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COGNITIVE AGGREGATE AND SOCIAL GROUP:

THE ETHNIC PORTUGUESE OF HONOLULU

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN ANTHROPOLOGY

DECEMBER 1982

By

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ABSTRACT

In this dissertation some aspects of the social organization of a multiethnic urban setting are analyzed. The analysis centers on the identity, both current and historic, of the Portuguese of Honolulu. The data for this dissertation was gathered during four years of research and eight years of residence in Honolulu.

Two facts about the Portuguese make theirs a particularly interesting situation. First, they appear to be classed on the popular level as a type of non-Caucasian. Second, a seeming disassociation has developed for the group Portuguese between the social and cognitive realms. The cognitive category Portuguese is very strong. This category, which is the shared mental construct thought to describe Portuguese individuals, is both very detailed and almost universally recognized. The Portuguese social groups are, in contrast, small and diffuse.

Central to the analysis is a theoretical discussion of the issues surrounding the commonly held belief in Social Science that ethnic groups are descent-based social entities. The alternative suggestion is made (and supported through fieldwork data) that what have been termed ethnic groups are actually descent-chartered (similar to Malinowski's origin myth) aggregates which exist only on the cognitive level. Ascription of individuals to these aggregates is made during interaction based primarily on behavior, not descent. Social groups
often draw their membership from aggregates of this type. Ethnicity is shown not to be a special case but simply a part of the more general social organizational process.

The analysis centers on explaining the relationship between the Portuguese social groupings and cognitive aggregate by relating both to the synergistic relationships between all such groups and aggregates in the social/cognitive system of Honolulu. The point of articulation is explored through a discussion of everyday interaction. A cognitive and social history provides the framework for this discussion.

It is concluded that both the current strength of the cognitive category Portuguese and the weak corporate structure of the associated social group are due to the inclusion of Portuguese in the larger aggregate Local and its contrast with the aggregate Haole (mainland American Caucasian). This fact also explains the movement of personnel between these aggregates and groups as well as the specific situations in which people claim differing aggregate ascriptions.
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The Knight said, "The name of the song is called 'Haddocks' Eyes.'"

"Oh, that's the name of the song, is it?" Alice said, trying to feel interested.

"No, you don't understand," the Knight said, looking a little vexed. "That's what the name is called. The name really is 'The Aged Aged Man'."

"Then I ought to have said 'That's what the song is called'?" Alice corrected herself.

"No, you oughtn't: that's another thing. The song is called 'Ways and Means': but that's only what it's called, you know!"

"Well, what is the song, then?" said Alice, who was by this time completely bewildered.

"I was coming to that," the Knight said. "The song really is 'A-Sitting On a Gate': and the tune's my own invention."

(From Through the Looking Glass

by Lewis Carroll)
PREFACE

The research leading directly to this dissertation was done during 1979. Thus when the present is mentioned, it refers to early 1979. The primary research was facilitated by the observations and contacts made during my previous eight years' residency in Honolulu. I first established close contact with Portuguese organizations and individuals in 1976 while doing extensive background research for a documentary film on the Portuguese Holy Ghost Festival.

The material in the current study is based on three research techniques: structured and unstructured interviewing, participant observation, and library research. Descriptions of very early historical periods come entirely from written sources. Interviews and written sources were used for cross-corroboration in more recent historical description. The description of the present is based on interviews, participant observation, and various statistical profiles of Hawaii. In no case was a source considered absolutely unimpeachable and an effort was made to corroborate all statements in additional independent sources.

Participant observation extended from 1976 to 1979 and included a wide variety of events in which Portuguese individuals were involved. These events ranged from the highly structured, such as the celebration of the Portuguese Holy Ghost Festival and meetings of various clubs, to informal events such as card games and family
picnics. Extensive observation of Portuguese individuals during everyday interaction was also made.

