

SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII

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EDITORIAL FOREWARD

Volume XVII (1953)

The 1953 issue of Social Process in Hawaii is Volume XVII of a continuous series starting in May, 1935, and continuing, with some exceptions during World War II, to be published every year. It is the venture of the Sociology Club, the undergraduate organization of students interested in sociology. It has always had an intimate association with the faculty members of the Sociology Department, who have supported it by advice, editorial supervision, and contributions of articles.

Through the years there have been published in Social Process a wide range of articles. While a few are outstanding contributions to general fields of sociology, most of the articles have had application to the Hawaiian scene. Of these several have been attempts to relate general sociological concepts to Hawaiian situations. Others have been illustrative of "sociological reporting," that is, the presentation with real insight of some aspect of social life in Hawaii. Of these, the majority are papers written by students in Sociology classes. Others are articles from contributors in the community.

Almost every issue has been organized around a major theme, such as the Family (Volume III), Assimilation (Volume V), the Effects of War on Hawaii (Volumes VIII and IX-X), Industrial Sociology (Volume XV), and Religion in Hawaii (Volume XVI). The theme of the present issue is Social Problems in Hawaii, and relates to Volume VII, which dealt with Social Disorganization, and had articles on racial prejudice, Honolulu barber girls, juvenile delinquency, desertion, and social work.

The whole series and several issues in particular have proven of great interest to students of Hawaiian life, especially to members of such professions as social work, writing, teaching, and journalism, and to tourists with more than average curiosity about Hawaii. In a real sense, it is true to say that Social Process in Hawaii has become a collector's item, and several issues are now out of print.

A book of readings containing a representative sample from the past issues is now in preparation.

The present issue contains eight articles, two by members of the faculty (Hormann; Yamamura and Ball), three as faculty-student joint projects (Jambor and students; Hirayama and Hormann), and three by undergraduate students (Ching, Nitta, and the anonymous one, which was written by a student of Japanese ancestry).

A variety of subjects has been included. Although these should not be looked at as "covering" the field, they are representative.

Bernhard L. Hormann uses the Majors-Palakiko case, at the present time still in the courts, as a device for analyzing how issues emerge and public opinion forms in this dynamic and heterogeneous community.

In "A Rugged Plantation Gang" the author tells at first-hand his experiences in adolescent ganging at a time during World War II when the wider community did not have much time for the problems of local teen-age youth.

Bernice Ching's little paper contrasts a city slum neighborhood, where her family lived for a period during the wartime housing shortage,

with the middle-class area with which she was identified both before and after this experience. Her contrast is, interestingly, not completely favorable to the middle-class area.

"The Pool Shark" by Hitoshi Nitta reports a series of interviews with confirmed addicts of the pool hall.

Robert Hirayama with the assistance of Bernhard L. Hormann reports on the working over of a large number of student accounts dealing with experiences in and reactions to the big early strikes of the new plantation union and the emergence of this powerful union.

In "Alcohol and Crime," Harold A. Jambor and his students evaluate through the actual records at Oahu Prison, the frequent and common assumption that alcohol is a primary cause of crime.

In "Correction or Confirmation," Jambor and another group of students use the records of the Department of Institutions to test a second commonly held view, namely that recidivism rates are unusually high among "graduates" of the boys' correctional institution.

Douglas Yamamura and Harry V. Ball use their experience with the Honolulu Rent Control Survey of 1952 as an illustration of how scientific procedures can be used to clarify and specify a social problem by discovering its exact incidence.

The Editorial Staff is indebted to many individuals, who helped in the bringing out of this issue of *Social Process*, the advisors, Professor Harold Jambor, Evelyn Yama, Hisako Kaneshige, Mildred Endo, and others.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE WILDER OR MAJOR-PALAKIKO CASE, A STUDY IN PUBLIC OPINION¹

Bernhard L. Hormann

The discovery in March, 1948, of the murdered body of an elderly Haole woman belonging to one of the old families of Hawaii naturally aroused the community of Honolulu to a high pitch of excitement, particularly because it was soon apparent that death had occurred four or five days before the body was discovered in the home of the victim. Four days later, two Hawaiian escapees from Oahu Prison were captured. They were tried in June and July, found guilty of first degree murder, and sentenced to hang. After a series of appeals had failed, the governor on September 7, 1951 invoked the death sentence. This official act occasioned the sending of several petitions to the Governor asking for the commutation of the sentence to life imprisonment, and a few asking for the carrying out of the original sentence. The Governor ordered a reprieve, but finally on September 19 upheld the original sentence, saying, "No new evidence has come to light." This started another series of appeals to the courts, accompanied by further reprieves. A two-months' habeas corpus hearing by the Territorial Supreme Court ended on December 12, 1951, and the Supreme Court unanimously upheld the first degree murder convictions. This action is still on appeal with the Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco, and in the meantime the two youths are awaiting execution of their original sentence.

The present discussion of the case will not be concerned with the legal issues of the case, important as these are. Instead of a judicial concern with the Majors-Palakiko case, ours here is twofold:

1. To use it as an index of race relations in Hawaii, and
 2. To understand through it how issues arise and are handled in a complex, modern, urban community.
1. The Majors-Palakiko case as an index of race relations in Hawaii.

The widespread interest in the Majors-Palakiko case places it in a special category. It becomes a critical event around which there come to expression all kinds of latent feelings in the community. Like other dramatic court cases in Hawaii's history, this case has become a symbol to various component population elements in Hawaii, and if we can succeed in uncovering the various overlapping and conflicting meanings which this case has assumed to various groups, we can thereby clarify our picture of the social complexion of our community. Cases of this sort thus are unplanned opportunities to get a sense of the realities behind what people in Hawaii

¹The present analysis of the Wilder or Majors-Palakiko case is a reworking of Report No. 20 in the series, "What People in Hawaii Are Saying And Doing," issued in April 1952, and is based on the following materials: a newspaper clipping file, written comments from several classes in sociology and anthropology, notes taken at several discussions of the case, one by a group of University of Hawaii students, one by a group of recent graduates of the university now holding positions in the community, and two by an interracial group of professional people. Altogether, about fifty different persons were involved in these discussions. Several letters commenting on the earlier report were also used.

are saying and doing and they provide the sociologists with a technique for discovering latent group sentiments and attitudes, just because these tend to come to spontaneous expression in those crises which affect them.

The case is in this respect linked with several other cases which have assumed an almost mythical significance and to which reference will be made below.

What then has the Majors-Palakiko case indicated about our community?

Many Hawaiians and part Hawaiians have taken a great interest in this case which involves two men of their own group. Observers who attended the Supreme Court review reported that the spectators were predominantly Hawaiian. Thus, one student observer wrote:

I noticed, however, that the majority of the people in the audience were Hawaiians, part Hawaiians, and Portuguese, many of them probably related in some way or other to either one of the convicted slayers.

In the thinking of some Hawaiians, the present case forms a decided contrast to the sensational rape and murder cases of the early thirties, in which the relatives of the victim of the alleged rape were caught with the body of one of the defendants, Kahahawai. While it is true that the contrast has also been emphasized by the left-wing Honolulu Record and the Record's pamphlet, "The Navy and the Massie-Kahahawai Case," it is clear that the earlier case had already been linked with the present case by many Hawaiians before the Record called attention to the opposite outcomes. In the earlier case, a lower-class Hawaiian is murdered by upper-class Haoles, who are convicted of manslaughter, sentenced to a maximum of ten years' imprisonment, and after an hour's detention allowed their freedom in the form of a commutation of their sentence by the Governor; in the latter case, an upper-class Haole is murdered by lower-class Hawaiians, who are convicted of first degree murder and sentenced to hanging, and the Governor denies commutation. It is only natural that these particular elements of the two cases, in such stark contrast, would be magnified by people who are by ties of kinship and ethnic background, sympathetic with Majors and Palakiko and that other aspects, including important background events in each case, would be overlooked.

Other non-Haole groups have also shown their interest. Members of the Chinese community, particularly those inclined to be suspicious of Haoles, have inevitably seen differences between the official handling of cases involving Chinese and the Wilder case. As it happened, there had occurred two cases involving the deaths of Chinese peddlers in the same year, 1948.

The first of the two Chinese victims, a 65-year-old vegetable peddler, was attacked by two youths after he had stopped in a residential area to offer his products for sale. When he yelled, one of his attackers slashed the peddler's throat and the boys escaped, throwing away a small amount of money they had robbed. The peddler was taken to the hospital and seemed to be recuperating when he took a turn for the worse and died a little over a month after the attack. In the meantime, the youths had been charged with first degree robbery and pleaded guilty. No more serious charge was ever brought against the two youths.

The second victim, a 42-year-old pastry peddler, was attacked by unknown assailants, found unconscious in a cemetery, and taken to the hospital, where he died on the same day. This murder has never been cleared up.

To the Chinese residents in Hawaii, it would appear that far less attention had been paid to the Chinese victims than to the Haole victim in the Majors-Palakiko case.

The Japanese, in turn, think back to Hawaii's dramatic kidnapping and murder case of the late 1920's, in which the victim was a Haole boy and the murderer a youth of Japanese ancestry who was finally hanged. Among some older persons of Japanese ancestry, resentment is still harbored at the inability of the courts to recognize the extenuating circumstances in the case. How vividly the earlier case is remembered came out when a student of Japanese ancestry recently asked her mother about it:

"Sure, I remember. How can I forget? The poor boy kidnapped the son of the rich Haole because . . . they were going to kick the family out of their home. The boy went to beg . . . but he was refused . . . it was really pitiful, you know."

I was surprised at my mother's strong feeling toward the issue. She seemed to feel it was a great injustice . . . The issue was in the past, but some people like my mother still have great feelings about the issue. It must have affected the Japanese very much when it occurred.

The father of another student put it a little more picturesquely:

"Finally, the devil arose in J when his family's belongings were thrown out of the house because they did not keep up with the rent . . . J did confess to the murder and was sentenced to hang. So ended a sad fate for the two families."

At the time that the Supreme Court was reviewing the present case late in 1951, one of the Japanese language dailies editorially recalled the earlier case:

The following written comments by students make the same implication of a dual standard of justice:

I think that had it been that the victim was of Japanese or Filipino or for that matter, anything but Haole, the men would have been given a life sentence.

-- Part Hawaiian male student

There were other cases in Hawaiian history where Haoles were freed after committing murder.

-- Chinese male student

If another had killed Mrs. Wilder, there wouldn't have been such a reaction as that which is going on now. It is because these two are of another nationality.

-- Chinese female student

Due to the pressure of the "name," Haoles, the government officials seem to sway in their favor. I would rather like to see how the case would be tried by different people with no pressure from any one, Haole or colored, to influence their judgments.

-- Japanese male student

If Majors-Palakiko had killed a non-Haole woman without any planning beforehand, both the defendants, I am sure, would not be punished by hanging.

-- Korean female student

Interestingly enough, the idea of dual justice has not always implied a Haole versus non-Haole cleavage. Back in 1931, one of the Honolulu Japanese language dailies presented an editorial under the caption, "A Dual Justice?" in which the editor described two murders "similar in nature. Yet, because in the one case the person murdered had been a Hawaiian youth, the guilty one is properly punished, but because in the other the victim had been a Filipino, the case is thrown into an abyss of oblivion and the justice of the law is buried in darkness." Here the suggested difference is between native Hawaiians and foreign immigrants.

Today, however, the main concern over differential justice involves that between Haoles and non-Haoles and this situation is indicative of the fact that the major cleavage in Hawaii is that separating the Haoles from all the others. This cleavage is in turn to be explained by the fact that the distinction between Haoles and non-Haoles has been, over a long period, not only a racial distinction, but also one involving social class.

Much of the feeling of non-Haoles against Haoles is directed against them, not because of their race, or even because of their culture, but because of their identification with the "Big Shots," who, in the eyes of the "Haole-hating" Hawaiians, "took their land away from them," and in the eyes of the non-Haole immigrants, exploited them on the plantations.

It should be clearly recognized, as it is unfortunately not by many Haoles, that anti-Haole feelings have become embedded in tradition and are passed on from generation to generation. Because of the real changes in Hawaii's social structure which are occurring, many of the inherited notions which are now expressed are based on incomplete knowledge of the facts and unawareness of change. As has already been mentioned, the drawing of contrasts between such a case as the Kahahawai case and the present case is often sketchy, because the contrast grows out of a whole-hearted acceptance of differential justice. Beliefs have become prevalent which, although not always in accordance with the facts, are accepted and perpetuated, and thus assume the character of folk myths. For instance, the assertion is frequently made that no Haole has been hanged at Oahu Prison. Similarly, there are some people, Hawaiians as well as non-Hawaiians, who are convinced that no Hawaiian has been hanged and that none will ever hang. This notion is partly of a superstitious nature but is also based on the implication that the Hawaiians can exert sufficient political pressure to prevent the hanging of persons of Hawaiian ancestry.

The following is the actual record of hangings at Oahu Prison since Annexation:

American (Caucasian)	1
Hawaiian	3
Puerto Rican	3
Japanese	9
Korean	6
Filipino	24
	46

The entry of anti-Haole feelings into tradition means, furthermore, that when we see them expressed, we must recognize them as natural and

spontaneous, rather than as artificially manufactured for the situation. While in the present instance, there is no doubt that the left-wing group has used and perhaps intensified the "racial" interpretation, particularly within the Hawaiian community, it would be a gross error to assume that members of Hawaii's ancestral groups do not of their own accord react in the manner described above.

To illustrate the divorce of these anti-Haole feelings from left-wing manipulations a part-Hawaiian woman student may be cited, who feels that hanging is too severe a punishment arguing, "Did they murder Mrs. Wilder intentionally? I think that the boys did not and that they had a 'tough' break in the beginning of the case," and yet at the same time, this same person argues that "for the safety of the Hawaiian Islands, economically and politically, the Communist movement in Hawaii must be stopped. Its influence will hinder the growth of democracy in our schools, business places, towns, and especially the home." Among the part Hawaiian students who answered a questionnaire of the Hawaii Social Research Laboratory, there were 34.8 per cent who felt that hanging was too severe a punishment and who at the same time felt that the Communist movement was a serious threat to the welfare of Hawaii.

The Defense Committee, self-constituted to promote the legal defense of Majors and Palakiko, has had prominent politicians associated with it who are by no means left-wing. While some of the petitions asking the Governor to commute the sentence were circulated at the initiative of the Bouslog and Symonds office, others had their origin with and were circulated by persons not remotely identified with left-wing activities, and the large number of signatures, about 15,000, can by no means be taken as a measure of left-wing strength in the community. One person who canvassed several lower-class neighborhoods for signatures reported that he found a sympathetic interest in the appeal in about half the homes. He found Hawaiians and Portuguese especially generous contributors, some of the former even thanking him for coming to them. (Incidentally, he found the greatest hesitance in Japanese neighborhoods, where the householder was disinclined to contribute unless he knew that his neighbors were doing so too.)

In further support of the point that a Haole versus non-Haole interpretation was given the case long before the left-wingers became actively interested in it, the writer has referred to the files of the Hawaii Social Research Laboratory, where there are to be found papers by students written a few months after the Wilder murder. These reactions are obviously of an unforced character. One of them will illustrate their nature.

After a sentence of guilty of first degree murder had been pronounced by Judge Buck and jury, there was much discussion among my fellow workers at the office. Our circle of workers consisted of J. Y., a part-Hawaiian girl; H. K., a Korean; C. S., a Japanese; and myself, a Japanese. During our usual morning break we got to talking about the case:

J.Y.: "I don't think the verdict was a fair one."

H.K.: "Yeah, just because Mrs. Wilder was Haole, that Haole judge is making sure that Palakiko and Majors get nothing less than a death penalty."

C.S.: "The jury was made up of practically all Haoles. Only one Hawaiian and one Chinese, no fair."

Self: "I personally did not expect the two men to receive any heavier penalty than a second degree. It wasn't a planned attempt of murder in the first place."

Whether the fact that the jury was constituted mainly of Haoles could have had any influence on the final decision I would never know for sure.

-- Japanese female student

The anti-Haole feeling goes so far in the case of some of the underprivileged as to cause them to justify some crimes against Haoles with the rationalization, "They have it coming to them," or "It is really their fault." It is an exaggerated sort of Robin Hood approach. For example, a Hawaiian boy attending one of the public intermediate schools and living in one of the residential areas for people in the lower economic class remarked to his teacher quite unselfconsciously that the murdered woman was to blame for living alone in an isolated house.

The Haole vs. non-Haole cleavage is of course a matter of common knowledge. The Majors-Palakiko case serves as a useful device to indicate that this cleavage has become the dominant one in contrast to the cleavages between the immigrant groups of different nationality.

