the population. They are not arriving as many of our ancestors did—to work in the plantations, and thus become integral members of the island community. Instead, they are here for only one purpose—to help fight the war—and as a consequence, their residence is temporary. Except in a few cases, a large majority of these men of our armed forces have only a transitory interest in Hawaii and its people. Their very existence in the army, the navy, or the marine corps necessitates such an attitude.

Interracial dating is an important phase of the social relation between the civilian and the service man. To gather data on this very real and pressing social problem, questionnaires were sent out in May, 1942 to sixty-seven individuals from various occupational groups, including the following: twenty-six students from the University of Hawaii, sixteen professional workers, including instructors from the University, social workers, and school teachers, six service men, all mainland haoles, ten defense workers, five housewives, and four members of the Varsity Victory Volunteers. This number included thirty-four Japanese and thirty-nine males.

The individuals who cooperated by answering our questions were requested not to sign their names. The only information asked was that of race, sex, and occupational group. The questionnaires filled out by the individuals themselves consisted of three parts: dating, marriage, and post-war results of present marriages.

It is realized that in such a survey, where the opinions of only sixty-seven individuals have been secured, there can be no serious claim for scientific accuracy or adequacy. We can present only the attitudes of these individuals, with no guarantee that they are representative of the group opinion. On the other hand, they may serve to reveal what some people think and how they feel about civilian-service man relationships in our island community. As long as Hawaii is a fortress service man-Oriental dat-

1 The following set of letters will be used to designate the background of the informants:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ancestry</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Occupational Group</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H—Haole</td>
<td>M—Male</td>
<td>C—College Student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J—Japanese</td>
<td>F—Female</td>
<td>D—Defense Worker</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>H—Housewife</td>
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<td>S—Service Man</td>
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<td>V—Varsity Victory Volunteers</td>
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ing, and its attendant problems, will be with us.

**Dating**

1. What do you think about Orientals dating service men? Do you or don't you approve of it? Why?

This question is one of increasing concern and since the war. Interracial dating between service men-Orientals occurred prior to the outbreak of the war, but it was a relatively minor problem. The operation of strict family controls, the fear of "talk," and of being categorized as "soldier's meat," the loss of social status, these factors all served to discourage dating between Orientals and service men. But today, the attitude of many has taken a decided turn and reflects a definite trend toward a greater acceptance and approval of such dating. The survey revealed that about three-fourths (72%) of the individuals expressed approval, 22% disapproval, and 6% expressed no specific opinion. It may be of interest to note that only one group, the haole female college students, showed any disapproval of the relationship. Their opinions, with those of other individuals who disapproved of the relationship, were based largely on the consideration that the different backgrounds of the two ethnic groups render it impossible for them to meet on a basis of equality.

I do not think it is fair to either one. They are both entirely different; they think differently. Most of the boys are from the mainland and they can't understand the Oriental and vice versa. (HF-C)

Definitely not because their backgrounds are different and it serves as a great barrier. (HF-C)

"Blood is thicker than water." (HF-C)

I think it is uncommon for Orientals to date service men. The nisei and issei have similar thoughts concerning racial differences. I believe many will not want to date service men. I think it is too radical a movement. (JM-C)

Each nationality should date their own nationality. (HF-H)

I do not believe in the two races mixing. (HF-H)

It is not surprising that many of the Oriental girls should find the newly acquired freedom of contact with the mainland haole boy both stimulating and profitable. Accustomed to playing a subordinate role in the family and society, the Oriental girl finds herself suddenly placed on a pedestal by the gallant American youth in search of feminine companionship. Consequently, she finds these men very attractive. On the other hand, the Oriental girl inflates his ego by modestly submitting to his every wish, without too much questioning. This has led many individ-
uals to believe that the Oriental girls are too easily “snowed under” by the service men.

The different moral background of the two groups has made appropriate conduct difficult to define. What is embarrassing to the Orientals may be regarded only as commonplace and insignificant to the Occidentals. The service man is accustomed to free and informal association with adolescent girls, and the local Oriental girl frequently is quite inexperienced in dealing with the romantic overtures of the mainlanders. This situation naturally leads to exploitation of the local girls under certain circumstances.

Most Oriental girls here are too unsophisticated and are too easily “snowed under” by the lines the boys have. They take the boys much too seriously, also themselves. (HF-P)

Too many girls would not be able to keep their heads. (HF-P)

All service men have one thing in mind—sex. (JM-C)

Dating for fun, present in the many pre-war friendships of Oriental girls and service men, is now in part supplanted by dating as a morale building and patriotic gesture. The patriotic element has assumed a new significance for the Oriental girls ever since their friends and relatives joined the service. Many individuals approved dating on this ground.