During 1979 lengthy informal interviews covering the subjects discussed in this dissertation were conducted with approximately 100 people. Much more extensive interviews with 22 additional people were also done during formal taped interview sessions. Eighteen of these 22 principal informants were Portuguese by self-ascription and/or had Portuguese ancestry. These informants came from a very wide spectrum of the Hawaiian population. They ranged in age from 94 to 18 years. Though most had been born in Hawaii, some had immigrated to Hawaii from Europe. They represented all the possible combinations of Hawaiian living location including plantations, towns, and cities on both the island of Oahu and the outer islands during both early and later life. They included retirees, skilled laborers, farmers, merchants, and professionals. Some had extensive social contacts with other Portuguese while some had no contact whatever and became known to me only through my long residence in Honolulu. The one characteristic which all the informants had in common was some connection to the city of Honolulu. Because this is the study of an urban population, only those individuals who were encountered in the city were included as informants. Even the connections which the informants had to the city of Honolulu varied widely. Some lived and worked in the city; some spent part of their time in the city but either worked or lived elsewhere. A few both lived and worked outside Honolulu, coming to the city only for social activities or shopping.
In all cases a promise was made by me that the identity of the informants and all specific references made during the interviews would be in strict confidence. For this reason neither case studies nor extensive life histories appear in the text, and whenever the names of individuals appear they have been changed from the original.

Historical material on the Portuguese was very difficult to gather. Though they have been mentioned briefly in some general histories of Hawaii and a number of papers have been written on specific aspects of their history, no single comprehensive study has been done. Young's (1973) annotated bibliography was a great help in the historical reconstruction. Very often original sources were used to verify the recollections of the older informants. In all cases statements of historical or current fact with no explicit citation are based on interview.

I would like to express my appreciation and thanks to the Portuguese of Honolulu, who befriended me as an individual. It was the complexity and compassion of their own individual lives which prompted me to start this study of the group as a whole. My special thanks to the members of the Punchbowl Holy Ghost Society who bore the brunt of my early questioning. They answered the endless questions of an ignorant Haole with grace and showed themselves to be loyal friends of good heart.

My thanks also to Dr. Bernhard Hormann, professor emeritus of sociology at the University of Hawaii, whose descriptions made the history of Hawaii come alive for me. Special thanks are due also to Dr. Jack Bilmes, who constantly pointed out when I was treading on the
thin ice of illogic and self-contradiction as well as to Dr. Alice Dewey, whose support and sage advice over many years made the completion of this dissertation possible. Any success this dissertation has in explaining the detail and capturing the spirit of being a Hawaiian Portuguese is due entirely to those who aided me; any deficiencies, errors or omissions are entirely my own.
This investigation was originally framed as a descriptive ethnography of the Portuguese ethnic group and the place of that group in the urban social setting of Honolulu. It was assumed that most Portuguese individuals would be a part of the social group and that these individuals would be people of Portuguese descent. This initial assumption, that the Portuguese in Honolulu constitute a descent-based social group, was grounded in both the popular and social scientific use of the term "ethnic group."

Problems similar to those described by Moerman (1965) in his study of the Lue soon developed. Under close scrutiny it was not at all clear just who the Portuguese were or what sort of group they formed. It seemed that with the original framing of the study meaningful conclusions and even the basic data for the investigation remained elusive. A Portuguese social group certainly existed, but it did not seem to include a vast number of individuals who considered themselves and were recognized by others to be Portuguese. The relationship between the social group and the ethnic group was at best problematic. It also appeared from initial observation that descent was not an adequate way of predicting whether a person would be considered Portuguese. There were individuals who were generally
accepted as Portuguese who did not have Portuguese parents. There were also numerous individuals who were accepted as being something other than Portuguese who had parents one or both of whom were accepted as Portuguese. The significance of descent, then, also became problematic.

1.1 The Analytic Frame

For the above reasons the investigation was redirected during its early stages. Before attempting to describe the Portuguese social group in Honolulu, it became necessary first to identify the kinds of individuals in the population who were considered to be Portuguese and determine why they identified themselves and were identified by others as being Portuguese. Only then was it possible to investigate in what ways they might form a group. It was concluded that those individuals generally identified as Portuguese but not as part of the Portuguese social group constituted a group only to the extent of being a cognitive aggregate. They were united only on the cognitive level and were all described by a generally accepted cognitive category called "Portuguese individuals." The study thus became an investigation into the nature of and relationship between the cognitive category Portuguese, the cognitive aggregate Portuguese and the social group Portuguese.

This study, then, is not simply an ethnography of a social group. It is also an ethnography of a cognitive aggregate and the cognitive category which defines it. The final exposition is reminiscent of a classic ethnography but differs in a number of significant ways. It
is different to the extent that a cognitive aggregate and a cognitive category are different from a social group. Many of the chapters familiar to the reader of ethnography are not present. A cognitive aggregate, unlike a social group, does not have a single living location, nor an economy, nor leaders, nor a religion. Certain of these may be attributes of its members, or the members may participate in these institutions in the larger social setting, but the aggregate itself has no institutions nor a social structure. Most importantly, the members of a cognitive aggregate do not necessarily share a total culture in common. They need only share enough characteristics to distinguish them from other kinds of individuals in the population and thus be considered representative of a distinct cognitive category.