On the other hand, a study of reactions to the case also suggests that the cleavage of Haoles vis-a-vis non-Haoles is breaking down, as was argued by the writer in an article appearing in an earlier issue of this journal.² There it was argued that the development of a new middle-class composed of persons from all ethnic groups was breaking down the basic two-fold caste-like division in Hawaii's social structure.

In January, 1952, the Hawaii Social Research Laboratory presented a questionnaire to two large introductory classes at the University of Hawaii, totalling 284 students, by whom there had been no discussion in class of the present case. The questionnaire was answered anonymously, each student providing only information about his ancestry, age, and sex. The following racial groups were represented: Hawaiian, Caucasian, Chinese, Japanese, and a smattering of Koreans and Filipinos. This group cannot, of course, be taken as a statistically valid sample of the population as a whole, but it may perhaps be taken as roughly representative of the new middle-class.

The results of this questionnaire are summarized in Tables I and II.

TABLE I. Percentage Reactions of University of Hawaii Students to Question: "What do you think about the Majors-Palakiko case?" By Sex and Ancestry, January, 1952.

Answers	Total	Males	Females	Hawaiian	Caucasian	All Others
Hanging is just	35.2	32.5	36.3	26.1	31.25	36.3
Hanging is severe	48.6	53.8	46.6	60.9	31.25	48.6
No opinion	16.1	13.8	17.2	13.0	37.5	15.1

²Bernhard L. Hormann, "The Caucasian Minority," in *Social Process in Hawaii*, Vol. XVI (1951).

TABLE II. Percentage Reactions of University of Hawaii Students to Question: "What does the Majors-Palakiko case illustrate?" By Sex and Ancestry, January, 1952.

Answers	Total	Males	Females	Hawaiian	Caucasian	All Others
Best American tradition of equal justice for all	16.2	21.3	14.2	8.7	0.0	18.0
Existence of two types of justice in Hawaii, one for Haoles, another for others	30.6	38.8	27.5	43.5	31.2	29.4
Average case of American justice	45.8	33.8	50.5	30.4	43.7	47.3
No Opinion	7.3	6.3	7.8	17.4	25.0	5.3

Some differences in the responses of the groups are of course noticeable.

The results, however, suggest that although there are significant differences in the responses of the several groups, the differences are ones of degree rather than of kind. In every group every possible response is found, with the single and significant exception that no Caucasian claimed that the case represented the "best American tradition of equal justice for all." In studying the written comments of these students, which supplemented the formal questionnaire, one gets only an occasional emphasis on race. Only a third of all students indicated the possibility of dual justice, and this proportion applied also to the Haole students. All this suggests little preoccupation by these students with the cleavage between Haoles and non-Haoles.

One last point about the race relations angle of this case should be made before the discussion proceeds with the second aspect of this discussion.

Because these youths and several others recently involved in crimes are of Hawaiian ancestry, because the majority of the boys and girls at the two training schools are of Hawaiian and part Hawaiian ancestry, and because around 40 per cent of the Oahu Prison population is Hawaiian and part Hawaiian, the question naturally arises as to why the Hawaiians seem to be over-represented in juvenile and adult delinquency. (Their proportion in the total population, 1950 census, was less than 20 per cent.)

Several discussions on this question have merely reproduced many long current ideas about the Hawaiians today, but hardly anything of great value in providing the necessary insight into the inner world of Hawaiians who get into serious difficulties with the law. There is need for a detailed sympathetic case study of Hawaiian group life, including gangs and individuals who get into difficulty. Such studies must be made by people who are able to establish rapport easily with these people, who are of course reluctant to be "investigated" by anyone who might be in league with officials. Many Hawaiians are bitter and resentful and their pleasant nature often hides feelings which non-Hawaiians would be shocked to find among

them. Unfortunately, persons who work administratively with delinquents are by the very nature of their jobs protected from getting this story. The leaders of the community particularly if they are Haole, are also not in a position to penetrate into the mental world of these people. But until that is done no effective community program can be worked out.

2. The Majors-Palakiko case as typical of the issue-forming process in modern mass society.

What has been said up to now indicates that issues such as these which the present case has aroused can only partially be understood by reference to the racial situation in Hawaii.

It has already been pointed out that this case from the beginning has class overtones, and any event containing implications of class and race lends itself to left-wing interests, not to speak of the interest of non-left-wing liberals. Any case involving a sentence of capital punishment is, furthermore, an opportunity for expression of opposition to capital punishment on humanitarian and religious grounds.

In other words, almost from the beginning the simplicity of a straightforward murder case has evaporated, and instead we have a complex case involving several basic issues and impinging on a number of important conflicting and overlapping interest groups in the community, including one finally, the ad hoc Majors-Palakiko Defense Committee, organized solely around the immediate issue of whether the death sentence should be commuted to life imprisonment.

The murder, as it first broke upon the community, had the earmarks of a rather gruesome crime. There is no doubt that the community was generally aroused. The writer remembers the fear of unknown assailants which characterized some of his university women students during the short interval of four days before the probable perpetrators were identified and captured.

That the friends and acquaintances of the victim should be particularly concerned with the carrying out of justice was only natural. That this group of interested people was rather large and prominent was the inevitable consequence of the victim's social status. In a sense, the Chamber of Commerce was one of the first organized groups to take a stand, as it did the day after the discovery of the body, by offering a reward of \$1500 for the apprehension of the murderers. (In the case of the Chinese peddler, whose murderers have never been discovered, the same Chamber of Commerce did not offer a reward.) How much pressure for a first-degree murder charge was put on the Honolulu public prosecutor's office is a matter of disagreement -- but one former acting public prosecutor, who originally handled the case and then was relieved of it, testified in the Supreme Court habeas corpus hearings that he had been subjected to such pressure from prominent persons.

It has already been stated that the case under discussion was so constituted that, even in the actual absence of "interested" concern on the part of upper-class people, the suggestion of such concern would inevitably arise and, under those conditions, there would be "disinterested" persons in the community, including prominent Haoles, who would wish to see any racial and class angles removed from the case. This would include all persons concerned with the principles of equal and just treatment of all before the law. Among individuals with this concern, including important lawyers, some, have expressed themselves as convinced that the course of justice in Hawaii is superior to that in many of the states. Others again

do sense problems here, and speak of "police brutality" and undue influence from prominent quarters.

Individuals with such a community-wide "disinterested" point of view never became organized during the trial.³

While the question may be debatable as to the degree with which the left-wing element in Hawaii "took over" the case, there is no doubt of its interest in it.

The fact seems to be that the firm of Bouslog and Symonds, long identified in the community with "left-wing" causes, did not enter the case until approached by members of the family of one of the defendants and that the more highly organized activity of left-wingers dates from this time, just after the Governor first invoked the death penalty on September 7, 1951. Obviously, the weekly Honolulu Record, which speaks for the left-wing group, had referred to the Majors-Palakiko case earlier. This would be in accord with its use of almost every opportunity to needle and embarrass people in positions of leadership and to suggest the existence of various kinds of discrimination in Hawaii.

After the entry of Bouslog and Symonds, there is no doubt that left-wing activity became more concentrated. The Record published a pamphlet drawing telling contrasts between the Kahahawai case and the present case. At least some members of the ILWU participated in the circularizing of the petitions and other left-wingers went into action.

In a speech to a group of "friends" of the Honolulu Record on December 22, 1951, Mrs. Bouslog was quoted by the Honolulu Record of December 27 as having said:

What we must do is to show that the Palakiko-Majors case and the Smith Act are all of a part--that the struggle in all these cases is a struggle for human dignity by local people and by laboring people.

So obvious was the left-wing interest that many objective citizens became quite sincerely convinced that this group had completely taken over and perhaps some of the "disinterested" persons were swayed into becoming anti-commutationist just because they became so convinced that the left-wing was deliberately using the case for its own purposes.

At any rate, one well-known educator made the comment at the time of the Supreme Court review that he was convinced that the present chief defense attorney, Mrs. Bouslog, eventually would receive a rebuke from the United States Circuit Court of Appeals. Her views have been suspect to him ever since he read her Labor Day, 1951 speech to ILWU members on Kauai, in which she described the arrest of the several local persons on charges of violating the Federal Smith Act as an "attack upon the liberties of all working people and true democrats."

A lawyer, known for his various services to the community, expressed anxiety about the ulterior motives of the left-wing group which has

³At the present time a group of citizens has completed the establishment of a local chapter of the "disinterested" Civil Liberties Union. This move is not connected with any particular case, but with general concerns about justice in the community.

"taken over" the defense of the two youths. He cited the record of Communist activities in France and on the Mainland. The pattern, he was convinced, was to create racial issues where none exist, and in general to form unrest and divisiveness in the community.

A prominent educator in a personal communication, indicated his agreement with the thought "that the Communists were undoubtedly using this to create trouble. Personally, I believe that the Governor got himself involved when he did not let the execution go through."

While these are the reactions of generally dispassionate individuals, as individuals, to the left-wing involvement in the case, it is clear that there were deliberate counter-moves in the community. One of these was the policy adopted by one of the leading newspapers not to print letters which would promote what was conceived as an organized emotional radio and letterwriting campaign engineered by Communist-line followers. A woman's club went on record against commutation. The most plausible general interpretation for these organized efforts to induce the Governor to allow the sentence to hang is the pervading fear of Communism. There is also the feeling that the reputation of Hawaii's courts has been unnecessarily impugned.

Among groups who, as organized groups, favored commutation there have now been mentioned the Hawaiians and the left-wingers, and it was pointed out that among the Hawaiians committed to working for the defense of Majors and Palakiko were some who would be called politically conservative or right-wing. This case, therefore, brought together people from generally opposing camps.

A third group which favored commutation must now be mentioned, namely a group of Protestant ministers who organized their own petition to the Governor for commutation.

The ministers' stand was an expression of their opposition to capital punishment. Some criticism was directed against them for taking action in regard to a specific case instead of directing their attention to the legal abolition of capital punishment by the Legislature, where such action must be initiated. Their answer, as expressed informally by one of their number, is that most of them are at all times working for the abolition of capital punishment, but only when a specific case comes up do they have the opportunity to dramatize their religion-grounded opposition to capital punishment. This group does not consider that it is speaking for organized Protestantism. They recognize that some of their colleagues who do not agree with them in their condemnation of capital punishment petitioned the Governor not to commute the sentence. There is of course also opposition to capital punishment based on purely humanitarian grounds to be found among all elements of the population. Several students wrote comments to the effect that they opposed hanging for Majors and Palakiko on the ground of their general opposition to capital punishment.

Most organized groups in the community took no stand.

The first impression about the dynamics of public issues that this study of the Wilder case thus leaves is about the behavior in the face of dramatic events and crises of the various groups in the community: racial, cultural, political, religious, and social. These define how their group's interests are affected and take a stand accordingly, always many of them remain neutral and uninvolved.

The clash between interest groups then identifies the issue or issues. In the present case there are obviously several, some of them issues of long-standing, others more immediate.

In the dynamics of complex contemporary society, issues are identified with an event in a way to make for strange bedfellows among groups, as well as for unexpected schisms. A group may not feel implicated until a certain point has been reached in the progressive conversation of official stands by interest groups and in the normal unfolding of a series of related events, such as the crime, trial, and appeals in this case, or the career of a bill in the legislature. A group, having taken one stand, may, in the course of events reverse or drastically modify its position. While this last form of behavior is not illustrated in the case under discussion, at least as far as it has developed up to this point, such reversals and modifications have been noted on other occasions, such as the questions of statehood, unionism, language schools, etc. We thus see issues as becoming attached to events through the progressive involvement of organized groups in these events. One or several issues and a connected series of events become inter-related in a "case" or "collective act," which is thus launched on its career.

A second distinct impression stands out, namely that the career of the case or collective act runs a complicated course with unpredictable aspects. The present case was launched by virtue of a dramatic but unpremeditated crime. As the case proceeds, the intensity of public interest waxes and wanes in unpredictable ways. In the present case there have been two periods of intense public interest, one immediately upon the discovery of the body and carrying through the trial, a period of four months; a second period, two and a half years later, from the time that Governor Long invoked the death penalty continuing to the ending, about three months later, of the Territorial Supreme Court review of the case, which grew out of the new defense attorney's habeas corpus petition. During these two periods, the interest of the newspapers and of the general public was well sustained.

On the other hand, during the more than two year interim and in the interim since the Supreme Court's unanimous upholding of the first degree murder convictions, there was a dearth of newspaper coverage and a near absence of public concern. These ebbs in public interest were significantly revealed to the writer when an astute sociologist who had been a visiting professor at the University of Hawaii in the academic year 1950-1951, wrote in comment to the writer's April, 1952, report on the Majors-Palakiko case in the What People in Hawaii Are Saying and Doing series that he had been completely unaware of the case during his stay in Hawaii. An indication of the present lull is the fact that the writer, in attacking this article, had far less sense of urgency in writing than when he was writing the report. The writer has to keep telling himself that the case does not lose its importance just because the public has lost interest.

What accounts for these peaks and depressions in the intensity with which an issue affects the public? The writer is convinced that there is no easy answer to this. Surely, the drama, the intensity of the conflict itself, has something to do with it, and the course of conflict is uneven because of a variety of circumstances. In a court case, such factors as an overcrowded court calendar and the legal time limit for filing appeals may be involved. In a political campaign, the times of the conventions and of the primary and general elections, set a typical course for the handling of the political issues in the campaign. In the case of a strike or a battle, much depends on the changing strategy of each side, much on the wider repercussions of the struggle. In the case of a question which is up for decision before some official or administrative body, much depends on the time when a decision is to be taken. Issues also compete with one another for public interest and in the outcome of this competition, the judgment

whether "interested" or "disinterested" of the newspaper editor, is important. Obviously many of these factors are unpredictable.

We have now discussed how an event becomes a case or collective act involving the public, and how it runs its course. Since the present Majors-Palakiko case is still pending, we cannot use it to describe how a case is ended. In general, however, it seems true to say that in the career of a case there comes a time when an irreversible decision or event terminates it and makes further discussion academic. This is what the attack on Pearl Harbor did to the discussion between interventionist and non-interventionist groups. The case had been decided by that event.

Once a case has been decided by administrative decision, as with a sentence or an enacted law, interest in it normally dies down, although it may be revived sooner or later, for few collective acts in our kaleidoscopic modern times, are concluded with utter finality. Occasionally, however, a sense of finality is reached. The groups on one side give up. In discussing Statehood for Hawaii, Lind⁴ pointed out a few years ago that for all intents and purposes, the issue had been decided in Hawaii, if not yet in the nation, and that this decision meant essentially that statehood was no longer discussible in Hawaii. It had entered the local mores. For the nation at large, the Federal control of child labor, for many decades a bitterly fought issue, may be said to have thus entered American mores.

Even the present case will eventually and inevitably end. Finally, the two young men will either hang or be allowed to serve a life sentence. Depending upon the outcome, some interest groups will be dissatisfied, others pleased, many unconcerned.

To summarize, we have seen that in modern mass society of the sort of which Hawaii is both a part and a miniature replica, newsworthy events of all sorts occur continuously, one pursuing the other in rapid succession. These events come to the attention of people as they are recorded in the daily press. Most individuals read the news because, as Park pointed out, it makes them say "Gee whiz!"

Always, however, there are some individuals who confront the succession of newsworthy events in the capacity of representatives, whether official or self-conceived, of one or more groups in the community. They feel it to be their responsibility to evaluate each event that might effect their group. The strengthening of their group and often its very survival may depend on the alertness with which they size up each event, as a possible threat or as an opportunity to advance the position of their group. As groups seize upon such events, a case or a collective act is launched on its career in the public. In the course it runs, there are unpredictable aspects, involving the interplay of strategy with further events. Finally, a decision or event or the effect of prolonged discussion brings the case to a conclusion.

Our analysis has implications for the understanding of our modern democratic society.

The basic and recurring issues are power struggles among the most entrenched, the most influential, the most alertly aggressive interest groups,

whether racial, cultural, economic, political, religious, occupational, professional. The present case obviously was an event that easily lent itself to strategical use by a number of important groups.

It is clear that such explosive and to some extent divisive discussions as our community faced in connection with the Majors-Palakiko case are inherent to our kind of society, composed as it is of a multiplicity of old and new, disintegrating and rising groups. In this sense, therefore, cases, even bitterly fought cases, are social problems which we will always have with us.

That our society is protected from complete divisiveness, from out-and-out schism, from utter atomization, may be due to the very multiplicity and fluidity of the struggling groups. For it is because of this that most individuals find themselves belonging to several groups and therefore, marginal to them. In this situation they are at times almost forced to consider the wider good, the good of the community as a whole. They are kept from becoming dogmatic and potentially totalitarian and capable of what we call an "objective" consideration of the various conflicting contentions.