No objection because it is a patriotic gesture. Some girls have brothers in Wisconsin and realize the situation of the service men here. (JF-C)

Approve: for morale purposes. (JM-C)

Young people everywhere need to relax and dance. It also helps to keep up the morale. (HF-C)

I didn’t approve of Oriental girls dating service men before the war, but ever since the outbreak of the war, I approve of it for they are doing something for their country in keeping up the morale. (JF-C)

Still others who approved of the relationship cited the sociological importance of the intermingling of races. They stated that it was only through the social interaction of members of the two ethnic groups that they will come to know and to understand each other, thus helping to overcome racial prejudices and misunderstandings.

Wonderful opportunity for both sides to understand each other and for boys to go back home and dispel the idea that Orientals are different from the haole. (HF-P)

An indirect means of national unity and the breakdown of racial prejudice. Their conception of each other being different, both will learn from each other in this way. (JF-C)

They should come to know the other race better. Too much race and class narrow-mindedness must be dissolved. (HM-S)

Helps to break down prejudices among the coast haole who are limited in their associations with the Orientals. (HM-C)

With the augmentation of Hawaii’s male population by service men and defense workers within the last few years, Hawaii is faced with an acute sex disproportion and a dearth of haole women. A considerable number of the informants recognized that the normal, natural craving for feminine companionship would under these circumstances lead to the service men dating Oriental girls. It is both human and natural, so why interfere?

Men require the companionship of women, Orientals or haoles. Since there is an insufficient number of haoles, the dating of Orientals is not objectionable. (HM-C)

It would be nice to date them since they are so far from home. (JF-C)

Absolutely a grand idea over here since there are so many more men than women on this island and the fact that men crave the companionship of the opposite sex. (HM-D)

There was a general tendency to approve dating on the condition that dates be kept on a friendly, impersonal basis. Not faced with the scarcity of men, the Oriental girls should be discriminating in accepting dates. The girls themselves should be matured and intelligent.

For the great mass of Oriental girls, no! But for those educated and intelligent enough to understand what it’s all about, and for those who are brought together by mutual interests and companionship—an emphatic yes! (JF-P)

Only when a girl is matured enough socially, emotionally, mentally to know how to keep out of trouble do I approve of any girl dating with a service man, and especially an Oriental girl. (JF-P)

If she can be a friend and stay a friend and the men stay as gentlemen. I think there’s no harm done. (HM-S)

I would approve of such dates providing both sides can keep it a purely social relationship and since most service men will go out with any girl, it is up to the girl to be discriminating and to choose the “gentlemen type” of which there are many. Most of these men want nothing more than a pleasant time—but many people don’t see it that way. (JM-V)

2. Is it better to date in groups or alone?

This question was posed to determine what kind of dating would be most enjoyable and desirable from the standpoint of the Oriental girl and the service man. As expected, a greater number (64 per cent) favored group dating to single dates. Avoiding social disapproval and gossip and “keeping the best front forward” were common reasons stated, especially by those sensitive to the local family traditions and expectations.

It is always preferable to go on group dates with service men for the simple reason that it is more fun to do so aside from the fact that it looks better from the outside. (JM-V)

Better to date in groups because there will be less chance of “talk.” (JF-C)

In groups for it won’t look bad by outsiders. If alone there is a tendency to get into trouble. (JF-C)

I don’t think the average service man has too much respect for Oriental girls who go out alone with them in the evenings. Beware of the dark! The lower type of service men have terrific lines. (HF-C)
On the other hand, 23 per cent replied that either types of dating was all right. The determining factor was the parties concerned. Thirteen per cent preferred single dates.

If a girl of any race, color, or creed can be trusted alone with a civilian she can be trusted alone with a service man. If not, she probably would find a way to evade the group anyway. (HM-D)

It is all right to date alone. Of course, "there is safety in numbers," and this type of dating is often enjoyed more than any lone mission. When dating alone, the moral problem is present, but it is up to the individuals to occupy themselves with good social activities. Here too there will be a minority who can't be trusted. Why deprive the majority of men a good time, because of a few bad apples? (HM-S)

Probably better for general safety to date in groups on first dates, and if familiarity gained, single dates permissible. (HF-C)

3. Should they attend USO dances? Why?

The USO (United Service Organizations) is the most prominent recreational agency for service men in the islands. Dance groups, voluntary in nature and made up of girls of all racial extractions, are organized by the USO to provide dancing partners for the men in uniform. The Flying Squadron, made up only of haole girls, was organized before the war. The Hui Menehunes, an inter-racial dance group, was set up after the war on Oahu. Girls from all racial groups and segments of the population are welcomed to join.