The temptation has been avoided in this dissertation to dwell at length on the social group. This temptation was strong because the social group, especially at its points of highest organization in the various Portuguese clubs, would seem at first glance to be the most coherent expression of Portugueseness in Honolulu. An emphasis on the social group would also have brought the dissertation into more comfortable congruence with the classic ethnographic style. Unfortunately, treating the Portuguese in Honolulu simply as a social group would bring no order to the data. In fact, the changes in the membership and organization of the social group can only be explained by dwelling at length on the associated cognitive category and its place in the Hawaiian cognitive system. This dissertation therefore describes and analyzes in equal depth three entities which share, at the popular level, a single name. These are the Portuguese social
group, cognitive category and cognitive aggregate. Only through an
analysis of these three entities, their historic development,
interrelationships, and their place in the Hawaiian cognitive/social
system is it possible to answer the most basic question, "Who are the
Portuguese of Honolulu?"

Before considering this question in detail, it will be well to
define some of the general terms which will be used in this study,
outline its theoretical basis, and also put the current study in the
context of the relevant literature. Because in some respects this
research is similar to other work which is often put in a class called
"ethnic group studies," we will also consider the term "ethnic group"
itself. I will point out that the popular usage of this term is
inappropriate to Social Science and will describe some of the studies
within this field and how their logical flaws have led to social
scientific confusion over the term. I will suggest the actual
referent for the term "ethnic group" as it is used in popular
discourse. We will also give consideration to the significance of
descent, which is often assumed to be the basis of ethnic group
formation.

1.2 Definition of Social Group and Cognitive Aggregate

For reasons which will become clear by the end of this chapter,
this study will dispense entirely with the term "ethnic group" for
purposes of description and analysis. It will use instead the term
"cognitive/social group" for entities such as the Portuguese of
Honolulu. The term "cognitive/social" group is used because, as it
will be seen, the Portuguese do not constitute only a single group. They instead exist as two distinct but related types of grouping. One of these groupings is in the cognitive domain, the other in the social. These we will call the cognitive aggregate and the social group. For the purposes of analysis, this study will use a somewhat restricted definition of social group. We will use the existence and number of long-term role relationships and information pathways between individuals as the measure of social groupness. Thus a social group is defined by the existence and structure of social interactions between individuals.¹ In the cognitive domain this study will consider a group to be a collection of individuals who are perceived to be similar in some way by virtue of certain shared characteristics. For the sake of clarity this sort of group will be referred to as a cognitive aggregate. The set of characteristics or attributes which define the aggregate is called a cognitive category. This dissertation will deal exclusively with cognitive aggregates made up of human individuals. In general, a cognitive aggregate is a collection of things generally perceived to be like each other and unlike other things. The things included in the cognitive aggregate are seen as similar because they share characteristics in common. Any class of items is a cognitive aggregate. Examples abound: all fish, all horses, all dust, all trees, all fruit trees, all apple trees, all golden delicious apple trees, all Hawaiian Portuguese are each an example of a cognitive aggregate. These are aggregations of real items, but the aggregations themselves exist only in the human mind. The traits which are recognized and deemed important enough to be the
basis of classification are codified in the cognitive category. The
distinction, then, between the social group and the cognitive
aggregate is obvious. The social group exists because of interaction.
The cognitive aggregate exists only as a construct in the minds of the
interactants.2

The Portuguese, it will be seen, constitute both types of
grouping. There is in Honolulu a Portuguese social group as well as a
Portuguese cognitive aggregate. While members of the Portuguese
social group are usually also members of the aggregate the reverse is
not nearly so true. Today many individuals who are part of the
Portuguese aggregate (those who refer to themselves as Portuguese and
are considered to be Portuguese by others) may have little or no
contact with members of the Portuguese social group. The term "ethnic
group" is of little utility primarily because it obscures the
distinction between these two component types of grouping.

The terms "ethnicity" and "ethnic group" seem to have been
adopted by the discipline of Anthropology because of their popularity
in everyday speech. The definition of ethnic group is not precise in
everyday speech and thus it originally had a high degree of ambiguity
in anthropology. The term has been used, defined, and redefined over
the years, but all attempts at a precise and widely accepted
definition have failed.