We have referred to individuals in this Majors-Palakiko case, who showed genuine concern with certain basic questions: Are our police and correctional institutions humane? Are our courts on the whole fair? Have we failed the Hawaiians? Is capital punishment the best approach to the problem of murder? A person of some prominence who writes a comment such as the one with which we conclude, cannot be labelled as belonging to a particular interest group. He, like others, has worked his way through to an independent position, which, to be sure, differs from that arrived at by other equally independent persons:

I suppose there was more excitement regarding this case because of the prominence of Mrs. Wilder and the brutality of the killing, but those of us who favor the carrying out of the law---and I mean carrying out the law wholeheartedly, not in the anemic way in which it was done in the Massie case--believe that the law should be carried out fully in this case. The fact that there was an unsolved murder at this time does not excuse the murderers in this case.

The constructive contribution of a case such as the Majors-Palakiko case to our non-totalitarian society is the continued and open discussion of these basic issues and a fostering of responsible and disinterested citizenship.

-- B. L. Hormann

⁴A. W. Lind, "Hawaiian Statehood," in What People in Hawaii Are Saying and Doing, Report No. 16, June 30, 1950.

A RUGGED PLANTATION GANG

Anonymous

I have read much about gang life in magazines, newspapers, books, and journals, but nothing written by a person who was actually a participant of the gang.

You might call this an autobiography, if you please, but it must be made known that I am not very proud of it.

Gang life started quite early for me, as I lived in a small camp on the outskirts of an Oahu plantation. Because the camp was so small, every child, whether a boy or girl, had to belong to some kind of a gang to have fun. While still hanging on to my mother's apron, I had to obey the ring-leader for fear of being licked on the way to kindergarten. The ringleader was much older than most of the boys in the camp who were going to school and he had no cause to be afraid of being licked by someone's older brother because most of the older boys had gone in to Honolulu to work.

Gang life is not as bad as most people think it is. It has its good and bad points as does practically everything in this society of ours. Usually the leader of a gang is much bigger than the rest of the boys or else is much more capable of handling his fists. In our case the leader was so much bigger that no one dared pick a fight with him. The leader--to simplify matters let us call him Harry--was actually a dictator. Some of his commands were contrary to our parents', yet we had no choice but to follow Harry. I remember all too clearly the following incidents which brought me much trouble with my parents. Practically every day Harry took us to swim in a stream a few miles from our camp on the way home from school. Everyone had to wait for Harry after Japanese school so that he could lead us down to the stream. Once in a while Harry would stop by a store and buy himself a soda pop. The good part of it was, if you did Harry any good deed during the day, he would give you the "butt" of his drink which usually was about half a mouthful and in return you had to return the bottle to the store. Harry sometimes brought his bicycle along and whenever he did not feel like pedalling, he would get several of us to push him. Because I was so young compared to the rest of the gang they used to tease me a lot. Sometimes they would run away from me while walking through the cane fields and hide way ahead. Usually I had to sit down and cry out loud before they would come out.

One of the good things I learned was how to swim and how to handle my "dukes." I am sure the Red Cross would ban the kind of swimming lessons I had. The gang, usually under the leadership of Harry, would take me out into the center of the stream on a crudely constructed raft and tip it over. I had to swim to the bank or else drink a lot of water, for they all loved to see me splashing like a wet hen.

My mother never liked the idea of my going swimming after school for I came home late and usually with my clothes dirty. The gang sometimes knotted my clothes and rubbed dirt on me whenever I made a sly attempt to get away and go home. Mother at one time spanked me so hard I could hardly sit the next day. Yet I could not tell the gang about it because they would tease me.

After a few years of this I became pretty well tired of Harry and his boys so I joined another gang from another camp. This gang was composed primarily of Portugese and Filipino boys. This gang was known as the

roughest in our whole community and I was indeed proud when the leader, a good friend of mine, accepted me into the gang. Being an only Oriental I sometimes felt lost with them. They liked Filipino shows and though they hardly knew a word, we have to go because most of them wanted to go. In gang life whatever the leader says goes.

Because I had my way with the leader, who incidently was the slowest boy in class, I decided to ask him to arrange a fight with the gang from the camp where I lived. Eddie, the leader, refused for a minute but when I threatened him with not doing his homework, he quickly agreed. That Saturday, after Japanese school, my gang waited for me in an old baseball ground and we in return climbed on some cane cars armed with sling shots. When Harry with his mob came past we let them have it with a volley from our sling shots. After this we jumped down at Eddie's command and jumped into a fist fight with the other gang. I envied Eddie very much from that day on for watching him battle was indeed a great picture.

When the war came and our favorite meeting place, the gymnasium was taken over by the United Service Organization, the gang turned from bad to worse. We would not use the gym any more, so everybody had to change his ways of having fun. We had great fun in puncturing the tires of the cars belonging to the dancers in the gym on Saturday nights, who were primarily service personnel and many "cheap" girls in the community.

For the first time in my life I was involved in stealing. Getting tired of blowing out tires, we decided to go camping, and for food we had to have chicken. We stole a chicken from a Filipino minister's house and went down to the beach to eat it. That night, I could hardly sleep, for my mother had always told me never to steal and this went buzzing through my head all night long. I tried to appease myself by thinking that the minister could not have been a very law abiding citizen himself for the chicken we had taken was a gamecock used for fights.

After the above incident I stuck to making plans for the gang on any kind of events, whether it be another chicken scooping night or reaping the gains from the fishermen's traps. The gang liked my plans and I was indeed glad for I did not have to go through the actual process of stealing, although I realized later that I was the real bad egg behind it all.

By this time however, an English teacher of mine had gotten word of my being a problem in the community, and because I had written a few good compositions in class, advised me to go to a better school in Honolulu. At first I thought that the idea was dreadful, for it meant leaving my gang, but I could not resist the nice ideas about someday being a "Big Wheel" so I finally decided to attend a Honolulu boarding school and took the examination and waited patiently. A few days later, I received a notice that I had passed and that I would be accepted and so I bade all my pals good-bye and left the community to board in town.

I have decided, after coming to this university, to major in recreation and to strive to do my best so that someday I may be able to help other kids who are probably going through the same pattern of life I followed.

A CONTRAST IN NEIGHBORHOODS

Bernice Ching

Just after the last war started, our family packed our possessions and went to live with my aunt in the Palama section of Honolulu, because we were evicted from our home in Kaimuki. It was difficult to get a house then and our last resort was to room with my aunt who had a large but very old house.

Having lived in Kaimuki which is quiet and clean, at first I found this part of Honolulu quite rowdy and disgusting. The houses around us were also old and dark, drab brown in color. And the people in these houses? They were nice people but acted violently sometimes. These neighbors were of various races, such as Japanese across the street, Hawaiians and Portuguese on our right, Hawaiian-Haole on our left and in the back, a Chinese-Filipino family. Here was a melting pot of races just around us.

The men were hard working laborers. The Japanese man was a vegetable peddler who owned a long car that had shelves in the back stacked with food commodities. The Filipino man was a waiter. Their wives were just as hard-working and they looked worn out and tired most of the time. They shouted and spoke roughly to their children and I wondered if the kind of discipline they administered was wrong. The children seemed rebellious and "tough" and not very mannerly (I think the teachers must have had a difficult time handling them). I was afraid to mingle with the women at first for they liked to yell and use profanity. When I discovered that one of the women had crocheted a beautiful heart-shaped pillow and was willing to teach me, I went over to see her frequently to learn the pattern, and I met the others occasionally at her home. They were friendly and helpful but liked to gossip and tell risqué jokes. It wasn't long, however, until we knew almost all the people and their children around us.

Incidentally, the children had no yard or other play area, and instead used the lane or the street, which of course, was far from safe. The little space available--not fit to call a yard--was taken up by potted plants and shrubbery. I wouldn't want my child to grow up in this narrow, noisy, and crowded area.

Arguments and fist fights were quite common here, especially after "payday". The Hawaiian stevedore on our right would spend part of his paycheck in a tavern and come home with a grouch. He'd start picking on his wife and the children and if they answered back, he'd start beating them with his big hands. Often his wife would sit on the back porch and cry while the children cowered in one corner of a room. On sober days, however, this man was friendly and nice to his family and his wife would stick by him regardless of how he treated her.

Another of the men when drunk would sing and just sit in one spot until he fell asleep. He was harmless but he surely loved his whiskey. Sometimes his wife would join him in a few beers and then the awful racket of their singing would be very disturbing. The majority of the men liked to drink and I have never seen such a great attraction for liquor before.

The quietest families were the Japanese and ours. Mrs. K. was a small woman who was always smiling or bowing or busily doing something. On special occasions, she would bring us Japanese sushi rice, mochi, and other foods that she had prepared. In return, we would give her Chinese delicacies occasionally. She had a great interest in flowers and would

plant seeds in her little garden. When the flowers bloomed, she would put them in front of an attractive little Japanese shrine in her parlor. Sometimes she gave us a bouquet to put on our table.

All of these incidents and people made our stay here most interesting. I found that these people were quite different from my neighbors in Kaimuki in that they were very friendly, sociable, and unrestrained in their emotional expression. My neighbors in Kaimuki were not as friendly and they tended to inhibit their emotions, perhaps because our middle class mores places a tabu on loud arguments or drinking sprees.

Some of the families living in humble homes, especially the old-timers who worked hard and saved, I found, had considerable money in the bank. Others, of course, are too extravagant with their money and are never able to put away anything for a rainy day. Some of my neighbors in Kaimuki, who live in nice homes, will have to spend a lifetime to pay for them.

One other thing I have noticed among these folk in Palama is that they spend considerable money for food. Their stomachs always come first. Their families are usually large but there is always enough for food for the whole family. Their clothes may not be new or very fashionable but they are starched, clean, and wearable.

I think that this neighborhood was more intimate than the Kaimuki community in that the news of any unusual happenings was spread quickly and made known to everyone. If one family suffered, the others sympathized. Once one of the boys in the Palama neighborhood stole a bicycle tire. The police caught him and soon everyone was talking about it. Some neighbors sneered and talked disparagingly about them although most of the people sympathized and said that the boy couldn't be blamed since their family was too poor to afford a new tire, and so they passed over this offense lightly.

We have moved since we bought a new house back in Kaimuki, but I will always remember the days when I used to live among humbler but friendlier people in the slums.

THE POOL SHARK

Hitoshi Nitta

The purpose of this study has been to find out how "pool sharks" operate and how they regard themselves and other pool sharks. Eight interviews with "pool sharks"* were made in pool rooms located in four parts of the city: on Beretania Street, on Liliha Street, the McCully district and the Kaimuki area. Most of the interviewees showed some inhibitions in answering my questions, but I believe the findings represent their honest opinions.

My first hypothesis is that a future pool shark first indulges in pool simply for recreational purposes. Not having anything to do he looks for a place to "kill time." The following interview data pertain to this hypothesis and in general confirm it.

Soon I made 18, I hit for the pool room. Nothing to do now days but go show or shoot pool. Anyway, pool room the best to kill time because all the guys come in here. (PS-1)

Recreation is the main object for going in the pool room, so I gather from experience. After you start browsing in the pool room, you're bound to love the game, otherwise, no point in sticking around the pool room. I started going into the pool room when I was 17 years old and I think that it's a highly recreational pastime. (PS-7)

I was more or less curious to go into the pool room and once you start shooting, good fun, so I used to go down everyday. (PS-8)

My second hypothesis is that an incipient pool shark has natural abilities in pool which he develops by practicing constantly and by competing with the best pool shooters.

When you shoot pool, sure, natural ability counts but you gotta like the game and put your heart and soul inside the game, or you never can come good. First part, I used to lose money, so I figure out that I gotta come good if I going stick around in this game, so I use to practice at least one hour one day. Then I ask all them guys, like A and B, how to make "position" like that and I play with them and I pick up plenty pointers. Now days I no scared play with them. (PS-1)

By watching the good shooters play, I been like become like them so I practice up. Shooting pool, you gotta get the "makings" or no matter how long you shoot you going stay one average player. Like me, I play the best shooters in here and I pick up plenty pointers. Now days I can play "apple" with them. (PS-2)

The way I look at it, a man must have talent and a lot of practice, lots of it, if he is ever to become any good. I used to stay in the pool room virtually a whole day when I was young

and I use to watch the good shooters play and I practice what I thought was difficult "shots". Sooner or later, you can start playing the best in here. (PS-7)

One thing, you gotta get natural ability in pool shooting or you just one nobody. As long as you get the talent and plenty practice, you bound to come good. But, if you like be good for long time, you gotta be like C. Like C, he no drink a drink and him little more than 46 but look how "steady" (consistent) him. (PS-8)

Gambling seems to be taken for granted by most players, and having developed the necessary skill, the player who is becoming a pool shark plays with unsuspecting pool players, called "suckers," whom he knows he can beat, to try to win as much money as he can. He looks at his earnings as good "side money", and becoming a victim of his own skill and consequent earnings, finds himself increasingly dependent on these earnings.

Main thing to catch "suckers," you gotta use psychology. Try hustle the "sucker" for rotation and make believe you miss like hell and you stay "hot". Then tell him that no fun playing "rotation" only and play "apple." Then I fool around and take his money easy by easy. (PS-1)

Young kids the best to catch'em sucker. They shoot little bit and quick they think they good so you praise'em up little bit, they get plenty confidence and they play you. Young kids hard head, that's why easy take all the money from them. (PS-2)

You're bound to gamble if you stay in the pool room long enough and the first thing you look for is "suckers." No sense in playing with guys you know for they won't lose much. My policy is that I never go all out on one "sucker" if that person comes into the pool room frequently. Maybe I win \$10 today, and win \$7 the next but I never win all the "sucker's" money. More or less, I give him the slow torture. But if the guy comes inside once in a while, I try to take all what he has. (PS-3)

As I see it, once a man realizes he is good, he will try to win over others in gambling because it's no fun if you don't gamble. I always try to pick "soft" guys because no sense struggling with a man of equal or near ability because a man like that will always ask for "spot." Furthermore, they know when they're beaten and won't lose much but if he is a "sucker," I'll tease him around and he's bound to get "hot" under the collar. That's when I go for the "kill." (PS-7)

You hang around long enough, you going start looking for "heads" (suckers). First part, I play pool for fun but you no gamble, no fun, so I make it like side income now. My job cheap paying job so if I like get fun and drink every night, I gotta catch "heads." "Take'em while you can," that's my motto. (PS-8)

*Brief sketches of these eight interviewees will be found at the end of the article.

A further hypothesis is that a pool shark in the making eventually and inevitably cheats to win money.

Well, it's safe to say that most all pool sharks cheat because I haven't seen anyone that doesn't cheat, including me. Those that don't cheat usually are not considered a pool thug. (PS-3)

Sure, I crook but all them guys crook, too. I gamble long-time, and one thing I learn is, you're honest, you never can get ahead. You gotta crook to stay ahead. (PS-4)

One thing, I never crook in "apple." You know you can beat the guy so no sense crook and lose out. But in 31 "blind," I crook because the game no more skill involved so I gotta get percentage or I lose out. Most time I get extra pill in my pocket or if not, I choke the pill bottle neck. 'As hard to catch you because usually the guys no care what you're doing but they all interested in the next shot. (PS-5)

When the story has gone around that a person is a very skillful player who will even cheat to win over others, other pool players label him as a "pool shark."

Plenty guys call me "pool shark" but I dunno why they call me that. 'As why plenty guys, they no see me shoot but they no like play with me. Not too much guys know I crook sometimes but all them guys think I crook. (PS-2)

All the guys call me pool shark, make me shame, boy. I dunno why they call me that but kinda make me look one crook. Just because they no can beat me, they call me all kind names. (PS-6)

A pool shark, becoming aware that he is being thus labeled, then tries to conceal the fact in the hope that he can thereby continue to find "suckers" who will play him.

Everytime I see one new face in here, I fool around the table and miss easy kind shots, so the guy think I not so hot. 'As the best way to suck the guy inside. 'As why, if plenty guys around, I never shoot good and I only play rotation. (PS-1)

Like me, I gotta go different pool room, or I no can make money. They all know I can beat them so nobody like play with me, unless the guy come here once in a while. The kind time, I play rotation with D and me and him miss like hell and we try "suck'em" in. (PS-2)

'As right, no sense go around and let people know you good shooter. By and by, nobody like play with you. Mainthing, keep quiet and get guys come hustle you. (PS-6)

I see plenty "slicker" guys try suck in guys by missing easy kind "shots" and I get the "kick" (fun). I used to "pull" that all the time to catch guys but nowadays that is old stuff. Main thing now, get hustlers for you, all right. (PS-8)

Once a person is labeled a pool shark, he will have a difficult time finding opponents, although he is always on the search for "suckers."