An overwhelming majority, 90 per cent, favored attendance at these dances. As to the reasons set forth, they varied as can be expected. The morale-building element was constantly emphasized by both men and women. It was recognized that informal social contacts and feminine companionship are conducive to good morale among our fighting men. With the dearth of women on the islands, many regarded attendance as an "obligation" and a "civic responsibility." That many Oriental girls attend the USO dances with this in mind is very probable.

It is part of our war duties. (JF-C)
It sort of helps boost the morale. (JF-C)
A civic responsibility. Also, as long as relations with service men are not carried on outside the USO. (HF-C)
A way of doing her part to raise the morale of the fighting men. I feel that her presence would be appreciated by a majority of the service men. (HM-D)
As a patriotic and social gesture. (JM-D)
It helps to boost the morale and also there are never enough girls at the USO dances. If my brother was in the army and the girls refused to go to the dances, I would be angry. (JF-C)

For many of the Oriental girls, on the other hand, attending USO dances is a novel and interesting experience. Dancing, conversing, and eating with these service men in congenial surroundings make for pleasant experiences. New horizons of thought are opened for her, good, clean fun enjoyed.

Yes, there's nothing like meeting new people. (JF-C)
Yes, in this way they can have fun and give fun in return. (JM-C)

Dances sponsored by the USO are carefully organized and chaperoned. Rules of conduct are set by the National USO and also by the girls themselves. Parents whose daughters attend these dances are given every assurance that they will be well taken care of. A few individuals, apparently unfamiliar with the policies of the USO, approved of attending these dances only if they are "above-board."

If properly chaperoned and not too secretive. With capable bouncers. No drunks and rowdies allowed. (JM-V)

I think attending the USO dances where there is careful supervision is all right, especially if they stick to the rules of giving only first names and not making dates. (HF-F)

One haole female professional worker made the observation that "it is better to meet girls in some supervised manner than to meet them on street corners."

An interesting attitude expressed was that separate dances should be held for the haole and the Oriental girls; that is, haole girls would be asked to attend a dance at which no other girls of a different racial background were to be present. This suggests a form of racial segregation which is a radical departure from the pre-war tradition of racial equality in Hawaii.

I think this would be all right. However, I do not think that white girls and Oriental girls would mix successfully at a dance. It might be a better idea to have USO dances with Oriental girls exclusively. (JM-D)

There certainly aren't enough haole girls to entertain all of them. However, I don't think the haole girls and Japanese girls should attend the same dances. (HF-C)

4. How do girls feel going out with service men?

Posing such a question necessarily entailed very personal and varied answers, depending upon such factors as race, sex, and background. No wholly accurate trend of opinion can be given in answer to this question.

The Japanese males, especially, were very caustic in their remarks. Uncomplimentary one-word remarks were often used, such as "shameless," "prudish," "smart," and "flattered." This attitude may be due to the fact that Japanese males are experiencing stiff social competition with the service men and resent girls going out with these men.

They seem to be riding on a bandwagon. (JM-V)
From what I observe in town, girls seem to be proud to go out with a man in uniform. I think the girl should consider what kind of service men they are going out with. (JM-D)
They feel shameless and want to show off. (JM-C)
Most of them seem to put up a front. (JM-D)

Prior to the war it was relatively uncommon for a girl of Oriental ancestry to go out in public with a service man. Girls who did venture forth evoked social disapproval and earned for
themselves a "bad name." Although there has been a greater social acceptance of service men—Oriental dating and less disapproval, girls going out with service men still experience a sense of embarrassment and self-consciousness. Many individuals noted this on their questionnaires.

Embarrassed because people stare at them. (JF-P)

The majority of the girls feel self-conscious about it, and they feel as if they are encountering raised eyebrows and questioning glances. (HM-P)

Some feel embarrassed; depends on girl. However, if they were stepping out quite regularly any sense of embarrassment would be overcome. Eventually they get to be blaze about it. There is even the tendency to flaunt the fact. (HM-P)

They feel conspicuous and somewhat embarrassed, not all of them but most of them. (HM-S)

A few individuals made a distinction between the types of girls who go out with service men. The assumption was that the "lower" class Oriental girls feel flattered at the attentions received while the "higher" class Oriental girls are apprehensive and a bit embarrassed. One Japanese college female remarked, "Those not of college level feel proud. Those of college level feel embarrassed when they see their friends, although these men are no different from other boys."