1.3 Popular Use of Ethnicity

Though the Portuguese of Hawaii are what is popularly called an
ethnic group, this term, as used on the popular level, lacks any
precise definition. In fact, though the popular ideas associated with ethnicity are becoming increasingly powerful and ubiquitous, at the level of everyday American discourse the terms in which they are expressed are vague and inconsistent. In popular speech both the Polish-Americans of Milwaukee and all Latinos (regardless of their origin, be it Mexico, Spain, Puerto Rico, etc.) are referred to as ethnic groups. The groups are labeled and often treated as if they are similar. They are on examination, however, clearly examples of different kinds of groups in almost all respects. Similarly, though everyone agrees that the Portuguese of Hawaii are an ethnic group, for the purposes of describing and analyzing the Portuguese group in a social scientific framework this popular agreement is meaningless. It says absolutely nothing concrete about the nature of the group itself.

1.4 A Survey of the Ethnicity Literature

I would further argue that the term as it is used in what has been called ethnicity literature is often equally imprecise. The literature comes from many fields, with scant agreement between fields on what is actually meant by ethnicity.

There are vast portions of this ethnicity literature which will not be relevant to the current study and will therefore be mentioned only briefly. In reviewing the contemporary ethnicity literature, one is led into many fields. Studies which make use of the term ethnicity can be found in anthropology, sociology, political science, social psychology, folklore, and even urban planning. There are studies using every conceivable methodology to study remarkably disparate
problems and groups, all of which represent themselves as ethnic studies. The congruence between disciplines seems small.

Social psychologists have discussed at length the question of why people form ethnic groups based on Shil's (1957) idea of a primordial urge. There have also been many social distance studies, such as Howell's (1977) study of attitudinal dimensions and social distance in Hawaii. These two trends within social psychology address only tangentially the question of what an ethnic group actually is, treating it more often as a given, or an unexplained variable.

Political scientists have made use of the concept of ethnic group in the description of such things as voting trends and factional pressure groups, but there has once again been little explanation of the term itself. Ethnicity is often used, instead, simply at the level of popular discourse with no further explanation.

Though sociology and anthropology have brought different styles of data collection and somewhat different perspectives to ethnic studies, there has been a sharing of ideas and theory between them. Sociologists worked with the theory of cultural assimilation in America until it became manifest, in the early 1960s, that a homogeneous American culture did not seem to be forming (Glazier and Moynihan 1963). Since then much concern has been shown with how and why immigrant groups, which for sociologists often seem synonymous with ethnic groups, have remained in some respects distinct from the dominant American culture. Most recently Stephen Steinberg (1981) has suggested that there may have been a melting pot after all, that most
ethnic distinctions have become trivial and the distinctions now referred to as ethnic are actually class distinctions.

This disparity, or lack of definitional congruence, between disciplines is partly explained by Thomas Kuhn in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962). He outlines what he believes to be the theoretical differences between the physical and natural sciences on the one hand and the social sciences on the other. In the former there is a unifying theoretical structure through which all natural occurrences can and must be explained. In the social sciences there is no single integrated theoretical framework, nor does any one discipline have a totally unified theoretical structure of its own. What integrates each discipline is a shared set of assumptions about the motives and mechanisms of human behavior, as well as a belief in what is thought to be the best methodology for investigating this behavior. Each discipline also develops schools of thought within which there is a high degree of congruence in approach. Anthropology could be said to have three main approaches or theoretical schools of thought on ethnicity—the definitional, the heuristic, and the interactionist.

1.5 Ethnicity in Anthropology—The Definitional Approach

In the first, the definitional, an attempt at an exact definition has been made by searching the literature for commonalities in the use of the term by many different researchers. Naroll (1964) attempted this in order to define concretely the nature of a tribe, which he also referred to as an "ethnic unit," for use in comparative studies.
In surveying the literature he discovered that researchers had referred to groups which were similar in some respects but different in others as tribes. The groups to which Naroll gave consideration did not necessarily call themselves by the English word tribe but were those that had been thought significant by the subject population, had been noted and analyzed by the researcher, and had finally in the process of analysis been assigned to the category tribe.