I have a difficult time finding suckers now days for too much guys talk. I even went to Wahiawa the last weekend and couldn't play anyone. I went out there once and the last time I went, they were saying "the guy one slicker from town." But Sundays, I go down to Palama because there's a Filipino guy that likes to beat me. I tease him around and every time I play him, I make \$20 or \$30. (PS-3)

A sucker born every minute, so never run out of suckers. The best kind sucker is the kind young guys who's cocky and who think they're the best. The kind kids dime a dozen now days. Give'em little bit "snow" (praise) job and guarantee, you catch them. (PS-6)

Well, that depends on a person. In case a man does heavy work, he's bound to lose his "stroke" so will not hustle but if a man is engaged in light work, will try to hustle. There's no such a thing as a man retiring from shooting pool unless business or personal pressure compels a man to do so. There may be periods of laying-off a year or two but a good shooter will always look or accommodate a "sucker." It's just like any gambling game; if the game is there and you think it's an easy game, one will always play. As for me, I've been in the game for 22 years and I still make good money in the pool room. (PS-7)

A further stage in the career of a pool shark comes about when he attempts to extend his gambling operations by developing an "up-and-coming" pool player into a co-partner with the help of whom he hopes to take advantage of unsuspecting "suckers".

Now days you gotta pull the "double-cross" or no can make money. Like H, he like gamble anykind so everytime I see him, I go tell "Johnny" come over and me and him play "apple." I tell H we go half-half and since he know I can take care of myself, we go 50-50. Then, him and "Johnny" make side bets, like \$10 a game and I make sure I lose. I no pull so obvious stuff but I make all kind excuses, like no can shoot today and never miss; we take \$75 to a \$100 from him. Of course, me and "Johnny" split afterwards. (PS-1)

Well, 'as something like the fleecing game now in town when you work together. Like me, I like the kid J and for one young kid, he can shoot like hell. Usually, I be the "hustler" for him. I see one guy play and know that he no can beat J, I tell the "sucker" him pretty good and can beat J and I tell him try play him "apple." Never miss, J take'em all (that is, the opponent's money) in the end. He fix me up little bit, so I no crab. As long as I make kau-kau money, enough for me. (PS-2)

I work with K down X (pool hall). It's a good place because all kind of people come around. Usually get hustlers around who hustle the suckers for us. K and I usually play \$1 "apple" and after the sucker joins the game, we raise the ante \$2 or \$3 and usually that's about the highest they go nowadays. We play "safe" or "take care shots" and I usually let

K win. Seldom do we have side bets but when Haoles play, there's bound to be side bets. I usually let my friends bet for me on the outside. We always split the take and fix up the hustler. (PS-3)

Shooting pool get all kind angles and working with another guy is common nowadays. Well, 'as about the simplest, no? If they know you, they not going play but if you "snow" 'em under, guarantee they play with the partner. Like me, I always work with N. The guy look like one dumb guy, but no fool yourself, he can shoot, you know. Plenty guys see his punchy look, they figure they catching one "head" but 'as one smart guy. N, too good to make "shibai" (acting). Never miss we catch the Filipino guys up there. (PS-6)

That's about the best angle if you're too well known. I usually let O play and I even "back" the other fellow up in money by going on a 50-50 basis. O is really good for a kid who's not really been in the game too long, and I teach him everything I know. The best "chopping" (cheating) game is when three of us play "apple." Usually, I will follow him or vice versa and in the event that I follow him, he'll try to give me a good shot and I'll play it a "safe" shot (make a difficult shot) for the "sucker". We never lose money and \$50 to \$75 a day is easy when the sucker "pack'em" (that is, loaded with money). (PS-7)

I see plenty "chopping" game down X. You know this young kid, P, little guys know him and I see him and Q working together in "apple". I see 'em take one Japanese guy for \$300. I hear they cleaning up over there. Get plenty side bets too, you know. I see one Haole laying 'em down (that is, money) on Q and he was losing to P. Q's brother was taking all the bets.

It is clear that these men are completely or largely dependent on their earnings from playing pool. A study of their responses indicates a general agreement in their attitudes towards themselves and their game. A few minor differences may be pointed out:

1. It is interesting to note that five of the interviewees state that a pool shark must play with the best shooters to pick up the necessary experience. While PS-3, PS-7, and PS-8 do not specifically mention this, I am sure they would agree if I had questioned them further.
2. In playing "suckers," the indication is that the pool shark will try to win as much money as he can. One of the players, PS-3, appears to be more perceptive than the rest, in the sense that he will win as much as he can if he expects to play the player only once, but if there is the possibility that he can play with that person again, he will win only a certain small sum.
3. In their views on why players cheat, PS-7 says that it depends on a man's character, although eventually every good player will cheat. PS-4 says that there is no sense in being honest. PS-5 says that cheating insures winning. In responding to this area of questioning many of them were on the defensive.

4. A pool shark has a difficult time finding opponents, although he never quits looking for "suckers." PS-6 feels that these are easy to locate because "a sucker is born every minute," but the rest of the interviewees disagree with this statement.*

*Brief sketches of the eight interviewees:

PS-1: Age, middle thirties; married; three children; indulges in pool every night at least an hour or two, but usually does not stay too long; works as a truck driver; did not complete high school.

PS-2: Age, middle twenties; married; no children; frequents the pool room three or four times a week; a great hustler; employed as a carpenter; completed high school.

PS-3: Age, early thirties; married; two children; is seen in the pool room day and night; not employed; completed business college.

PS-4: Age, middle twenties; single; frequents pool room almost every day during daytime; not employed; completed high school.

PS-5: Age, early thirties; single; shoots pool day and night; not employed; did not complete high school.

PS-6: Age, late twenties; divorced; one child; plays pool during the day, almost every day; driver for a transportation company at night; did not complete high school.

PS-7: Age, late thirties; married; three children; plays pool every night and occasionally during daytime; driver for a transportation company; completed business college; neither imbibes in alcoholic beverages nor smokes.

PS-8: Age, early forties; divorced; no children; hangs around the pool room day and night; does occasional odd jobs; did not complete high school.

STUDENT EVALUATIONS OF UNIONIZATION IN PLANTATION COMMUNITIES

by Robert Hirayama with the Editorial Assistance
of Bernhard L. Hormann

Hawaii has experienced a number of serious plantation strikes since the successful drive of the ILWU in the middle forties to organize the more than twenty-thousand plantation workers. While the great cost of the strikes to the local economy is generally known and the bitterness which they generated in the relation between management and workers is vaguely appreciated, there has been little written about the specific experiences of people living on the plantations and of the way these experiences have affected the attitudes of these people towards both the union and management.

An unusual opportunity to get at the experiences and changing attitudes exists in the confidential files of the Hawaii Social Research Laboratory. The materials for this paper came originally from student workbooks written over the period 1947 to 1952 in the sociology course, "Community Forces in Hawaii," a pre-professional course for future teachers and recreation workers. In the period under review, about 750 students have taken this course and have written on a variety of problems, including labor management relations, strikes, and the effect of unionization.

Part One will deal with the strains associated with the strike situation as seen in various relations, family, neighborhood, school, etc.

Part Two will discuss the emerging reactions to these strike experiences and to the arrival of the union on the scene.

PART ONE

The Family. Many plantation families were inevitably divided in that some members were identified with management and others with the union. Thus one Japanese girl wrote:

Now my three brothers who were employed in this plantation were not union members because of their status as supervisors . . . My uncle, who is a Japanese immigrant, became a union member because (as he used to tell us) if he did not, others in the community would not associate with their family and it would be unpleasant for his children. (1105)*

Another student told of how the matter of her father's joining the union had become an issue in the family.

For the first time in the summer of 1947, I actually got in contact with the union. My father was a store clerk until April 1946. He then started to work at a cannery. He could not speak the English language, but he understood pidgin English.

The men talked to my father every day telling him to join the union. At that time I was working full time in the personnel office. My boss talked to me about the many things which the company did for us. I suppose he was trying to let

*The number is the anonymous code number under which a student's materials are filed in the Hawaii Social Research Laboratory.

me know that it didn't pay to be on the bad side with the boss. After much persuading my father joined the union. Since there was no violence involved, the rest of the family said nothing.

Then in 1947 when a strike was imminent, I tried to talk my father into getting out from the union. He was very confused and did not know what to do. His fellow workers gave him the good side of the union and we tried to tell him that it was no sense for him because he would not profit by the strike. (Of course, I had nothing to back up this statement, but used it only to dissuade my father.)

The strike was called--and early that morning my aunt, my little sister, and I went to work in one of the supervisor's cars. Although we didn't work at all that day we were paid for a full day's work.

That night three union men came to our house to tell my father not to let us go to work and also to let him know that he had to join the picketers. He claimed he was too old, but he had to go anyway.

Since we had reported for work even one day the union members never forgave us for it. They had to pass our house to go to their headquarters and they never turned their heads in our direction. (bh31.1)

Another case illustrates that pressure from the children on the father was in the opposite direction from the case just cited:

There was the case in P. in which the man refused to join the union. His children and wife begged and pleaded with him, but he felt that he could not have real freedom by joining the union. He felt that he was being treated well, so there was no need to go against the management.

The children went against the father because they were being called "scabs." Other housewives avoided speaking to this man's wife and she was treated coldly. This and other worries resulted in a nervous breakdown. (1347)

The family serves as the focal point where the various happenings of the day are discussed. While each member may have a rather definite opinion about the union and its strikes, the interaction of divergent opinions nevertheless plays an important part in influencing all participants.

My brother, although a union member, more often than not disagreed with the union policies. Many a time he would tell us about the authoritarian manner in which the meetings were conducted, policies carried out, and of the skillful 'maneuvers' made by the union officials in influencing voting. (1402)

This family discussion has led to a fair amount of internal harmony. For instance:

I am convinced that the strikers were justified in fighting for the workers' benefits, wage increase, etc. But I have also nurtured a fear and resentment of the increasing strength and boldness of its top rank and file. Any strong convincing argument can easily sway many of the workers. I often resented my brother's hero worship for X and other top leaders of the union after he had heard them at one of their union meetings. The rest of the family used to advise him to speak up at these meetings and ask about anything he was in

doubt about for we wanted him to be positive that he was striking for what he honestly believed in. I have no resentments against the union, for I believe that it has done wonders for the workers in general. I can recall the measly pay that my brother used to take home for ten times the work that he does today. The increasing strength of the unions has also kept industry on its toes, ever seeking new means for improving productivity and efficiency. (1453)

In other cases bitter conflicts arose due to the lack of agreement between one member of the family with another. The conflict might range from verbal disagreement to fist fights. While the latter exemplified extreme conflict, there were numerous occasions when the conflicting opinions were intense but members were able to refrain from inflicting blows.

There were instances where brothers would turn against brothers because of this relationship. (1453)

One student reported that he had a summer job on a plantation which was being struck. As he and other workers were being transported in a truck, they were jeered at by the strikers, his own uncle among them and had things thrown at them.

To obtain sufficient funds for the household needs is one of the major problems for the family when the regular source of livelihood is curtailed in a strike. While some of the wage earners are flexible or fortunate enough to "take on" another job, those who are not encounter the worries and complaints of their family. This occurs especially where the strike is prolonged. While the union has made some attempt to alleviate this condition and studied complaints and morale of members on strike, there prevails a general attitude that it has not done enough. It is precisely here that feelings become acute.

Many voiced their grievances asking who was to feed their families during the strike. The leaders tried to calm them down and promised that a daily apportionment of food would be distributed among the strikers. What became of this! My brother was given a head of cabbage one day. This was the first and last particle of food we saw. And from what many of the other strikers said, they didn't fare better. (1402)

A friend of mine past fifty years of age still works as a truck driver. He was once in the union but now he has completely divorced himself from the organization. He claimed that the union didn't give enough aid to the strikers during the strike. In his own words, he said, 'How the hell is my family going to live? What if the strike lasts for a year? To hell with the union.' (1441)

But the unfavorable experiences with the union are not restricted solely to the period when a strike is in progress. Some of the family hardships are blamed on the very existence of the union. Some workers have come to look back with longing on the pre-union paternalism and perquisites, feeling their present position untenable.

My cousin's brother-in-law, who works on the K. Sugar Plantation, had to go on strike. They had to use their bank savings to keep up expenses for there was no steady income from the plantation coming to them. Furthermore, one of

their children had to be flown to a Honolulu physician for special treatment which involved a great deal of money . . . which had to be taken care of by their bank account. The burden was too heavy financially so the entire family moved to our valley for the duration of the strike. The strike had cut a deep wedge in their bank account which they had taken years to build (1123)

Under the paternalistic policy of the plantations there were certain benefits that amounted to quite a lot in terms of money today. Today, he is paid about three to four times more, but he does not have the benefits that he used to receive. Hospital bills were not paid. There was a nurse who made the rounds of the camps twice a week. Medicine was free, and so were all the utilities except electricity. Kerosene and wood were distributed to all. All this is now paid for. Although he was paid less, there was an opportunity to save more money. He did admit that he did not live as luxuriously. (1387)

A student observes it as significant that, "the parents wanted an extra bread-winner as early as possible. Their income was needed for the upkeep of large families." He goes on:

Generally speaking, almost all of the plantation workers got along with what they received from their pay envelopes. Prior to the union, the workers seemed content and showed no outward signs of discontentment. It was popularly termed, 'satisfied with a hand to mouth existence' for wasn't almost everything done for them? After the union came, I overheard a conversation between a cane-cutter and my father, the former telling the latter, 'The union is good thing boy, now the plantations no can cheat us.' After the strike in the middle of the 40's the same man expressed his regrets, 'Union waste time, I thought plantation hard head but union more hard head. I wanna work. Before never bother about pay for house, electric and water, now we gotta pay every pay day, humbug.' (1392)

The School. Another area that the union activities indirectly affects is the school environment of the children. Here again, it is the crisis of a strike that fosters discrimination among the children themselves between those who are "union member children" and those who are "non-union member children." Some observant students note:

The jeering and ostracism was not only used by the pick-et but also extended into the school where the children of the more active strikers hurled stinging remarks to the children of the non-strikers and refused to have them in their play group. (1424)

Family opinions and influences are one of the greatest factors in determining a child's way of thinking. How true this was in the strike of 1946. As I witnessed, the homes where the father was a strong member of the union organization had children who were strongly pro-union and who teased the other children of the non-union workers more than the children of less active union members. The teasing children, for example said, 'Ah your old man is a scab.' How cruel it

was to tease these innocent children, who had no hand in this strike and didn't know fully why they went on strike. (1397)

This hostility even existed among the children. The non-union children became untouchables of the community during the strike. (1453)

The chances of discussing strikes in the classroom are slight, but the strike crisis may aid in defining the playgroup cliques. The recess period is important because this is where the pupils have a freer opportunity to interact upon one another, whereas in the classroom, the prominent influence is of teachers upon pupils. The moment the bell rings to let out the class, pupil-pupil interaction takes over. Various home influences, teacher influences, and individual opinions shape themselves into group behavior. Seemingly "little" incidents between the teaser and the teased, for instance, are indicative of conflictive value orientations.

I was a sophomore in high school when the sugar strike occurred. My father was a plantation laborer and a member of the ILWU, so naturally my sympathies were with my father and the union.

To me, as I look back now the thing that stands out well is the overall mood of the people on the plantations. It certainly was not much fun. Everywhere I went I could feel some kind of tension.

In school I found that I could receive no help from the teachers in trying to understand some of the basic issues of strike. I felt that many of the teachers were anti-union. Some of the children from non-plantation homes would sometimes make unpleasant remarks about the ILWU or the plantation people. (1408)

What could happen if a teacher did attempt "objectively" to discuss the strike comes out in the following excerpt:

At school we discussed these "high tension" problems arising out of and from the sugar strike in my Social Studies course. The teacher happened to be the wife of the manager of this plantation. In my opinion she was quite objective in this discussion, but many of those whose parents were union members, disliked the idea and interpreted it in the wrong light. They said that it was all propaganda and of biased nature. It got so that I heard several union members commenting on this school situation, which to them was unfavorable and unfair. One student even went so far as to getting names of students on a petition to the DPI for this teacher's removal from the school staff. I was approached with this petition; but since I refused to sign it, they didn't let me read it, but later the teacher mentioned the nature of the petition in class. I don't know what happened next, but I saw the student in school and the teacher is still on the staff. (1105)

The Community and the Neighborhood. It is the neighborhood cliques and community at large where the split between those who go on strike and those who do not reach its greatest heights.

A common activity was name calling, directed toward the non-union workers, who were said to be 'making good to the haoles,' since most or nearly all the haoles employed on the plantations were bosses or foremen. Such was the

constant labeling and the non-workers led a miserable strained life during the time of the strike. (1397)

Most of the people involved in this strike were good friends of mine. I had grown up with them and thought they had more intelligence. The day the strike started, I became their enemy. Most of them will not talk to me and cross over to the other side of the street when I approach them. The union has used the racial prejudice angle and used it well. (1389)

Perhaps it is not so much union "use" of the racial prejudice angle as a more spontaneous and personal injecting by individuals who comprise the union of prejudice against the non-strikers in order to gain confidence and assurance that they are doing right by going on strike. And this prejudice, which is usually directed against the scab as such, occasionally becomes racial.