Marriage

1. What chance of happiness has a girl who marries a service man?

Service men stationed on the islands prior to the war have married local Oriental girls. Interracial marriages are legally recognized and there is no adverse public opinion to it. This does not mean to say that there are no individuals or groups of people who violently oppose such a procedure, but they would not express these opinions in public.2

The advent of war has greatly complicated the picture of marriages between service men and Oriental girls. Such marriages are not only interracial in character but are also war marriages, both of which cause very real and grave problems. That many couples are caught in the "fever" and "whirlpool" of wartime marriages with an "eat, drink and be merry for tomorrow you die" philosophy was noted. The tensions and uncertainties of wartime living and restrictions are conducive to a let-down and relaxation of moral standards.

Among all the groups (78 per cent) there was general sentiment that there was little chance for happiness in such marriages. The most important obstacles mentioned were the differences in race and culture of the two groups.

I think there is little chance of happiness for an Oriental girl who marries a service man. They were brought up differently; they have different ideals, different attitudes, and different mores. (HF-C)

Very slight because of differences in racial background. Orientals and whites will not be considered on equal footing. (JM-D)

Most of the soldiers are mainland natives, raised in an entirely different environment from local Oriental girls and, for the most part, this difference would be too great to insure a happy wedded life. (JX-V)

Marriage will go "on the rocks." I don't think many of these girls will find happiness because the background is altogether different. (JM-P)

Nearly one-fifth of the group (17 per cent) ventured the opinion, however, that an Oriental girl who marries a service man has just as much chance of happiness as any other couple. The most important factors mentioned as making for success and happiness in an Oriental-service man marriage were the character and personality of the parties concerned and the devotion with which marriage is entered. Attendant factors such as racial-cultural differences and social and family disapproval were rated secondary in importance.

What chance has any girl of happiness? If two people are enough in love to consider marriage, nothing can keep them from being happy. I rather expect to stay in the service and the girl I marry will have no wants which I will not do my utmost to give to her. (HM-S)

All that she can make of it. I've come across men of such caliber among drafted who I wouldn't hesitate much if he asked for the hand of my daughter in marriage. (JM-V)

If the two knew that it's more than the uniform and infatuation and physical attraction, if they have something solid to base their marriage on, I think the marriage will work. This question is not a question of racial difference or the fact that the man is in the service, but the question of whether the two really love each other and can have companionship together. (JF-P)

2. Do you think service men have marriage in mind when dating these girls?

Most of the informants were impressed with the desire and need of the service men for friendly, primary contacts and assumed that their dating with local girls of Oriental ancestry was to satisfy this need for companionship, and not with marriage in view. Only one person out of sixty-seven believed that service men have marriage in mind when dating girls. The case can best be stated perhaps by a service man himself.

Companionship is what most of us want. We want to meet nice, clean, wholesome girls—with whom we can talk with, dance with, introduce to our friends, our commanding officer, should he come along at this fortunate time. You see some of us were college men before the war. Some of us have wives and sweethearts; we need companionships with women to keep our minds alert to the sweeter, finer and more delicate things in life. Being around men all of the time one soon has a tendency to sort

of slip from his high standards of appreciation for womanhood. (HM-S)

Other individuals voiced the same opinion.

Most of them date for companionship, for physical reasons, or out of sheer loneliness. (JF-P)

Many of the fellows are away from women for months at a time. When they get "leave" or "liberty," one of the first things they do is to seek feminine companionship. Most of them yearn to hear a woman's voice again. They long for the scent of perfume. Marriage isn't their thought; a good time with a "skirt" is their answer. (HM-S)

They are only seeking feminine companionship which they miss very much in camp. (JM-D)

3. How do you think marriages will affect the families of the girls?

That serious and numerous problems may result in an Oriental-service man marriage was recognized by most of the individuals. Ninety per cent agreed that the families of the girls might be seriously affected.

The traditional Oriental family is a closely knit unit in which the selection of the marriage mates of the children is a closely guarded prerogative of the elders. In the more conserva­tive Oriental families in Hawaii, dating is always under close surveillance by the parents who would look with extreme dis­approval upon interracial dating. Even if interracial marriage were publicly sanctioned most Oriental parents—Caucasians, too—would object to their own children finding marriage mates outside the traditional group.