Naroll tried to distill all the different attributes mentioned for these various groups into a single set of defining characteristics through which a tribe could be identified. He failed, however, to discover a single list of minimal defining attributes which would describe all the groups called tribes. One of his problems was that the authors in fact seemed to be referring to many quite different types of groups as tribes. Another problem was that they had emphasized or not mentioned particular attributes for heuristic reasons. Naroll thus proposed an ideal type, the cult unit. Judging by the comments which accompanied his article, a large number of researchers took issue with the utility and validity of this solution to the problem of unambiguously defining tribe.

I would suggest that Naroll's difficulties arose from two basic mistakes in logic. His first mistake was his assumption that because the word "tribe" apparently was treated as though it named a discrete class of social groups in popular speech as well as in the social science literature, this discrete class must exist objectively. He assumed that the term had only been applied to social groups and further that this class of social groups existed in opposition to
other, contrasting classes of social groups. He believed that it could be described specifically and in opposition to them. On review, these assumptions appear to have been invalid for the use of the term "tribe," and they are also invalid when trying to summarize the use of ethnic group. Neither term as it is used refers to a well-defined type or class of social group which exists in opposition to other well-defined classes of groups. In chemistry, the term "organic molecule" describes a class of molecules. Any molecule can be put unambiguously into this class or into a contrasting class. In social science, ethnic group does not serve this function. It simply does not describe a class of social groups which either includes or excludes unambiguously any group which is found in the real world.

Naroll's second logical mistake was to confuse the characteristics of the social group itself with the characteristics of its members. In his survey he never distinguished between the characteristics of the group ("Shapera likewise favors the political unit," "to Fortes the term tribe denotes . . . an entity differentiated from like entities") on the one hand and the characteristics of its members (such as "a common language") on the other (1964:284). He failed to recognize that researchers had discussed but often failed to distinguish two very different subjects when describing ethnic groups. One was cognitive and the other social structural. The members of the cognitive aggregate had characteristics (e.g., common language, residence, lip tattooing) through which they were distinguished by other individuals and accorded aggregate membership. The social group itself also had
structural characteristics (a degree of polity, opposition to other like groups) which were not characteristics of its members. Naroll mixed these two domains together in trying to derive the necessary and sufficient characteristics for defining a tribe.

This issue is of importance in attempting a definition of ethnic group. Having at least one relative whose ancestors are from Italy may be considered a characteristic of Italian-Americans as individuals, but it is not a structural characteristic of the social group called Italian-Americans. The group has no ancestor from Italy.

The problems encountered by Naroll can be simplified if one considers that what have been called tribes and ethnic groups are not single entities. They are dual entities which have both a social structural and a cognitive component. They are two distinct kinds of grouping—the social group and the cognitive aggregate which share a common name.

Wsevolod Isajiw (1974) has attempted a definition of ethnicity by the same method as Naroll. He initially points out that in the 65 sources he consulted, 52 had no explicit definition of ethnicity or ethnic group (1974:111). In the remaining studies he finds that there were twelve principal and distinct attributes mentioned for ethnicity. These included such things as "common geographic origin or ancestors, religion, language, separate institutions," and "immigrant group" (1974:117). His explanation is somewhat more muddled than Naroll's, because he uses the word "ethnicity" and "ethnic group" interchangeably. As with Naroll, his single list of attributes includes both those of cognitive aggregate members who might make up a
social group (e.g., common geographic origin or ancestry) and those of
the social group itself (e.g., separate institutions). Largely for
this reason he was also unable to arrive at a single set of criteria
which would fit all groups.

Isajiw mentions the existence of the dual groupings outlined
above but fails to see its implications. He instead characterizes it
as a sort of unresolved definitional dispute. 3

The issue is, are ethnic groups real social groups or are
they only categories of classification? It will suffice to
point out here that most of the definitions examined in this
study do not assume that ethnicity, as ethnicity, is only a
category, rather, that it refers to actual concrete groups.
(1974:117)

Though not entirely clear, it appears that Isajiw comes down on the
crude concrete group side of this alleged dispute. This is, of course, a
faulty dilemma. The entities called ethnic groups in the social
scientific literature are at the same time both "real social groups"
as well as cognitive aggregates defined by "categories of
classification."

1.6 Ethnicity Versus Tribe

In many respects the anthropological argument over the definition
of ethnic group is very reminiscent of the argument over tribe which
took place some years before. The current discussion suggests that
much the same type of dialectic is taking place now as then. It is
therefore instructive to summarize briefly the outcome of attempts to
define tribe. In the case of tribe there was also a reverberation
between the popular and the anthropological use of a term. Tribe had
been in use in English long before Frazier took pen to paper. The
continuing and widespread use, on the popular level, of this term which was seemingly appropriate to anthropology must have increased its use by social scientists. It was a convenient word with a vague denotation and was used by different people to describe generally similar groupings. Various people, however, labeled various kinds of groups as tribes for various reasons.