During the pineapple strike in 1946, my cousin and I were working at a Honolulu cannery. We felt that we should have no part in the strike; we were satisfied with our working conditions and saw no cause to stay home from work. So we reported to work but we encountered some difficulty because of the mob of strikers who were blocking the entrance. We heard name-calling, etc. I remember a working girl of Japanese ancestry who approached us and spoke in a very angry tone that we were Japanese, or had we forgotten? Following us and failing to get any response, to these remarks she threatened us--that she was going "to fix" us up some day and that she would remember our faces. We were fortunate in that we didn't know the strikers as we would have had we been in our own community on the outside island. (1105)

The union by its nature cannot accept an official policy based on racial prejudice because it would attack the solid unity of the workers themselves. Workers united believe that "an injury to one is an injury to all." A student states in line with this theme:

One of the chief concerns of the leaders of the union was the binding of the different racial groups in the 'rank and file' into a mixed aggregate capable of concerted action. (1424)

That the efforts to minimize the racial ancestry of workers often succeeded comes out in the following account:

There is harmony because they are loyal to the union. Union members of several ethnic groups are united against scabs and they will only stop short of murder in order to make all workers follow union working policies. My father works in a place where there are a variety of ethnic groups and there is a worker among them who was not a union member. All during the negotiations this man was just critical of the union and blabbed his mouth off. Now when the strike did not occur this man also gained what the union members gained and workers sensed an injustice. This man was a Portuguese, but regardless, all the other workers, which included some Portuguese, heckled him. (1359)

The seriousness of the conflict between strikers and non-strikers comes out below in an account by a student whose parents had a company-owned fish market.

What followed was indescribable. My sisters, brothers, and relatives were the victims of name calling and mockery. The union saw to it that the strikers' families patronized the other fish markets. The union gradually enforced its power till finally they controlled the merchants of the community with their weapon--boycotting. It got to a point where the union bodies controlled the actions of the strikers outside of their regular hours. (1385)

Scabs, non-union men who do not hold any position of rank on the plantations, did not have a comfortable time. They were highly resented because they would especially benefit from the strike without having to lose a penny. (1453)

Neighbors who are friendly in normal times may suddenly become unfriendly when a situation of conflicting ideas and sympathies about a strike arise. Just how permanent the rift is, is difficult to surmise. The differing ideologies may be latent and tolerated, only to be reinforced and renewed with vigor with the inception of a strike.

Stores after the first two months refused to accept the workers' credit and those that did accept credit had on the whole many non-plantation patrons. This situation did not prove conducive to a friendly atmosphere. (1453)

The tense atmosphere before a strike and the split in the community as a result of the strike weighed heavily on plantation people.

In certain communities where union members were dominant, I heard of non-union members suffering socially. A son of a family A, belonging to the union, married a girl from another camp of the same plantation whose family was also identified with the union. Neighbors of the A's, a non-union family and close friend of the A's before unionization, took a wedding gift to the groom, even though they hadn't received an invitation. No one was home, so Mrs. B left the gift and went home. That very evening the mother of the groom took the gift to the neighbor and threw it at the lady, saying, "We don't want a scab's gift," and ran home. The neighbor was so hurt that she just burst into tears. Still she could not run to the union and join, because she did not agree in the way the union was being run. For a period of several months she suffered the hurt. Now relationships between the families seem to be better. (1156)

This summer I fully realized that what labor decides to do becomes a matter of whether or not I would be able to continue my education. This summer when the sugar contract was under negotiation, there was much tenseness in many of the plantation communities including my community. Most of the laborers had experienced the '46 strike; they knew how unpleasant and difficult it is to live under pressure, but their staunch loyalty to the union could not be shaken. If the union leaders thought that they should strike, they would do so. When I was at home this summer I was suddenly conscious of this tension. The only thing people talked about in their small

world was an inevitable sugar strike. The camp labor leader had begun collecting money, about eleven dollars per member, and each man was asked to fill a paper that called for an estimate on how much food each consumed and how much food supply each had in store at that time. The management passed out tags for the laborers to use if they wanted to get through picket lines to get their pay...When parts of the proposed contract were revealed to the laborers an even greater urge for striking grew when they noted that the employers had proposed a wage scale which definitely did not favor the man with a low wage rate.

On the eve of September first, I remember going to bed with much anxiety. Many stayed up and sat close to the radio waiting for the results of the Hilo negotiations. My family had just about fallen asleep, when about midnight a strong knocking on the door awoke us. It was the camp's labor representative and he informed us that there was going to be work the next day and that the laborers would be notified later whether or not there was going to be a strike. As it turned out, there was no strike. (1359)

That the broken bonds are gradually repaired is indicated below:

Now relations between union and non-union members seem to be better. Lately I haven't heard of any more rash, harsh expressions of feeling. Obviously these are strongest during a strike. (1156)

After a strike the people involved reevaluate the union and its activities. The second part of this paper will tell of the present attitudes, which are, thus, aptly summarized by one of the students:

I think that in general most people are in favor of unions but they are fearful of not achieving their ends and of the financial sacrifices that they must make, particularly during a strike. (1151)

PART TWO

In Part Two the purpose is to report how the students summarize the place of the union in the light of the experiences reported in Part One. We will start with the negative reactions to the union, then turn to those favorable to the union, and finally give the more "objective" or neutral evaluations.

Negative toward Union. Many of the experiences cited were disagreeable ones having to do directly with the strike situation. The inevitable deterioration of informal relationships led many to a negative reaction toward the union. The union, some have come to believe, is a group that makes inexcusable demands on the company.

I have heard several opinions about the Lanai strike from some sugar workers and many were much more concerned about the prestige of the union instead of the people's plight. I once pointed out to several that since the Lanai strike seemed to be useless why did not the union give up. I naturally was talked down for many union members felt and believed that defeat for the ILWU was something unheard of. It did not matter to some how long the strike lasted, as long as the union

came out on top. The union has indeed made many of the members firmly loyal. (1359)

A fair number of student criticize the leadership as against the union itself. It is, however, often difficult to conclude when they are referring to the union at large and when they are referring to the leaders of the union.

In a few cases, as in the following, an initially negative reaction was only strengthened by developments.

I had the misfortune of being involved in the sugar strike. I was asked to join the union but refused. I had long before made up my mind that the union was out to break the sugar industry and that I would have no part of the union. My refusal to join placed me in the category of a scab. I was called everything, from a rotten haole to a scab. (1389)

There were cases when the members on strike felt that the union neglected them during the strike. The union had promised food should the strike be prolonged, but failed to carry out the promise, according to these reports. As inaccurate as the accusation may be it is firmly believed by many.

The following conversation indicates generally negative reactions reinforced by experience with the union.

- Mr. Saito: Unions are a waste of time. Dues, dues, dues, we pay nothing but dues every month and what do we get? What happened to the money? We, the union members, actually are suckers.
- Mr. Kesaji: My son told me not to join the union, but I joined because everybody else did. I gain nothing from the union although I pay my monthly dues. I'll be retiring soon, and the sooner I wash my hands from the union, the better it is for me.
- Mr. Murai: We struck for nothing. O.K., we got our raise but now we have to pay for water, rent, doctor bills. In my opinion we were fools to strike.
- Mr. Shoda: I kept some money in the bank so that I could buy a car and go to Japan with my wife. With the strike, I had to withdraw some money and now I know that the money we lost will never be replaced. The strike did us no good. From here on I'll always vote against having a strike.
- Mrs. Sugimote: My husband has lost faith in the union. He used to attend all of the meetings before, but now he seldom goes. He thinks it's a waste of time and money. We were doing O.K. before the union stepped in. (1347)

The most recurrent negative note in these accounts is that the union is being led by men with Communist inclinations who are using the union as a tool to advance their ideology.

There is a strong feeling on the part of some people that the labor unions are Communist-controlled. These people feel that the unions are following a policy dictated by Russia. These same people feel that the unions, at least, are Communists, and are leading their ignorant followers toward Communism.

It is also felt by some people, and highly propagandized by the businessmen, that the labor leaders are actually trying to ruin the Territory's industrial capacity. At the bottom of these beliefs or feelings lies the fear of Communism and the theory that the unions are controlled by Communists and have their policies dictated by the Kremlin. The recent arrest of alleged Hawaiian Communists has served to strengthen this fear. (1379)

I am prejudiced towards the ILWU because of my past experiences with it when I lived with my relatives in Z. Z, incidentally, is referred to as "little Russia" because several Z men who hold top positions in the ILWU have been linked with the Communist party. (1413)

In the case of some workers, their attitudes bespeak a negative reaction which is based on some underlying conviction.

The last person I want to report about is a man also of Japanese ancestry who has been an electrician at a pineapple cannery for twenty-five years. He claims that organized labor has been responsible for the low buying power of the dollar and that if unions had never been formed in Hawaii, Hawaii would really be a paradise. He cites as basic for his argument the years when a person could support a family comfortably on a salary of sixty dollars, while today you can just about get by on a salary three times that amount. He believes that eventually the unions will wreck our basic industries and ruin Hawaii. How true his prophecy is will only be answered in the uncertain future. (1381)

Positive toward Union -- Several students reported that where originally they were inclined to view the union with suspicion, gradually they began to view it in a more favorable light. They felt that while some of the leadership might be questionable, the union as a whole was essential as a counterweight to the great power of management.

The role of organized labor in Hawaii is twofold. One is to check the power and potential abuses of the Big Five fellows, and the other and most important the protection of the working people through collective bargaining. (1469)

Plantation workers, past and present, were constantly reminding the students of the pre-union period of subservience and exploitation. The students were urged to appreciate the fact that the union had done much to cause the management to correct some of the earlier practices. Thus many realize the handicap of the non-unionized workers and the advantages of a collective presentation of grievances by way of the union.

Paternalism was replaced by collective bargaining and now the workers have at least a medium to voice their desire and dissensions. The union has become a powerful social and political force in the community; it has definitely come to stay. The perquisite system has gone and the rent system has taken its place. More recently, the individual purchase of homes from the plantation at fee-simple terms has been encouraged. (1424)

Appreciation of the contributions of the union comes even from a student living on a non-unionized plantation:

Nearly everyone at home agrees that we are better off without the union. We cannot disregard the fact that we may not be able to ward off the pressure and may have to join the union eventually. Most of them are not absolutely against unionization but they are glad we don't have it as yet.

After the recent Lanai strike, the management raised our wages also. I can clearly see the reaction of union members when they see us receiving those benefits when we did nothing to bring them about. (1358)

Here in Hawaii where the industries have played such an important role in the economy, the standards of the laboring class had been rising slowly even before the union. It is an escapable fact though that the laborers were in want of having a medium by which "their side" could be effectively relayed to management. When the unions came to Hawaii, the laborers went to the unions. This student sums up the situation:

Even though organized labor is not playing a very favorable role in the eyes of the people, it is valuable to Hawaii. In any industrial society, organized labor is valuable. It is needed to defend the rights of the laboring class, a strong and unified voice which speaks whenever injustice is done. As an industrial society, Hawaii has and needs organized labor. Also, from its past experiences with the plantation system and the effects of the ILWU, Hawaii has felt and wanted desperately, organized labor. Under unquestionable loyal Americans who are not suspected of subversive behavior, organized labor would play a more favorable role. Though one may think that it disrupts the economy by calling a strike, the feeling will not be one of disrupting for subversive reasons, but for some injustice done for violating a democratic principle. (1453)

A fairly prevalent attitude of qualified approval of the union is indicated in this account:

I think in general most people are in favor of unions but they are fearful of not achieving their ends and of the financial sacrifices that they must make, particularly during a strike. (1151)

Perhaps the most important change attributed to the union and looked upon favorably by the students, is in the increased amount of self-assurance and self-respect which they feel because of the power of the union, with which they identify themselves. To the managements, these new attitudes no doubt appear at times as "cockiness." The following selections give evidence of this psychological change.

A Japanese boy related an experience whereby he had applied for a job and was turned down because he didn't have any experience. His older brother who had accompanied him, he said, immediately flared up and said that it was the darn Haoles who didn't have the experience, yet had the better jobs. He said his brother told the man something about going to the union. A few days later, he said he was called for a

part-time job. I think this shows some of the conflicts that can be taking place every day between labor and management. (1380)

One Sunday morning I was talking to my uncle and his friend, Mr. Uyehara. My uncle is 61 years old and has always been a plantation laborer. Mr. Uyehara, fifty-six years old, had started out as a plantation laborer, but is now a prosperous businessman, owning his own pig farm, a restaurant, and a meat market.

The three of us were talking about things in general, when Mr. Uyehara said, "Yesterday, Mr. Y. came into my restaurant and called me 'Mr. Uyehara. My goodness, how he has changed. I can well remember the time he used to call me just 'Uyehara' but now it's 'Mr. Uyehara.'"

I laughed and asked, "How come he's so changed?"

"Because things are changed now, that's why. You younger ones may not remember, but there was a time when the haoles acted just like kings."

My uncle began remembering too. He said, "I can well remember an incident about ten to fifteen years ago that shows what the plantation bosses thought about us. One day I saw Mr. Y in his car and I went up to talk to him. It happened that I touched his car windows. He scolded me, "Don't touch, don't touch." He laughed as he remembered the scene.

I find that in talking to older people like my uncle and Mr. Uyehara, many of them feel that the plantation Haoles are more pleasant and less snooty than they used to be. Several of the older Japanese have remarked to me that they have been surprised at the change in Mr. Y. He comes from an old Kamaaina family and used to manage the plantation my uncle works for-till about ten years ago. I was very young then, but I still remember him vividly. Always dressed in white, he was extremely tall and stern-looking. All the children I knew and many adults were very afraid of him. He always seemed so remote and inaccessible. (1408)

A close evaluation of labor unions could lead to the conclusion that they provided a means for laborers to exert the influence which they do not have as individuals. This is important in our society in which such an important part is played by pressure groups. Thus, unions stand in opposition to pressure exerted by the big businesses upon government, the individual, and the community as a whole.

There are those who, appraising the present status of the laborers, feel that labor unions have served ably to improve their lot. Comparing present working conditions with those existing before labor was organized, they feel that unions have been almost the only reason for the improvement.

In the same vein, the present relatively high wage scale and standard of living have been attributed to organized labor.

All of these improvements they credit to their labor leaders. This brought about a high degree of respect for these leaders among their followers. The rank and file feel that since their leaders have brought them this far along, that they should not desert them now. (1379)

Neutral in Opinion -- The tone of the quotations already given indicates a fair degree of objectivity on the part of many students. It would, for

instance, be impossible to take the fairly large number of discussions dealing with management-labor relations on the plantation and find them preponderantly on one side. Many of the accounts are objectively descriptive and venture no decided opinion. Most of those who give opinions, whether favorable or unfavorable to management or labor, very carefully qualify these views. The over-all impression one gets of the feelings of plantation labor in general is that of qualified loyalty to the union mixed with a fair amount of understanding of management.

Below are excerpts illustrative of this relatively objective approach:

Most of the people to whom I've spoken seem to feel that the labor union has both a good and a bad side. They feel that it is good because it helps the workers to bargain with the employers on more equal terms. The bad side is that sometimes the union goes too far in trying to dictate to the employers. The criticism of labor unions I've found, is not directed against the members themselves, but against the leaders. One of the criticisms is that some of the labor leaders have police records. I do not think that this helps to raise the estimation of the unions in the eyes of the people.

Another criticism of the leaders is that some of them are Communists or Communist sympathizers. This fact leads people to distrust the labor unions in general, and labor leaders in particular. Since much of the rank and file are either newly arrived from their homeland or reside on plantations, many of them do not know what is going on in the world and hence can be led very easily. It is very important, therefore, that the leaders are trustworthy. And an even further criticism of the leaders is that some of them use the union to further their own ends, either to become more powerful or more rich.

The labor union itself is now felt to be too strong. In a community such as this, surrounded by the sea, a prolonged waterfront strike could be very inconvenient, as was found in the waterfront strike a few years ago. The people of a union should not be in a position to dictate to management, especially as far as hiring and firing men is concerned. The union shops and the closed shops which are advocated so vigorously are opposed by the management and much of the community.

Although it must be admitted that there is much to criticize in the unions, it cannot be denied that they have done much for the workers. If it were not for these unions the standard of living of the workers would be something which the community would not be proud of.