The extent of the disruption of the family may range from mere disapproval to the disowning of the girl by the family. Many consider it a disgrace to the family name.

Most mothers will disapprove. They would rather see them marry boys of their own nationalities. (JF-H)

The first thing the families do is to disown the girl. Some reinstate her afterwards when they find out the marriage is turning out OK. Others feel that the girl has disgraced the family name and will never be reconciled. Alien parents feel most keenly about this. I think, but the brothers and sisters may not react too violently. (JF-P)

It depends on the philosophy of the family and how Japanese they are. Some will no doubt ostracize their daughters and others would not, for they prefer their daughters alive and married than dead and unmarried. (JF-C)

Post-War Results of Marriage

As stated previously, a large majority of the service men here come from the mainland. Their interest in the islands is only transient. When the war is over, most will leave Hawaii to go back to their mainland home communities. In the event a service man marries an Oriental girl while stationed here the inevitable question always arises, "Will he take his Oriental wife back home with him to the mainland?" Nearly three-fourths (72 per cent) of the individuals replied in the negative in answer to this question.

The insurmountable social barriers which must be encountered by an Oriental wife on the mainland were emphasized again and again. Factors such as small town "talk," community pressure, and social ostracism must be faced realistically. That Hawaii's mores of racial equality are not operative on the mainland is another inescapable fact.

In mainland they look down on Orientals. (JF-H)
No, because of social stigma. (HM-D)

Chances are slim in returning to mainland. Background and family and social concepts of the community are against them. (JM-D)

I doubt if many of the service men would be willing to risk the criticism of their communities by taking an Oriental girl back to the mainland. (JF-P)

A realistic and tragic picture of what may happen to the Oriental wife and the haole husband on the mainland is drawn for us by a mainland haole defense worker.

In most cases I would say no, but even more tragic than the case where the man does not bring his Oriental bride back to the mainland is the case where he does. There she will encounter insurmountable social obstacles that she, having her life in Hawaii, will not be able to understand. On the other hand, the husband will, in time, come to blame his Oriental wife for his social ostracism. He will be cut off from the life that he knew in pre-war days. He cannot count on social contacts for himself and his wife with his pre-war friends and their wives. His economic life will also be seriously affected and there will come a time when he will blame her for all of his woes even though he may have begged her to marry him. (HM-D)

In general, however, the small number of service men who participated in this study were more optimistic regarding the prospects for such marriages. Certainly, however, the few opinions registered here cannot be regarded as necessarily reflecting the attitudes of the mass of service men in Hawaii.

There'll be a certain class who will not take their wives back to the mainland. If the service man was of any account at the time of the marriage there is every possibility that he will take his wife back to the mainland. (HM-S)

A man takes his wife wherever he goes. Yes, if I married here in Hawaii or any other place away from my home, my wife would go home with me and my friends and family would love her just as much as I would. (HM-S)

For the most part, yes. (HM-S)

2. What chance is there that these men will continue to regard their war brides as their wives?

Men in the service are a transient and mobile group. Especially is this true in war time. Men married to local girls find themselves transferred from one area to another. For many who
are war brides the problem of whether they will still be considered as wives by their service husbands is a perplexing and constant one. Especially is this true when men marry only for intimacy and release under the tensions and strains of war.

In answer to this question, over half of the individuals (56 per cent) expressed the opinion that there is very small chance that these men will continue to regard their war brides as their wives. That the men, protected by the service, will leave and forget their Oriental wives was a common observation.

About 30 per cent is my very prejudiced guess. (HFC)
Not much chance. Some who are rushed into marriage by the glamour and romance of war will consider their brides as temporary fun. (HFD)
A large percentage of the men will sail away and will forget their Oriental wives when the last hawser is cast off the dock and will be protected (in) their desertion by the service in which they are engaged. (HMD)
The man will sail away protected by the service. Many marry for intimacy because they know life is short. (HMD)

About one-fifth of the individuals (19 per cent), however, believed that the men will continue to be faithful to their war brides after the war. Nearly 25 per cent replied that no definite answers can be given, one way or the other, to this question. Factors such as the length of acquaintance, the character of the individuals concerned, and the basis for marriage must be taken into consideration.