Evans-Pritchard (1940) called a political unit within the Nuer people a tribe. Radcliffe-Brown (1940) says that Australian Aborigines are divided into hundreds of separate tribes, each having its own language, organization, customs, and beliefs. To Fortes (1940) the tribe was the basic culture-bearing unit. Sahlins and Service (1960) used the word tribe to describe the second level of political evolution in their scheme. As the definitions proliferated and became more specific, groups which were tribes by one definition turned out not to be by another. Much of the argument which ensued over the nature of tribe was very fruitful, but it did not lead to a final and exact objective definition of what type of group the word "tribe" referred to. This was because the class of groups called tribes, as used in anthropology, did not correspond to any coherent class of groups in the objective realm. It was finally agreed that the word "tribe" would not be used for purposes of analysis without a specific definition. In the same way and for the same reasons, the exact definition of ethnic group will remain elusive. But out of the argument new approaches to the analysis of all groups are being developed.
It is also interesting to note that the current concern in anthropology with what are called ethnic groups is a reflection of the most general trend in the discipline's developing theoretical framework. As the total body of anthropological data has grown over the years, its theory and methodologies have continued to shift toward description and explanation of human groups at ever more universally applicable levels. The similarities and differences between the current discussion of ethnic group and earlier disagreement over the definition of tribe illustrate this change. Those aggregations called ethnic groups seem to be found throughout the world, while those called tribes were found primarily in areas with a non-industrial economic base. Additionally the discussion of ethnic groups emphasizes the dynamics within culture and society while that of tribe spoke more of ideal homeostatic content analysis. As Ronald Cohen (1978:384) says, "the shift from tribe to ethnicity involves fundamental changes in anthropological perspectives."

1.7 Ethnicity in Anthropology--The Heuristic Approach

The second approach to ethnic groups, the heuristic school, is not really a school, nor does it lead to an explanation. Isajiw (1974) also happens on this trend in his literature search.

A question arises whether a specific definition could be given of ethnic groups in Canada, as distinguished from ethnic groups in the United States and vice versa. (1974:114)

If one is really trying to define ethnic group, and not merely create a gloss which parallels its popular use, then it cannot have a different definition in each different location. This, however, often
appears to be the case. What is called an ethnic group in an African urban study (Mitchell 1956) often seems quite different from what is called an ethnic group in a study of Southeast Asia (Keyes 1978) or the U.S.A. (Novak 1971). There are many studies—Isajiw reports 52 out of the 65 he surveyed—where no precise definition for ethnicity or ethnic group is even given. Ethnic group membership is used in these cases by the investigator as a basic but unexamined term. This approach can only lead to further obscuring of what the term "ethnic group" might mean. It contributes nothing to theory in general. The salient characteristics attributed to any group called ethnic in this sort of study are often strongly affected by the heuristics of the study itself, or by the primary interests of the author. For this reason it often seems that very different types of social groupings with markedly different functions have been described by the various authors as ethnic groups. These differences can be partially resolved. One need only consider that while the social manifestations described may be very different, the cognitive aggregates, which provide the human raw material for these social groups, have striking similarities. The cognitive categories which describe these aggregates are indeed very similar. This will be discussed in greater depth shortly.

1.8 Ethnicity in Anthropology—The Interactionist Approach

Frederick Barth in 1969 summarized a growing new position on the study of ethnic groups. This could be termed the interactionist perspective. He emphasized the way that decisions by individuals
during interaction, made in response to resource availability, create and maintain social structural and ethnic dichotomies. His exposition contained two theoretical ideas which are used frequently in the current study. These are (1) the generative model and (2) the fundamental importance of cognitive categories in the formation of social groups.

1.9 The Generative Model

To Barth the structure of society is not a coherent template which is imposed on its members and which directs their behavior. Instead the structure of a society is continually generated and changed by the participants themselves. He believes that each individual acts in his own self-interest and makes decisions during interaction which will cause the greatest personal accumulation of available resources. It is the synchronic consistency of these manifold personal decisions which anthropologists have labeled the social structure. Through this theoretical approach one is able not only to describe the structure of society but also to explain how it has come into being and predict how it might change.