It may seem strange that people who live in Hawaii should be so objective about the situation, but I think that the younger generation is beginning to see things in their true perspective, instead of getting emotional over everything that happens. Events have shown too, that in the event of another waterfront strike, the people of Hawaii will not starve, nor will untold of hardships be heaped upon them. (1439).

At the present time, there appears to be a marked division between those who oppose organized labor and those who are in favor. Much of the opposition can be attributed to a general fear of Communism and the belief that union policies are dictated by Russia.

Whether one opposes or defends organized labor is extremely dependent upon the type of group with which the individual commonly associates. Thus, businessmen and special-

ists employed by companies oppose organized labor. White-collar workers and those who do not consider themselves laborers generally are in opposition also. However, those who work with their hands, and who have benefited from the efforts of labor, are in favor of their organization. There are many liberal-minded people, also, who feel that labor unions are basically a benefit. (1379)

Now relations between union and non-union members seem to be better. Lately I haven't heard of any more rash, harsh feelings. In a way these are strongest during a strike.

Whether all this was worth while or not is debatable. Some say that the union has bettered them financially. Others say it hasn't affected them either way. Regardless no one has gone backward due to the union. The union has given the employees more power than before. Now they have the security of not being pressed unreasonably because of the force behind them. Sometimes, though, I think that their demands are unreasonable. (1156)

I have worked in the pineapple canneries in Hawaii for five seasons missing only one season. With these five seasons of experience under my belt, I had numerous opportunities to get acquainted with people who were directly or indirectly connected with organized labor in the pineapple industries. Before going directly into the question I want to say that my opinions on organized labor are both pro and con and that I have come to no definite conclusion of its role in Hawaii so that this paper is merely trying to report the opinions of people that I have become acquainted with during the time that I worked in the pineapple canneries. (1381)

Conclusion. -- The greatest difficulty encountered in undertaking this project was in the organization of these compiled papers. Inasmuch as only points relevant to the study were sought, this study by virtue of its purpose was governed by what these students had to say. While the materials were readily accessible and abundant, most of the students discussed the labor-management subject only in part, not devoting themselves to a full discussion on a particular phase. Unpleasant experiences, whether attributed to management, the union or just the situation, were more vividly remembered than pleasant ones.

Problems. -- It must be emphasized, among the limitations of this study, that this study has attempted to interpret the experiences and reactions of a restricted group of students (course in Community Forces) and it is not to be assumed that these opinions necessarily reflect the opinions of the students of the University of Hawaii at large and of the population as a whole. The materials are, furthermore, written reports, and not face-to-face contacts through interviews. Students wrote at random on choices of several subjects and nowhere is it possible to classify which students were typically pro or anti-labor. Many are able to recall the numerous strikes vividly, and tend to stress the detriments and to give unequal weight to the favorable aspects. There exists, also, the question as to the degree of accuracy and honesty as against the falsity (intentional or unintentional) in the statements, depending on the motives in writing a "term paper."

The writer himself believes further data of interest could be developed if there were a follow-up by questionnaires and directed interviews.

ALCOHOL AND CRIME

A Student-Faculty Group Project*

The Temperance League of Hawaii inadvertently precipitated this research into the subject of "Alcohol and Crime," the results of which are herein reported. It all started when a representative of the Temperance League wrote up the following story of an interview with Oahu Prison officials for the organization's publication.

BOOZE HIT AS CHIEF CAUSE OF CRIME BY LOCAL WARDEN¹

"Eliminate liquor as causative factor in the cases of men and women incarcerated in Oahu Prison, and the population would drop to an appreciable extent," Warden Joe C. Harper said emphatically when asked recently concerning the relationship of booze and crime in Hawaii.

William P. Mottz, Deputy Warden of the prison and Mr. Harper's assistant who was also present at the interview, nodded his agreement.

"We have 645 inmates at present," Mr. Mottz said, "and of these, approximately 130 are at Kulani Prison Camp on Hawaii, 60 on Maui, and the remainder here at Oahu Prison. An undetermined percentage of these men and women are true alcoholic personalities and the crimes they have committed are either directly or indirectly the result of their alcoholism. Another, and somewhat larger group, are here because of crimes they have perpetrated under the influence of intoxicants, or which were committed when their activators were under the compulsion of obtaining money to buy liquor. Together, roughly, these two groups represent 50 to 65 per cent of the total prison population, so you can readily see that alcohol plays a major role in the incidence of crime in the community."

When questioned regarding the rehabilitation prospects of prison inmates in general and those with an alcoholic background in particular, Warden Harper was emphatic in stating that a primary concern should be to eliminate the use of alcohol from the men's lives.

*Observations regarding the Association Between the Use of Alcohol and Criminality Among 689 Inmates of the Oahu Prison System as of December, 1949.

Student research by: Mrs. Shirley Anderson, '50; Clifford I. Arinaga, '50; Gordon K. S. Chee, '50; Dennis K. Hirose, '50; Douglas H. Kodama, '50; Gwendolyn G. Newton, '51; Pauline D. Pirtle, '51; James T. Ohashi, '51;

Student Editorial assistance by: Carol S. Sakuragi, '53; and Grace Y. Uejio, '53;

Faculty direction and editing of report by Harold A. Jambor.

¹The Fifth Freedom, II, 1 (1950). Temperance.

"Unless alcohol is relegated to the background and kept there," Mr. Harper said, "the prognosis for a parolee with an alcoholic background 'making good' on the outside when he is released from here, is very unfavorable. Our records show indisputably that a very high percentage of parolees retaken to serve the balance of their sentence for parole violations, is due directly to the use of alcohol. For this reason, we view very favorably any attempts at alcoholic education and rehabilitation conducted among the inmates by Alcoholics Anonymous, the Temperance League of Hawaii, or similar organizations. It is my conviction that many of the inmates here at present due to crimes arising from the use of alcohol might very well have been useful citizens today had they received an earlier education in the dangers inherent in drinking."

"It costs the Territory approximately \$1,000 annually to feed, clothe and maintain an inmate at Oahu Prison," Warden Harper said, "and when you multiply this by the several hundred inmates who are incarcerated directly or indirectly as the result of alcohol, it becomes apparent at once that alcohol is costing the taxpayers of this community a great deal of money we don't ordinarily consider as a liquor bill."

The prison authorities, subsequent to the publication of this report, thought that their views had been oversimplified, and that the conclusions drawn from them were inadequately qualified. It was further realized that they had been expressing judgments based on many years of experience and not judgments based on facts derived from any systematic study of the subject. A request was therefore, made to have some students do research on this matter.

It was agreed that the method of procedure was to consist solely of searching the case records of all inmates under the jurisdiction of the Oahu Prison System as of December, 1949, for data on "alcohol using characteristics" of the prison populations classified in the prison records. A total of 689 inmates fell into four classes as follows:

	Number	Per cent
1. First Offenders	327	47%
2. Probation Violators	102	15%
3. Parole Repeaters	219	32%
4. Parole Violators	41	6%
Total	689	100%

The following terms and definitions denoting the status of the inmates in relation to the use of alcohol were established.

1. Chronic Alcoholic: one who has had previous charges of drunkenness, one who is unable to hold a job, who has a general continuous pattern of heavy drinking.
2. Periodic Drinker: one who had a fairly steady work record, had only occasional bouts, and who has frequently been a problem to his family.

3. Social Drinker: one who has no previous drinking charges, whose drinking in no way disrupts his life, and usually does not become seriously inebriated.
4. Abstemious: non-user.

It was also agreed that the relationship between the "use of alcohol" and "criminality" would be denoted as follows:

1. General: Contributed in an indirect manner to the commission of a crime.
2. Specific: Involved directly with the crime, i.e., drunk while committing the crime, stealing money to buy liquor, etc.

It was realized that the case record material would have to be evaluated in order for data to be tabulated according to the rather roughly defined characteristics which had been stipulated. A maximum of objectivity in evaluation was sought through preliminary orientation of the students doing the research to the nature of the records, and by having the students occasionally "cross check" their tabulations of the cases being read.

Use of Alcohol Among First Offenders

The "alcohol-using" characteristics of the 327 first offenders who constituted approximately one-half of the prison population studied, were found to be distributed as follows:

	Number	Per cent
Chronic Drinker	35	11%
Periodic Drinker	69	21%
Social Drinker	169	52%
Abstemious	35	11%
No Record	19	5%
Total	327	100%

This indicated that over 50% of these inmates were social drinkers, while slightly over 10% were chronic drinkers.

There were 78 cases found in which a specific relationship existed between the use of alcohol and the commission of a crime and in 52 cases a general relationship was found to exist. There was no relationship found in the other 197 cases in this particular group. It was observed that among the chronic and periodic drinkers, the use of alcohol had a more specific relationship to the crime committed.

There was no strong indication one way or another that the use of alcohol was related to the commission of crimes by persons alone or in groups. The data in Table I does not suggest a predominant pattern of any sort.

TABLE I

Relation Between Types of Drinkers and Commission of Crime Alone or in Groups Among 327 Inmates of Oahu Prison, December, 1949.

Situation	Type of Drinker									
	Chronic		Periodic		Social		Abstemious		No Record	
Totals	Totals	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Totals	327	35	100	69	100	169		35		13
Alone	205	23	66	51	74	110	65	21	60	-
In Groups	86	10	28	17	25	53	31	6	17	-
Unknown	36	2	6	1	1	6	3	8	23	19

A few other interesting facts about this group of inmates was collected. The educational level, as might be suspected, was low with a majority lacking anything above an eighth grade education. The median age of these first offenders was 26 while the median age of the chronic alcoholic was 33 which agrees with a commonly held notion that the chronic alcoholic is usually an "older" person.

The social histories of these inmates, in almost all cases, revealed personal instability and social disorganization. The commission of crime seemed impulsive, rather than planned, based on decisions of the moment consistent with well-established patterns of erratic behavior. The use of alcohol seemed also to be associated with these psycho-social characteristics, and thus is indicated a general association of alcoholism with criminal behavior.

Use of Alcohol Among Probation Violators*

The "alcohol-using" characteristics of the 102 probation violators, were found to be distributed as follows:

	Number	Per cent
Chronic Drinker	14	14%
Periodic Drinker	32	31%
Social Drinker	35	34%
Abstemious Drinker	17	17%
No record	4	4%
Total	102	100%

*A probation violator is one who fails to meet the conditions of a probation such as, reporting to the probation officer, abstaining from the use of liquor, avoiding disreputable places, remaining off the streets late at night, avoiding the use of narcotics, not carrying firearms and other specified conditions.

Criminology, Donald R. Taft (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1947) p. 588.

There were 29 cases found in which a specific relationship existed between the use of alcohol and the commission of a crime and in 36 cases, a general relationship was found to exist. There was no relationship found in the other 37 cases in this particular group.

The median age of the probation violators was 24 while the median age of the chronic alcoholics in the group was nearly identical with what was found among the first offenders.

The social histories of these inmates in most instances revealed personal instability and social disorganization.

Use of Alcohol Among Parole Repeaters

The 219 parole repeaters represent those inmates in Oahu Prison who were placed on parole more than once and whose paroles were revoked because of their committing another crime and thus violating parole regulations. This is the recidivist group, the "three time losers." This group is significant because a large proportion of all crimes committed can be attributed to them. A large part of the work of the police, the courts, and the penal and reformatory institutions is concentrated on recidivists. They provide more than their share of the failures on parole and more than their share of disciplinary problems in the institution.

The parole repeaters are those persons in the prison population who, because of such factors as personal inadequacies, economic situations beyond their individual control, and association with the criminal milieu, have failed to make a satisfactory social adjustment. Their social histories include one or more periods of "rehabilitation", which must be considered unsuccessful.

The 219 parole repeaters were found to be distributed, according to "alcohol-using" characteristics, as follows:

	Number	Per cent
Chronic Drinker	36	16%
Periodic Drinker	71	33%
Social Drinker	64	29%
Abstemious	21	10%
No Record	27	12%
Total	219	100%

This shows that approximately one-third were periodic drinkers, which when added to the number of chronic drinkers, constitutes roughly fifty per cent of the group. The proportion of "heavy drinkers" is thus somewhat greater here than among the probation violators and much greater than among the first offenders studied.

A specific relationship between alcohol and the latest crime committed was found in 91% of the cases involving those inmates classed as chronic drinkers. A little over 80 per cent of the cases involving periodic drinkers showed a similar relationship. These same inmates were also found to have had alcohol mixed up with earlier offenses but to a markedly lesser extent, 61 per cent in the case of the chronic drinkers and 29 per cent in the case of periodic drinkers. The difference between the earlier and later situation suggests that the inmates involved, instead of having their alcohol-using habits constructively modified, got these "habits" more firmly established. The data on this point for all parole repeaters studied indicated that:

1. 25 per cent of their first offenses were specifically associated with the use of alcohol.
2. 55 per cent of their second offenses were specifically associated with the use of alcohol.

There was no real indication, one way or another, as with first offenders, that any relationship existed among parole repeaters as far as use of alcohol and commission of crimes alone or in groups was concerned.

The median age at the time of first commitment to Oahu Prison was found to be about 21 while the median age at last commitment was about 30, facts which differ from the findings on first offenders.

A total of 100 cases of the 219 parole repeaters under jurisdiction of the Oahu Prison System as of December, 1949, were selected at random for special study as to the extent of social disorganization, as evidenced by certain conditions reflected in their social histories as compiled by the prison authorities. The following facts were ascertained:

1. 67 per cent of the inmates came from broken homes where one parent had died, or where the home was disorganized due to divorce, separation, or desertion.
2. 96 per cent of the inmates were 12 years of age or under when their homes were broken.
3. 71 per cent of the broken homes in which the inmates grew up were in the low economic group.
4. The inmates from broken homes, on the average, had only a fifth grade education.
5. These inmates committed their first legal offenses against society, on the average, when they were 23 years old.
6. 64 per cent of the inmates from broken homes spent time in reform schools as juvenile delinquents.
7. A great deal of neglect, mistreatment, and lack of supervision of the inmates as children, by parents and others, was noted.
8. The existence of many adverse socio-psychological factors among these inmates' parents as evidenced by alcoholism, crime, mental illnesses and deficiencies, suicide, multiple marriages, common-law relationships, and illegitimacy, was frequently noted.
9. 79 per cent of the inmates were single men.

These results of a study of 100 cases, if they may be considered at all typical, suggest that alcoholism is just another part of the total situation. The developmental pattern, in most cases, seems to follow a particular sequence, as lack of supervision in childhood makes for truancy, delinquencies follow, then reform school, and finally, Oahu Prison. The use of alcohol to excess apparently is a later development, and is a factor associated with, rather than causative of criminal behavior.

Use of Alcohol Among Parole Violators

The 41 parole violators represent those inmates in Oahu Prison who were recommitted because of some violation of parole conditions. A parole

violation may involve the commission of a crime, or, as is usually the case, some infraction of parole regulations, e.g., failure to report regularly to the parole officer or failure to abstain from liquor.

The findings on this group of inmates indicated that about 68 per cent could be classified as heavy drinkers. A third of them were found to have committed their original (first) criminal acts while using or attempting to procure alcohol, while about the same proportion returned to prison from parole because of the use of alcohol.

The median age of these inmates at the time of first commitment was 24 while the median age on reimprisonment was 30, a situation comparable to that existing for parole repeaters.

The educational background of these inmates were found to be limited with 37 of them having had the equivalent of a ninth grade education or less.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The data collected regarding the "alcohol using characteristics" of the 689 inmates of the Oahu Prison system according to their prison classifications as of December, 1949, is summarized in Table II which plainly shows that a very high percentage of the inmates studied used alcohol to a greater or lesser extent. A relatively small proportion however could be classed as "chronic drinkers" while a larger group, approximately 27 per cent, could be classed as "periodic drinkers." These two groups combined, represented about 41 per cent of the prison population. This is a pretty high figure, but whether it is markedly different from what one would find, assuming it were possible to do so, with respect to the "alcohol using characteristics" of the adult population, especially the male adult population of the community at large, is a moot question.

Table II

"Alcohol Using Characteristics" of 689 Inmates of the Oahu Prison System According to Their Technical-Legal Classifications, December, 1949.

	Totals		Chronic Drinkers		Periodic Drinkers		Social Drinkers		Abstemious		No Record	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Totals	689	100	95	100	187	100	279	100	77	100	51	100
First Offenders	327	47	35	37	69	37	169	61	35	45	19	37
Probation Violators	102	15	14	15	32	17	35	13	17	22	4	8
Parole Repeaters	219	32	36	38	71	38	64	23	21	27	27	53
Parole Violators	41	6	10	10	15	8	11	3	4	6	1	2

The data collected regarding the relationship between the "use of alcohol" and commission of crimes by the 689 inmates studied is summarized in Table III, and here again, assessing the figures on a comparable

basis, one finds that a "specific relationship between alcohol and crime" could only be counted in about 24 per cent of the cases examined. The figures on the same point when related to the inmate classifications, do not differ from the over-all figures, percentage-wise, enough to warrant special attention.