That is entirely up to the men themselves. There are rotten eggs and there are good eggs. Depends on the couple and what they based their marriage upon. (HM-C)

Depends on length of acquaintance. If they have known their wives for a long time before the marriage then they will continue to regard them as wives. (JM-C)

There is a 50-50 chance depending on the parties involved. If the soldiers love their wives, they will continue and some will continue for they have a "guilty conscience" about the whole matter of their wives' welfare. (JM-C)

NOTES ON JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN WAR-TIME
HONOLULU
YUKIE HIRANO
YASUNOBU KESAJI

Contrary to common expectations, that the number of juvenile arrests in Honolulu would increase as they have in England and various war pressure areas in the United States, statistics released by the Honolulu Police Department for 1942 show little change in the delinquency rates. Delinquency among girls has increased and that among boys has decreased. The picture here is decidedly different from that abroad.

Hawaii during 1941-42 has been busy with national defense projects which have caused an economic boom accompanied by an influx of thousands of young people, predominantly single males both from the mainland and outside islands, all within a comparatively short space of time. Both the advent of war and the influx of service personnel to the islands have brought many problems. Has juvenile delinquency in Honolulu increased or decreased during this period? Have there been any noticeable changes in the number and percentage of girls and boys arrested? How are the rates of decrease and increase distributed through age groups? In what months were the largest number of offenses committed? In what types of offenses was there an increase in both sexes? How do these figures compare with the statistics of some of the mainland cities under similar conditions, and with those of England? We attempt to answer these questions in this paper.

This report is based chiefly on the statistics of arrests by officers of the Honolulu Police Department and especially the work of the Crime Prevention Bureau. Arrests, as defined by law, can be made by a policeman even in cases where there is no certainty that an offense has been committed. A policeman may, without warrant, arrest and detain for examination such persons as may be found under circumstances which justify a reasonable suspicion that they have committed or intended to commit an offense. Following the arrest, the juvenile is referred to the officers of the Crime Prevention Bureau or other investigating officers for disposition. The child may be charged or released. In minor cases the juvenile is released upon consultation, whereas "repeaters" and persons involved in more serious offenses are charged and are referred either to the Juvenile Court or to some social agency for treatment. It is interesting to note that about 90 per cent of the offenders are charged. In this paper we are using the statistics of arrests rather than the "charged figures"
on the ground that they give a more comprehensive picture of the extent of juvenile delinquency in this city. However, it must be remembered that the police figures on juvenile crime in this city. Many cases go unreported, or undiscovered. Furthermore, the "arrest figures" may reflect chiefly attitudes and devotion to duty of the police.

The statistical method of study is, however, neither unsatisfactory because statistics can be interpreted in many ways and are conditioned by variables such as time, place, and social situation. Some of the specific variables that affect delinquency rates are: the discovery of the act, willingness to invoke aid, apprehension of the accused, group custom, agency policy, court policy, the correctness of the petition, and private and public pressures on the court. These factors vary from case to case, from court to court, and from administration to administration.

For practical purposes it is probably safe to assume that some relationship exists between these statistics and juvenile behavior. But this relationship is not "clear-cut" because each of the eight variables mentioned above. As we can see, the effectiveness of the police system, cooperation and the attitude of the public in relation to the offense, business conditions, and other factors color the true picture of juvenile crime. Thus a high delinquency rate does not necessarily mean that delinquents are running rampant, and conversely a community with a low delinquency rate does not necessarily indicate a community of law abiding juveniles.

Surprising, in Honolulu, juvenile crime decreased 11.7 per cent in 1942 as compared with the statistics of 1941. This was due largely to the fact that the first three months of war brought about an air of anxiety and uncertainty. The strict enforcement of the curfew, the public respect for martial law, and the heavy fines levied by the provost marshal, resulted in a 25.5 per cent decrease in the first three months of 1942 as compared with the same period in 1941. There was at that time a great deal of respect and fear for martial law and the military court. One delinquent said, "You can't fool around with martial law, especially the M.P. Once they haul you down to the police station and you face the provost judge, you have no chance. Right off the bat, the judge fines you $25.00 with a one month suspended sentence." Thus perhaps the largest factor in the decrease of the number of arrests during these months was the effectiveness of martial law.

The preoccupation of the police with the many new duties thrust upon them by the war, such as the registration of certain cameras, radios, and firearms belonging to enemy aliens, prevented them from giving the attention to juvenile offenders which was customary in peace time. It is difficult to determine precisely how long the personnel of the Crime Prevention Division were thus diverted from their usual functions but the statistics would suggest that it continued thru March of 1942.