It is important to note here that Barth generally used the word "resource" to mean economic resource in its most general sense. It could mean ownership of land, the rights to potential ownership of land, the right to exploit land owned by someone else in a specific way, or even the potential but unactivated right to utilize land owned by another. The present study will use the term in an even more general way. A resource will be anything that an individual perceives
as bringing him potential benefit. These benefits need not only be economic like the goods, services, and access to influence which a person can gain through participation in a reciprocal trade network. They may also be psychological, like the peace of mind which comes from being judged against standards by which one will be deemed a success or the good times which occur when a group of friends get together.

Following the generative model, this study will not consider the structure of social groups nor the characteristics of cognitive categories as being imposed on the participants by some vague entity called "society" nor by the immutable but equally vague machinations of history. They are instead generated by the participants themselves. This theoretical approach is very much in line with Edmund Leach's perspective. He states that social anthropological analysis "must start from a concrete reality—a local group of people—rather than from an abstract reality—such as the concept of lineage or the notion of kinship system" (1961:104). Through this method the current characteristics of the cognitive category Portuguese and the nature of the social group Portuguese can be explained by describing and explaining the decisions of the individual societal participants. This method of analysis demands a deep historical perspective. To some extent the personal decisions of participants today are limited and guided by the decisions of past participants.

Barth strongly emphasized the cognitive element of social organization. He noted that participants in a society are not only
united by institutions and recurrent structured roles within their interaction (the social structure) but also by similarities of observable personal characteristics (the cognitive aggregate) and a shared underlying value system (described by the cognitive categories). This clear demarcation between the social and the cognitive is essential for understanding the Portuguese because there are many individuals who are part of the cognitive aggregate but not part of the social group. That is, there are individuals who are clearly Portuguese but who are not part of the Portuguese group if it is viewed simply as a social group.

Barth's (1969) new interpretation of ethnic groups was based on his earlier work with the nomads of Pakistan (1964). It also grew directly out of work by other researchers, most importantly Furnivall (1944), Firth (1951), Leach (1954), and Moerman (1965). The new approach developed because of a number of continuing research problems. One problem was that significant named social groups were often too amorphous to be explained or even described using the strict paradigmatic system of British structuralism. Another problem had been that while the British structuralist renditions of society were very successful in logical elegance and economy of argument, their normative basis meant they could not explain the wide variation in the actual behaviors of societal members. By drawing heavily on the work of interaction analysts like Blom, Goffman, and Gumperz, and by concentrating on individual communicative behavior, these theoretical ambiguities and the research problems they caused could be solved.
It is interesting to note two things parenthetically about the interactionist approach. Its earliest proponents and those making the most use of it today are ethnographers working in Southeast Asia, and among nomadic peoples. This appears to be not only because the idea itself has become embedded in the literature of these areas but also because these are the areas in which the classical ideas of discrete isolatable political/economic/cultural groups seems the least able to explain the data.

1.10 Theoretical Development of the Interactionist Approach

It is this approach, the interactionist, which provides the framework for the theory in this dissertation. I will therefore mention in greater detail a few pivotal points in its development. Its origins can be traced back to the reaction against the rarefied descriptive approach of British social structuralism. Some investigators found that the ambiguity of the real world which they studied was not consistent with earlier structuralist models. Raymond Firth (1951) outlined the foundations of this new general theoretical approach in The Elements of Social Organization. He wrote here at length on the distinction between social structure and social organization. He states that all social systems and cultures are necessarily ambiguous. Behavior is not rigidly normative. There are always alternative interpretations open to the participants of what a given interactive situation really is. There is also a range of behaviors appropriate to each situation. To Firth a culture was a shared system of symbolic categories. He said that people act out of
self-interest and use this systemic ambiguity to their own advantage. To him it is the cumulative identification, explanation, and justification of situations and behaviors by individuals in the social setting which generates and maintains what is called the social structure. The roots of Barth's latter generative model can easily be seen in Firth's work.

Much of Firth's work in this book (1951) is a summary on the purely theoretical level. Edmund Leach (1954) used many of these same ideas in a description of the Kachin of highland Burma. He was also writing in reaction to British structuralism, as well as to the idea of cultures as discontinuous units. Leach in this elegant study showed the actual workings of a social organization and its relation to the social structure. The latter he thought of as a concept imposed by the investigator. He showed that individuals style themselves in terms of commonly accepted cultural categories. He also showed that to a participating individual a group need not seem to have the type of boundaries that Naroll was searching for, nor the type of normative rule-guided social structure which many investigators had previously described. He also gave evidence that people, while remaining within a single social system, do change their group affiliation and their whole mode of behavior.