Table III

Relation Between Use of Alcohol and Commission of Crimes By 689 Inmates of the Oahu Prison System, According to Their Technical-Legal Classifications, December, 1949.

	Totals		Specific Relationship to Alcohol		General Relationship to Alcohol		No Relationship to Alcohol*	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Totals	689	100	162	100	249	100	278	100
First Offenders	327	47	78	48	52	21	197	71
Probation Violators	102	15	29	18	36	14	37	13
Parole Repeaters	219	32	41	25	157	63	21	8
Parole Violators	41	6	14	9	4	2	23	8

These figures do not tally with the "50 to 65 per cent" figures attributed by the Temperance League of Hawaii to represent the calculated judgment of the officials of the Oahu Prison System some time late in 1949.

This study did reveal the significant fact that the "use of alcohol" is essentially one of many symptoms or evidences of personal-social disorganization. The social characteristics of the 100 parole repeaters whose records were specially examined, can not leave one in any doubt on this point.

A person is thus led to conclude further that it isn't the social cost of "excessive drinking" that should concern us so much as it is the vastly higher social cost of personal-social disorganization. It behooves us to learn the causes of these conditions and to set to work to prevent and control them by improving those social institutions which are supposed to be concerning themselves with the social well-being of each and every individual living in our social milieu.

March 1953

*This category includes all those cases in which the record did not indicate a specific or general relationship between the commission of a crime and the use of alcohol.

CORRECTION OR CONFIRMATION

An Inquiry into the Relationship between Recidivism and Age at Time of Commitment to the Waialeale Industrial Training School for Boys, Oahu, Hawaii

*Student research by Clarence M. Hara, '51 Patrick E. Oka, '50
Faculty direction and editing of report by Harold A. Jambor.*

The role of the correctional or industrial school in reforming the youthful offender who is committed to such an institution has been widely discussed for many years. It has been contended by some authorities in the field that such institutions could correct and have corrected the anti-social behavior patterns of persons committed to them. It has been also contended that such institutions tended to confirm, i.e., crystallize and perpetuate the anti-social behavior patterns of persons committed to them. The question of recidivism, it could be argued under such circumstances, was entirely an academic one since the basic anti-social or criminal pattern, especially when exhibited at an early age, was never really changed.

The Waialeale Training School for Boys, established in 1900* and in 1950 moved and named the Koolau Boys School, has similarly been discussed and "cussed" over the years. It has on several occasions served as a sort of laboratory for social research into the general question of "Correction or Confirmation." One study of the social adjustment of boys discharged from Waialeale was initiated by Mr. Denna Fronk, Superintendent at the School from 1938-1946. A list of boys discharged from Waialeale was compiled for the years 1938-1944. These lists were then compared with records of the Oahu Prison System to determine how many "graduates of Waialeale", so to speak, "matriculated at Oahu Prison." The findings of this study were analyzed by Mr. William Mottz, then Boys' Counselor at Waialeale (at present Deputy Warden at Oahu Prison), who concluded that:

of boys entering Waialeale on their twelfth birthday, 100 per cent will end up in Oahu Prison before they reach the age of twenty years and six months,
of boys entering Waialeale during their twelfth and thirteenth years, 50 per cent will end up in Oahu Prison before they reach the age of twenty years and six months,
of boys entering Waialeale after their fifteenth birthday, 15 per cent will end up in Oahu Prison before they reach the age of twenty years and six months.

These very alarming conclusions were publicized by the Territorial Department of Institutions for the purpose, according to Mr. Thomas B. Vance, Director, of:

1. arousing public awareness of the need for preventive programs especially geared to children below the age of twelve;
2. arousing public concern about the inadequacy of the existent institutional program; and
3. gaining legislative support for improvements in the institutional program.

*The original "Reformatory School" was established in 1865.

This 1944 study, unfortunately, was never published and even an official file copy does not seem to exist. The seriousness of the conclusions prompted this student inquiry into the nature of the 1944 study, a search for other studies on the subject, and an independent compilation of data on boys discharged from Waialeale during the years 1939 thru 1945 and subsequently committed to Oahu Prison. This student research clears up several questions, clearly challenges the conclusions of the 1944 study, and charts the way for more research on the entire subject.

1944 Study by Fronk and Mottz. The 1944 study, as far as can be ascertained was a serious, objectively handled piece of research.¹ The total number of boys studied, in the aggregate, is unknown. The study however, did include twelve boys who were actually twelve years of age at the time of commitment. This means that for these few youngsters at least, the community from whence they came had been concerned about their serious anti-social behavior for some time and that no appropriate social services existed in the community for handling them. The boys committed to Waialeale during their twelfth year, but not on their twelfth birthday, were counted in with the thirteen-year-old group. The study conclusions would have justified reexamination of the data on the boys in the twelve- and thirteen-year-old groups on a separate basis. The actual numbers of boys in these age groups are unknown but one can justifiably assume that there were not many of them. The facts, as compiled, were not to be repudiated. The conclusions drawn on the basis of the facts compiled, however, could be contested. It would have been more appropriate, on the basis of the data compiled, to conclude that a positive correlation seemed to exist between early commitment to Waialeale and failure in correction.

1938 Study by Miller. A "Follow-Up Study of Fifty Former Waialeale Training School Boys" made by Mrs. Elizabeth Miller in 1938, revealed some interesting findings on this point.² A very searching study was made of a sample of fifty boys released from Waialeale prior to 1932 who have been committed from Honolulu. These boys had been out of the institution at least five years before the study was conducted. It was found that out of the fifty cases studied, twenty were poorly adjusted. The following tabulation adapted from Miller's study³ points up some interesting facts:

¹The inquiry into the 1944 study was made by Patrick E. Oka while registered in the Social Work 200 class, University of Hawaii, first semester, 1949-1950 school year.

²A thesis submitted to the Graduate Division of the University of Hawaii in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education, June, 1938.

³Ibid., p. 75, Table VI.

TABLE I. A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE WELL-ADJUSTED AND THE POORLY ADJUSTED GROUP

Characteristics	Totals	Well Adjusted	Poorly Adjusted
Totals	50	30	20
Racial Ancestry			
Caucasian	5	4	1
Chinese	3	3	0
Hawaiian	7	2	5
Japanese	3	2	1
Part-Hawaiian	21	12	9
Portuguese	9	6	3
Puerto Rican	2	1	1
Above median age at commitment	22	18	4
Below median age at commitment	28	12	16

An analysis of the relationship between post-discharge adjustment and age at time of commitment, according to Miller, showed that

"Of the twenty-two who were above the median age at commitment, i.e., age 13.9 years, eighteen or 81.8 percent were well adjusted. Of the twenty-eight who were below the median age at commitment, twelve or 42.9 per cent were well adjusted. Of the twelve men in prison and on parole, ten were under the median age at commitment."⁴

The Miller study, as far as can be ascertained, was not referred to at the time of the 1944 study, though the two studies did arrive at certain conclusions which could have been somewhat correlated. The Miller study, however, revealed some diffusion or "scatter" and analysis of the data suggested at best, only a higher correlation between low age at time of commitment to Waialeale and poor adjustment after discharge from the institution. There were five boys out of the fifty studied by Miller, who were committed to Waialeale before becoming age twelve and four boys committed at age twelve, one of whom was in Oahu Prison at the time the study was being conducted. These nine boys, representing 18 per cent of the group studied, were not singled out for special examination.⁵

1950 Study by Hara. A completely independent study⁶ of boys discharged from Waialeale during the years 1939 thru 1945, was made in 1950 for the purpose of finding out

1. the extent of recidivism in general, and
2. the relationship between recidivism and age at time of commitment to Waialeale School.

⁴Ibid., page 82.

⁵Ibid., page 26.

⁶This research was done by Clarence M. Hara while registered in the Social Work 200 class, University of Hawaii, second semester, 1949-1950 school year.

The records of the Division of Parole and Home Placement of the Territorial Department of Institutions were used to set up an alphabetically arranged list of boys according to year of discharge from the Waialeale School. The index card records of the Department of Parole and Home Placement were set up alphabetically but no record, according to actual year of discharge, was being kept. The index cards showed "date of majority", i.e., time of twentieth birthday, and the lists of "discharged boys", therefore really represent boys who were technically, i.e., legally and/or actually discharged. The actual number of boys discharged in each of the years reviewed, would really be different from the number gotten by the method which had to be used. It is impossible to estimate what difference, if any, this factor bears on the final results.

The full name, birth date, race, and date of first commitment to Waialeale were secured for each boy listed. The Oahu Prison card index file on inmates was subsequently searched for names of the boys on the Waialeale list. The case folders at both places had to be used for purposes of verifying "mated records" and securing data not shown on the index cards.

A total of approximately 20 names were excluded from the lists of discharged boys due to recorded reasons of

1. death,
2. transfers to other institutions, such as hospitals, and institution for the mentally deficient,
3. releases to other jurisdictions, e.g. Mainland.

A total of 323 boys were listed as having been discharged from Waialeale during the years 1939 thru 1945. The overall amount of recidivism for this group of boys, as measured by commitment to Oahu Prison, and the amount of recidivism within each "annual crop" of dischargees, is shown in Table II.

TABLE II. BOYS DISCHARGED FROM WAIALEALE, BY YEAR OF DISCHARGE, AND SUBSEQUENTLY COMMITTED TO OAHU PRISON, FOR THE YEARS 1939 - 1945.

Year	Discharged from Waialeale	Subsequently Committed to Oahu Prison	Percent of Recidivism
Totals	323	62	19.2
1939	17	4	23.5
1940	38	9	23.7
1941	58	12	20.7
1942	64	14	21.9
1943	39	6	15.4
1944	72	9	12.5
1945	35	8	22.9

The slightly lower rate of recidivism among the boys discharged in 1943 and 1944 may be partly explained by the fact that these were "war years" and the boys were either drafted or found opportunities for adjusting well on jobs which were relatively abundant and which paid well. The pretty

constant figure on rate of recidivism, except for the years 1943 and 1944, may in itself be suggestive of a constant factor of some sort.

The relationship between age at time of commitment to Waialeale and recidivism as measured by subsequent commitment to Oahu Prison is shown in Table III.

TABLE III. BOYS DISCHARGED FROM WAIALEE DURING THE YEARS 1939 THRU 1945 AND SUBSEQUENTLY COMMITTED TO OAHU PRISON ACCORDING TO AGE (2 YEAR INTERVALS) AT TIME OF COMMITMENT TO WAIALEE SCHOOL.

Age on Commitment to Waialeale	Discharged from Waialeale	Committed to Oahu Prison	Percent of Recidivism
Totals	323	62	19.2
Under 12	3	1	33.3
12 thru 13	69	17	24.6
14 thru 15	148	30	20.3
16 thru 17	96	12	12.5
18 and Over	7	2	28.6

It is noteworthy that the three boys under age twelve were age ten and a half, nine, and eight respectively when committed. The one committed at age ten and a half was subsequently sent to Oahu Prison.

The same data, when tabulated according to one year age intervals, as shown in Table IV, rather than according to two year intervals, does not reveal any significant differences in the results on percentage of recidivism.

TABLE IV. BOYS DISCHARGED FROM WAIALEE DURING THE YEARS 1939 THRU 1945 AND SUBSEQUENTLY COMMITTED TO OAHU PRISON ACCORDING TO AGE (ONE YEAR INTERVALS) AT TIME OF COMMITMENT TO WAIALEE SCHOOL.

Age on Commitment to Waialeale	Discharged from Waialeale	Committed to Oahu Prison	Percent of Recidivism
Totals	323	62	19.2
Under 12	3	1	33.3
12 to 13	25	7	24.0
13 to 14	44	10	22.7
14 to 15	65	13	20.0
15 to 16	83	17	20.5
16 to 17	64	7	10.9
17 to 18	32	5	15.6
18 and Over	7	2	28.6

The racial antecedents of these boys are shown in Table V so that one may make some comparisons with the Miller data.

TABLE V. BOYS DISCHARGED FROM WAIALEE DURING THE YEARS 1939-1945 AND SUBSEQUENTLY COMMITTED TO OAHU PRISON ACCORDING TO RACIAL EXTRACTION.

Racial Extraction	Discharged from Waialeale	Committed to Oahu Prison	Percent of Recidivism
Totals	323	62	19.2
Caucasian	20	4	20.0
Chinese	6	0	00.0
Filipino	26	7	26.9
Hawaiian	57	9	15.8
Japanese	38	6	15.8
Korean	10	1	10.0
Part-Hawaiian	98	18	19.4
Portuguese	31	6	19.3
Puerto Rican	20	3	15.0
All Others	17	8	47.1

The results of this study seem, by implication, to tie in more closely with the conclusions of Miller's research than with the findings of the 1944 study by Fronk and Mottz. The contention that the rate of recidivism increases as the age of commitment to Waialeale decreases, and vice versa, was not borne out by this latest investigation. The study showed a random distribution of various, relatively low, rates of recidivism, and no definite pattern could be ascertained. The over-all rate of recidivism, i.e., 19.2 percent, seems low and it is undoubtedly fair to assume that the rate would be found to be actually higher if all of the relevant facts could be ascertained.

CONCLUSION

The three studies that have been done on this particular subject do not really answer any questions and therefore lead one to conclude that more research needs to be done regarding the causes of anti-social behavior and regarding methods of effective treatment and control. The 1950 study by Hara provides some basis for contesting the conclusions of the 1944 study by Fronk and Mottz which were, for various perhaps plausible reasons, widely publicized. It is certainly very apparent that systematic study of what happens to boys committed to the correctional institutions should be undertaken. The method utilized by Hara, assuming that better records were kept by the official agencies involved, could serve as a guide for compiling statistical data on a continuous basis. This would necessarily need to be supplemented by case studies of a sample of the same population. The case studies would undoubtedly produce information regarding the social-personal characteristics of the population and would also reveal the nature of the relationship between these boys and the various community agencies which work at controlling and correcting their respective situations. It is not likely that much real progress can be made in this field until more basic knowledge is acquired regarding the many elusive facets of human behavior and until this knowledge is applied in the everyday working relationships between law enforcement and social agencies and those persons in our population who are exhibiting anti-social behavior. It is further apparent from these particular studies that if anti-social behavior is not detected and treated early in a person's life, the social and personal consequences are quite likely to be serious and of long duration.

THE HONOLULU RENT CONTROL SURVEY OF 1952

Douglas Yamamura and Harry V. Ball

In recent decades, there has been an increasing use of research personnel by governmental and private agencies for the study of economic and social behavior to assist in major policy decisions affecting the welfare of millions of Americans. Although this type of research has long been utilized by the federal government and major business corporations, it is relatively new in the case of local government. The Honolulu Rent Control Survey of 1952 is significant in that it represents the use of a scientific field study to gather the necessary information to help determine a major policy in regard to a local social problem. This paper concerns itself with the methodological implications of the study and an elaboration of the problems and techniques involved in this effort.

The problem of rent control in a community is generally created by the conflict of interests of two major segments of its population: the landlords and the tenants. In our economic system, landlords are investors of capital whose attitude, on the whole, is inclined toward stressing the sanctity of free enterprise and the right of individuals to compete for profit. This attitude is naturally opposed to that of the tenants who hold that the exploitation of private capital is a practice that should be regulated and controlled in the interest of the general public. In an attempt to bring about an equitable adjustment of this conflict of interests, many American cities have set up a rent control agency. In the case of Honolulu the need for such an agency is clearly assumed in its Rent Control Ordinance.¹ In the language of the ordinance, the objective of rent control is

... to prevent speculative, unwarranted and abnormal increases in rents, exactions of unjust, unreasonable, oppressive rents and rental agreements, overcrowding occupation of uninhabitable dwellings, speculative, manipulative and disruptive practices by landlords of housing accommodations, and other acts and conditions endangering the public health, safety, welfare, and morals . . . and to allow at the same time, to landlords, fair and equitable rents on their housing accommodations.

On the basis of this official statement, it is evident that, while the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of Honolulu did not believe in an unrestricted free market for housing, it was committed to upholding the principle of fair return to the landlord.

In the spring of 1952, the question as to whether rent control in Honolulu should be continued was raised. To make a more permanent decision on the question, the Board of Supervisors directed the Mayor to appoint a Citizens' Rental Committee to conduct a fact finding investigation. Considering the nature and objectives of rent control in Honolulu, one would have expected the Citizens' Rental Committee to include in its investigation a three-fold purpose to see (1) if the congested situation still existed; (2) if the law as enacted was performing its stated functions of preventing "speculative, unwarranted and abnormal increases in rent" and of allowing landlords "fair and equitable returns"; and (3) what actions could be taken

¹Ordinance No. 941 (As amended up to and including September 26, 1951), City and County of Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii, p. 4.

in view of existing federal legislations on the subject. But as it turned out, the Mayor and the Board of Supervisors were merely interested in information regarding one point: Was there or was there not a rental housing shortage?² More precisely stated, the information sought involved the demand for and the supply of rental units in Honolulu.