The following table shows the number of arrests of juveniles in Honolulu, 1941 and 1942, by sex and age.

| TABLE I. |
|------------------|---------------|---------------|
|              | 1941 Male | 1941 Female | 1942 Male | 1942 Female |
| Murder        | 2          | 1            | 1          | 1            |
| Rape          | 11         | 11           | 11         | 11           |
| Robbery       | 12         | 12           | 1          | 1            |
| Aggravated Assault | 3           | 2            | 1          | 1            |
| Burglary      | 414        | 404          | 10         | 273          | 258          | 15          |
| Larceny       | 635        | 621          | 14         | 374          | 346          | 28          |
| Auto Theft    | 68         | 68           | 27         | 24           | 3            |            |
|               | Total Part I | 1145 | 1119 | 26 | 675 | 629 | 46 |
| Other Assault | 144        | 137          | 7          | 92           | 89           | 3           |
| Forgery       | 4          | 3            | 1          | 9            | 9            |            |
| Embezzlement  | 11         | 11           | 14         | 14           |              |            |
| Stolen Property | 1       | 1            | 2          | 2            |              |            |
| Weapon        | 1          | 1            | 1          | 1            |              |            |
| Sex Offenses  | 181        | 134          | 165        | 51           | 114          |            |
| Narcotic      | 1          |              | 1          |              | 1            |            |
| Liquor Law    | 10         | 9            | 3          | 1            | 2            |            |
| Drunk         | 16         | 16           | 16         | 14           | 14           |            |
| Disorderly Conduct | 67      | 64           | 3          | 81           | 66           | 15          |
| Vagrancy      | 185        | 178          | 157        | 135          | 22           |            |
| Gambling      | 418        | 418          | 507        | 506          | 1            |            |
| Drunk Driving | 1          |              | 1          |              | 1            |            |
| Rules of Road | 375        | 350          | 154        | 153          | 1            |            |
| Parking Violation | 8      | 7            | 1          | 2            | 2            |            |
| Other Traffic | 130        | 127          | 36         | 34           | 2            |            |
| All Other     | 983        | 822          | 161        | 1351         | 1055         | 296         |
| Suspicion     | 41         | 36           | 5          | 16           | 15           | 1           |
| Total Part II | 2575       | 2226         | 349        | 2607         | 2148         | 459         |
| Total Parts I and II | 3720 | 3345 | 375 | 3282 | 2777 | 505 |

The most striking departure from this general downward trend of juvenile delinquency during the first year of the war was observed among the girls. Although male delinquency, measured by the total number of juvenile arrests, dropped 28.9 per cent in 1942, female delinquency increased 25.7 per cent, but this differential is less significant when it is remembered that the ratio of male to female offenders is in normal times about ten to one. There appears in Table I, however, a marked increase in the number of the more serious offenses, especially against property, among girls. It is our conviction that the number of sex offenses, including also those of disorderly conduct and vagrancy, gives an inadequate picture of the real situation in the
community, in view of the recent influx of single males and of what social workers and others can report from observation.

The general decline in the number of offenses against property, especially in larceny and burglary, is attributed to strict regulation and enforcement of the curfew and the general improvement of the economic situation in the community. Children under sixteen were not allowed on the streets after blackout unless accompanied by one of their parents or an adult. The increased earning power of children and the general rise of income in the community no doubt also influenced the decrease in offenses against property.

In only one age group, the twelve year olds, was there an increase in offenders of both sexes in 1942 over 1941. Among the females, however, there was an increase of offenders in every age group except the eleven year olds.

A notable increase of 17 per cent occurred in the number of cases of gambling during 1942, the highest rate of increase (40 per cent) being among the fourteen year olds. This rapid rise in gambling is attributed to the greater accessibility of money among juveniles and the widespread pattern of gambling among adults in the community. Boys engaged in street trades, such as shoe-shining and selling papers, earn from five to ten dollars during week-ends. Students engaged in the one or two day a week program of the schools earn from fifteen to twenty dollars a month. This increase in spending money plus the open gambling by adults in the presence of juveniles has, no doubt, influenced the behavior of youth.

Many of the factors responsible for the war-time boom of juvenile delinquency in continental United States and in England have been present in accentuated form in Honolulu. Commonly mentioned as factors in the 10 to 20 per cent increase in reported cases of youthful crime in mainland cities are:

1. The absence of both parents and older children in defense jobs and in civilian defense activities.
2. The drafting of fathers, older brothers, welfare workers, recreational directors, and school teachers. The Child Welfare League of America estimated that of the normal 100,000 social welfare jobs in the country, 40,000 are now vacant, of which 12,000 are urgent.
3. The sudden increased earning power of youngsters, providing them with more money than they are able to handle.
4. Girls, worried whether there would be any boys left after the war, swell the runaway list by tagging after newly found soldier friends.