As a step toward obtaining this desired information, the Citizens' Rental Committee conducted a series of public hearings. In these hearings, the spokesmen of the landlords testified that the housing shortage was not serious enough to constitute a "public danger" and that both the rate of tenant turnover and the frequency and duration of vacancies were greater than at the end of World War II. Most of the evidences presented to substantiate these claims were of an indirect nature. For instance, to prove the absence of a serious housing shortage, the spokesmen of landlords attempted to show a trend toward a better balance between population increase and construction of new residential units with official data which may be summarized in the following manner: In the six years immediately preceding the war, 1936-1941, the estimated population of the City and County of Honolulu rose from 216,861 to 253,908. This increase was accompanied by the construction of a total of 13,147 new residential units. Between 1945 and 1950, although there was considerable population fluctuation, the number of inhabitants in the city and county declined from 328,565 to 323,517. While the decline was a little over 5,000, the number of new residential units constructed totaled 12,769. Moreover, from the time rent control went into effect in 1941 through 1950, the population of the City and County of Honolulu increased by approximately 70,000 whereas new residential units constructed during the same period numbered no less than 17,000, which yielded a ratio of about one new residential unit for each four persons added to the population.³ On the basis of this type of evidence, it was concluded that the housing shortage in Honolulu was no longer critical.

In presenting this argument, the spokesmen of landlords ignored a very important fact. They assumed that as new residential units were being constructed old ones would not fall into a state of dilapidation. As a matter of fact, at least 4,000 residential units were torn down or converted to non-residential use between 1941 and 1952. This fact alone would have substantially changed the ratio between the population increase and the total number of available residential units.

From the other direction, indirect evidences were likewise introduced by the Hawaii Housing Authority⁴ in support of its conclusions that the need for residential rental units was still critical. As included in its Annual Report of 1951, for example, the Hawaii Housing Authority cites

²Board Resolution No. 373 authorized the Mayor to appoint the Citizens' Rental Committee "to make a survey of rental units, so as to ascertain whether there is a shortage or a surplus of rental units and in what price brackets."

³All this material was included in a letter to the Mayor and the Board of Supervisors, dated June 17, 1952, on the topic of the "Extension of Rent Control" written by Paul Stermer.

⁴The Hawaii Housing Authority was created by the Territorial Legislature in conformance with Federal legislation. Its stated aim is "to provide homes for families who are unable to secure safe, sanitary and decent homes at prices they can afford."

comparative figures for marriage and building permits over a period of four years in the City and County of Honolulu and concludes that "the housing supply . . . approximates less than 50 per cent of the new families."⁵ This conclusion assumed that young people would be looking for housing on the rental market immediately after marriage. It failed, for one thing, to take into account a substantial proportion of those who chose to continue to live in parental homes.

The citing of these opposite conclusions is not intended to discredit the testimonies of either group. It merely serves to demonstrate how difficult it is to relate mass statistical data to a concrete situation when no special research has been conducted to determine the relationships between the various factors involved in the situation. Even if the Citizens' Rental Committee had conceded that the tenant turnover and vacancy ratio in 1952 were greater than those in 1945 or 1946, it still would not know how many or what proportion of the rental units were vacant and awaiting occupancy at the time the problem of rent control extension came up in 1952.

As the hearings turned out to be unsatisfactory, the Mayor and the Board of Supervisors enacted an ordinance which merely requested landlords to register their vacancies, and tenants their needs, with the Committee. The obvious purpose was to gather information concerning the supply-demand situation on the rental market. This attempt was unsuccessful because both landlords and tenants did not comply with the request.

The results of these futile efforts finally convinced the Committee that a non-partisan agency should be asked to conduct a survey so that more accurate and pertinent information on the housing situation in Honolulu could be collected. In July, 1952, therefore, the Committee approached the Legislative Reference Bureau of the University of Hawaii and before long a research team was organized and set to make preparations for the Honolulu Rent Control Survey.

The limitation of time and money, the availability of trained personnel, and the degree of accuracy of the findings desired are all practical survey problems. These problems have to be given careful consideration in determining the research organization, the delimitation of the areas of study, the sample design, and the extent to which subsidiary investigations can be made.

In the Honolulu Rent Control Survey, because of the limitation of time and money, and the scarcity of trained persons, the research team was made up of four trained men.⁶ These four men were responsible for (1) creating the design; (2) selecting, training, and supervising interviewers; and (3) coding, tabulating, and analyzing data.

With these practical limitations in mind, the research team defined the field problem in Honolulu as involving the collection of data in four general areas: (1) the market characteristics of privately owned rental

⁵Hawaii Housing Authority: Annual Report for the Year Ending December 31, 1951, Honolulu: Hawaii Housing Authority, p. 29.

⁶The research team consisted of personnel from the Legislative Reference Bureau and the Department of Sociology, University of Hawaii.

housing; (2) the behavior of the rental price structure under rent control;⁷ (3) background information and opinions of the tenant population; and (4) opinions of the landlord population. These data were to be obtained by interviewing a representative sample of tenants and by submitting a questionnaire to the landlords of these representative tenants.

A tenant schedule and a landlord questionnaire⁸ were then prepared for pre-testing. These pre-tests were conducted to determine whether (1) the respondents had the required information to answer the questions; (2) the respondents were willing to answer the questions; (3) the questions were so phrased as to mean clearly the same thing to all the respondents; and (4) the questions were so ordered as to facilitate the actual interview.

In the absence of any summary information on rental housing in Honolulu, it was decided that the universe should include the estimated 41,800 registered rental units which were on the active files of the Honolulu Rent Control Commission's Office and that a five per cent random sample be taken from this universe. Considering the size of the universe and the expected range of variations in terms of the frequency and durations of vacancies, age of housing units, and the rents charged in different areas, this sample was adequate. And, in order to avoid bias, each unit in the sample was selected at random, which meant that conditions were so arranged that every unit in the universe would have an equal chance of being selected for the study.

It should be pointed out that the estimated 41,800 registered units included apartments, single dwelling units, and rooms in rooming houses. In the Office of the Rent Control Commission, the records of these units were filed alphabetically by street names. In each street, the units were ordered numerically from low to high. Except for most rooms in rooming houses, the record of each dwelling unit was filed in a separate folder. Thus an apartment house with ten apartments had ten separate folders, whereas, a rooming house with a number of rooms generally had a single folder. The records of all these active units in the city of Honolulu (census tracts 1 to 29) were placed in 136 folder drawers.

After examining the records on the active file, a basic data form was prepared. This form provided space for recording the address of the rental unit, type of rental unit, ceiling rent, and other information including the name and address of the landlord. Assisted by fifteen University of Hawaii students, the research team proceeded to select the sample. Each worker was assigned to a number of folder drawers and was instructed to pick the first dwelling unit at random and every 20th dwelling unit there-

⁷The phrase "data on the behavior of the rental price structure under rent control" is not to be confused with "the effect of rent control on the rental price structure." To make any statements regarding the latter, one would have to know exactly what would have happened to the rental price structure if there had been no rent control.

⁸A schedule refers to a question form which is to be filled out by an interviewer in recording the oral answers of the respondent. A questionnaire refers to a question form which is filled out by the respondent himself.

after and to fill out the basic data form.⁹ Each basic data form was then assigned a serial number. In addition, two other numbers denoting census tract and type of unit were also assigned.

While these basic data forms were being classified and sorted, the interviewers were given an intensive training in the techniques of interviewing. Thereafter they were sent into the field which was divided into 29 areas on the basis of census tracts. Interviewers were organized in teams of about five each under a supervisor and were responsible for the interviewing of an area. Every individual interviewer was assigned a number of dwelling units in terms of their proximity, was given the basic data forms, and was told that the interviewee must be an adult.

At the beginning of the interviewing, it was found that people residing in different areas were at home at different times of the day. Accordingly, the entire time schedule was rearranged to facilitate interviewer-interviewee contacts. In cases where an interviewer could not contact an interviewee at an assigned address after three calls, another interviewee from another dwelling unit might be substituted provided the latter had the same landlord, lived in the same type of unit, and had similar tenant characteristics, i.e., ethnic background, family size, etc. Otherwise, the interviewers were required to call back until the interview was completed.¹⁰

To insure the reliability and validity of every interview, the interview quality controls were designed to reduce to the minimum, possible errors from (1) interviewer bias, (2) interviewer dishonesty, and (3) improper use of interview technique.

An interviewer bias is an error introduced into the interview situation by the personal attitudes and expectations of the interviewer. These traits are largely unconscious, but may exert a significant effect on the results of an interview. In many cases the differences in attitudes and expectations of interviewers will tend to offset each other. However, the uncertainty of this requires some systematic control over possible distortions.

The first step taken toward the minimization of interviewer bias in the rent control survey was to train the interviewers to read the questions exactly as they were written and with uniform inflections. They were then taught a series of alternative words to be employed in case the respondent should fail to understand the meaning of the terms used. At the same time, they were repeatedly cautioned to ask the question in its original form first.

⁹Since any rental unit was considered a primary sample unit, it was necessary to check the contents of every folder in order to count each room in the rooming house as a separate unit in the sample selection. Some of the folders were empty because the records were being processed or used for some other administrative purposes by the Commission. These empty folders were not included in the original selection. Each worker merely listed the address given on the folder tab. Subsequently the addresses taken from the empty folders were combined and arranged in alphabetical order and a five per cent sample taken. Basic data forms for this five per cent sample were completed as materials became available and were included as part of the survey.

¹⁰In this survey, the largest number of call-backs made to complete a single interview was twelve.

As they went out to do actual interviewing, other devices such as re-interviewing, careful examination of interview results, etc. were employed to ferret out bias. Similar devices were utilized in checking interviewer honesty. From the standpoint of the research team, every interview completed was, to the best of the interviewer's ability, an accurate report. Semi-weekly meetings of all the interviewers and individual training sessions were arranged to help improve the interview techniques and to correct errors that might arise from their misuse.

As a result of the employment of these sampling, interview training, and quality control techniques, it was believed that the data collected were representative of the total rental units registered with the Rent Control Commission. It should be pointed out, however, that, at the time of the survey, not all the 41,800 units were on the rental market. Of the 2090 original sample units, 525 or approximately 25 per cent were found to have been taken off the rental market.¹¹

As soon as the interviewing of the tenants in a given area was completed, copies of the landlord questionnaire were mailed to the landlords concerned. The delay in mailing the questionnaire was considered necessary because the records of registered landlords in the office of the Rent Control Commission were not up-to-date.¹² In many cases, the identification of the actual landlords had to be traced through the files of the Honolulu Planning Commission and the Territorial Tax Office. After all possible checks were made on the identities of the actual landlords, it was found that the 1565 rental units in the sample had 1191 separate landlords.

Of the 1565 copies of landlord questionnaires mailed, 879 or approximately 60 per cent were answered and returned. These answers came from 640 separate landlords or approximately 54 per cent of the 1191 landlords in the sample. Thus, there were 551 separate landlords who did not respond. Since the number of non-respondents appeared significant, the research team decided to find out to what extent the 640 landlords who responded were representative of the landlords in the sample. To do this, a ten per cent random sample of the non-respondent landlords was drawn and individually interviewed. The attitudes expressed by these non-respondent landlords toward rent control were then compared with those expressed by the original 640 landlord respondents. The proportions in favor of and opposed to rent control showed no significant differences between the two groups in the sample.

In an effort further to validate the adequacy of the findings, a check was made on the completeness of the registration of all rental units. It was decided that this check should be made of all the housing units in 21

¹¹The interviewers were able to verify the owner occupancy, demolition, conversion or abandonment of 509 units in the sample. They were unable to locate or verify the elimination of 16 units.

¹²The Rent Control Ordinance requires that all changes of landlords be registered immediately with the Rent Control Commission, but compliance with this regulation appeared to be far from satisfactory.

randomly selected blocks within the city.¹³ After the selection was made interviewers were dispatched to every housing unit to ascertain whether it was a rental or owner-occupied unit. Of the 826 rental units found in these sample blocks 67 or 8.1 per cent had not registered.¹⁴ This substantiated the general opinion that the bulk of rental housing units in Honolulu was registered with the Rent Control Commission. In the opinion of the research team, therefore, the sample based on the records of the Rent Control Commission was adequate for the purpose of the survey.

Though the research team collected data bearing on the general problem of rental housing in Honolulu with a broad sociological orientation, the Mayor and the Board of Supervisors were primarily concerned with the question of the extent of housing congestion. Board Resolution No. 373 authorized the Mayor to appoint the Citizens' Rental Committee "to make a survey of rental units, so as to ascertain whether there is a shortage or a surplus of rental units and in what price brackets."¹⁵ Thus the principal focus of the Citizens' Rental Committee was on the question of the extent of vacancies in rental housing. The research team contributed to the decision making process only by providing scientifically accurate information bearing on this question. For this purpose, the "net vacancy ratio" was developed. This is a ratio of the number of units vacant and ready for rental occupancy for single family dwelling units and apartments to the total number of such units on the rental market. The ratio was 2.4 per cent with a standard error of 0.4 per cent. This meant that the chances were 68 out of a 100 that this net vacancy ratio for all such units in Honolulu was between 2.0 and 2.8 per cent and 99 out of 100 chances that it was between 1.2 and 3.6 per cent. It was further found that the vacant units had higher rental prices than the rental prices for all similar units in Honolulu.¹⁶

Obviously, knowledge of the facts listed above provides no basis for a decision on rent control even if the decision were to be based solely on the amount of vacancy. A definition of what is meant by "congested housing conditions" or "shortage of rental units" is necessary. Does a vacancy

¹³For this purpose, it was decided to use the small precinct divisions of Honolulu and to select the blocks by the use of a table of randomly assorted five digit numbers. Since the precincts were already numbered, the first two digits in each of the randomly assorted numbers were used to select a precinct. Then it was necessary to establish a starting point and direction of count within each precinct in order to pick a particular block. Ten possible points of departure and directions of count were set up and numbered. The third digit in the random numbers served to select the point of departure. The number of blocks to be counted from the starting point was indicated by the last two digits.

¹⁴All of the rental dwelling units were checked with the files of the Rent Control Commission and a list of non-registered dwelling units compiled. These non-registered units were double checked with the Rent Control Commission and the Honolulu Planning Commission to be certain that none of the units was in the process of being registered and that the addresses were correct.

¹⁵Report of the Citizens' Rental Committee, November 15, 1952, p. ii.

¹⁶Ibid., p. iv.

ratio of 5 per cent or 10 per cent or 20 per cent represent "shortage" or "congestion"? From the point of view of the sociologist, probably the only way in which such a judgement can be made is to study the consequences of the actual vacancy ratio on the rental population. It should be noted, however, that this evaluation of consequences will implicitly or explicitly involve the value premises of the group. The determination of the value premise, of course, is outside the realm of science. In any event, once there is agreement on a criterion or a set of criteria for judgement, the actual situation can be evaluated and a decision made. With this in mind, the research team submitted its findings to the Citizens' Rental Committee which included in its report to the Mayor and the Board of Supervisors the following conclusions and suggestion:

In determining whether the City and County of Honolulu should or should not retain rent control, a convenient yardstick is the so-called 'vacancy ratio'. This is computed by dividing the number of units vacant by the total number of rental units. If the ratio is low, it means that rental housing is in high demand; if the ratio is high, there is relatively little demand for rental housing at prevailing rentals. A recent article in Business Week on rent control (October 4, 1952; No. 1205, p. 33) indicates that 'real estate men figure that a normal ratio is about 5%.'

From the findings of the rental unit survey conducted for the Citizens' Rental Committee, it would appear that in the city of Honolulu at the present time the vacancy ratio is below 5%. Taking into account the units which were found to be unoccupied but not on the rental market due to their being prepared for sale, repaired, etc., it may be concluded that the ratio of those rental units vacant and ready for occupancy is as low as 2.4%.

Should the Board conclude that this is a sufficient standard for deciding that it is necessary to continue Honolulu's rent control ordinance, we desire to bring to your attention that the vacancy ratio is not static but changes. New construction, demolitions and conversions, population movement into and out of Honolulu, and demand for rental housing due to causes such as marriage, death, income changes, etc., all affect the vacancy ratio. Consequently, it is suggested that attention be given to watching the vacancy ratio through some form of periodic study.¹⁷

After a careful study of this report, the administrative authorities in the City and County of Honolulu decided in favor of extension of rent control until June 30, 1953.

¹⁷Ibid., p., v-vi. -