Despite the operation of all these and other factors in Honolulu, the first year of the war witnessed a definite decline in the problem of juvenile delinquency in this community. The sobering effect of Pearl Harbor and the immediate threat of invasion during the first year of the war was unquestionably a more important influence in reducing the wayward behavior of juveniles in Honolulu than in similar mainland communities. As the Island military position has become more secure this restraining influence has diminished and the operation of the factors mentioned above becomes more apparent. The first few months of 1943 show a rapid climb of juvenile crime as compared with 1942, particularly among children under the age of twelve and among girls. An increase in sex offenses has been noted.

The first few months of 1943 show a rapid climb of juvenile crime as compared with 1942. According to the 1943 police statistics, despite strict curfew regulation, there is a considerable increase of delinquency among all females and children aged twelve and younger. An increase in sex offenses especially has been noted. The restoration of civil rights, with the attendant sense of relaxation of the law among many people, the induction of 2,600 Americans of Japanese ancestry—mostly older brothers and in many cases fathers—will contribute to the rise of delinquency in 1943. The social agencies in Honolulu are aware of these problems and are working together to meet them.
A MEMORIAL: DR. ROMANZO ADAMS

ARTHUR L. DEAN

We wish to honor one who played an important part in the development of higher education in Hawaii.

The College of Hawaii was founded as a College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. For a number of years nearly all of the funds available for instruction came from the Federal Government and were restricted in their use to instruction in the sciences and English. That was the situation when I arrived here in 1914. The Territory gradually increased its support of the College and we were able to some extent to broaden the curriculum. We had hoped to begin a program of instruction in Commerce with the opening of the academic year in the fall of 1919. Economics is basic to any curriculum in Commerce and we searched for a competent man in that field. Our choice fell on Dr. Romanzo Adams, Professor of Economics and Sociology at the University of Nevada. He arrived in Honolulu in time to begin his work with us in the second semester of the college year, 1919-1920.

The Legislature passed the act of establishment for the University of Hawaii in 1919 and it became effective July 1, 1920. Dr. Adams' interest in sociology made it possible for the new College of Arts and Sciences to offer instruction in that subject. As far as I know this was the first instruction in that subject ever given in Hawaii. For a number of years he carried the entire load of teaching in both economics and sociology.

It is no disparagement of his abilities in the economic field to say that it was early apparent that his greatest interest was in people. In addition to his heavy teaching load he was able to carry on original studies. His preoccupation with human relations is clearly indicated by the published results of his research. His careful analyses of population statistics came to be relied on both here and on the Mainland. His interests are indicated by such papers as "The Education of the Boys of Hawaii and Their Economic Outlook" published in 1928 of which he was co-author, and his volume on "Interracial Marriage in Hawaii." Toward the last of his teaching others took over the work in economics and he devoted all his energies to sociology.

A dominant characteristic of Romanzo Adams was his thoughtfulness. Discussions with him were always stimulating because he brought out new aspects of any problem and stirred us to new intellectual activity. Contact with such a man is of inestimable value to his students. A growing university needs such men and Dr. Adams made a contribution of lasting value.

Romanzo Adams was wholly devoid of the arts of self advertisement. But his work began to attract attention of leaders in the community who had no connection with the University. One of the first of them to recognize the value of his work was James D. Dole, President of the Hawaiian Pineapple Company.

If my memory serves me correctly Mr. Dole took Dr. Adams on a trip to Lanai when that island was undergoing development. Others came to know him and rely on his knowledge and wisdom. In his quiet and unobtrusive way he became a force in Hawaii. His interests, however, extended beyond Hawaii and he was an active member of the group who did the initial planning of the enterprise which became the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Sociology is a science in the sense that it comprises a body of knowledge about human relationships. But since human beings are its subject matter it requires something more than the statistical analysis of data, valuable as that may be. The something more is an understanding of people, their likes and dislikes, their hopes, their fears, their aspirations, their springs of action which so often lie far below the surface. Dr. Adams had that sympathetic understanding of people which is not limited by race or social background.

I said that we wish to honor one who played an important part in the development of higher education in Hawaii. That part is only part of the truth. We are here because he was our friend. He had the gift of friendship. All through this Territory are those to whom he was a friend. That is even true of many who did not even know him, because through his work he made us see them as fellow human beings bound to us by the bonds of our common humanity. He would like to be remembered as a teacher and a scholar, but most of all I think he would wish to be remembered as a friend of the people of Hawaii.