Moerman (1965), in a search for the answer to the question, "Who are the Lue?" brought Naroll's earlier work into very serious question. Moerman suggested that "it may be that the world is so put together that cultures and culture bearing units are not well demarcated, mutually exclusive and thereby comparable" (p. 1223). He
further cast doubt on Naroll's approach by showing that, though the Lue are universally considered a distinct group, "there is sometimes as much apparent speech divergence between the Lue of different districts as between a variety of the Lue dialect and some other, non-Lue dialect" (p. 1217). Slight speech differences are made emblematic of assumed ethnic and group differences, and "the emblematic nature of cultural traits parallels this" (p. 1217). This existence of differences between groups, though socially of great importance, was apparently arbitrary in terms of the total cultural content of the groups. Moerman states that "all peoples have a folk nomenclature of ethnic labels, that such nomenclatures are systems, and that individuals assign labels in response to cues which they have been taught are criterial" (p. 1222). These critical cues are what Leach (1954) called markers.

Moerman thus shifted the emphasis in investigation completely away from the structuralist and culture trait schools of thought and toward an investigation of group boundaries as they are expressed during interaction. He did not question the existence or importance of the groups named by his subjects. He did suggest, however, that the groups could only be organized into a coherent system from an emic perspective. The important distinctions between groups for his subjects did not directly correspond to the similarities and differences in the total cultural content of the various groups as they might have been expressed through the use of culture trait lists. These groups could only be ordered, or in some cases even distinguished, through the use of the participants' own taxonomies.
As with any taxonomy, Moerman believed that these categories always existed in opposition to other like categories. Unless it was made reference to, in opposition to another category, group identification lay latent in a situation.

Moerman had asked a number of new and penetrating questions about social groups. Barth (1969), by utilizing Firth's and Leach's earlier emphasis on the manipulation of cultural symbols for personal gain, and by incorporating the idea that ecological constraints impinge on any population or individual, suggested a general theory which supported and explained Moerman's findings. Following Furnivall and Leach, he emphasized that two or more named groups could be inextricably entwined in a single economic/political system. It is through the demarcation and articulation of such groups that the resources of the total system are allocated. His emphasis was directed at the boundaries between such groups and on their maintenance through manipulation of cultural symbols by individual interactants. To Barth, "ethnic groups are seen as a form of social organization" (1969:13). They "are categories of ascription and identification by the actors themselves, and thus have the characteristic of organizing interaction between people" (p. 10).

Borrowing heavily from the symbolic interactionists, Barth sees all interaction as being organized in the following way. "The cultural contents of ethnic dichotomies," he states, are of "two orders." These are "overt signals or signs" and "basic value orientations" (p. 14). The former are used during interaction to make reference to the latter. These overt signals and signs are both
verbal and non-verbal clues to the identity and intentions of the interactants, the framing of the interaction, and the message one is trying to communicate. The latter order, basic value orientations, contains the basic cultural information and makes interpretation and prediction of the former possible. Thus, the group identification claimed by an individual puts limits on the range of variation his behavior can take. "What can be referred to as articulation and separation [between groups] on the macro-level corresponds to systematic sets of role constraints [for the individual] on the micro-level" (p. 17). Persons must seem to act predictably and in accord with what they say they are, or the identity they claim will be called into question.

This is, however, not the normative behavioral model simply cut from new cloth. There is a wide variation open to any individual.

The ethnic label subsumes a number of simultaneous characteristics which no doubt cluster statistically, but which are not absolutely interdependent and connected. Thus there will be variations between members, some showing few characteristics. (p. 29)

Individuals may, however, change their behavior and their ethnic identity.

Ethnic identity is associated with a culturally specific set of value standards . . . allegiance to basic value standards will not be sustained where [due to economic constraints] one's own comparative performance is utterly inadequate. (p. 29)

In these circumstances the individual will, by displaying another set of overt signs, identify himself as a member of a different group where his personal economic situation is more appropriate. Thus, ambiguity in the larger system allows for identity changes by
individuals to compensate for general ecological changes, "but boundaries may persist despite what may figuratively be called the 'osmosis' of personnel through them" (p. 21).

The application of these ideas has had a profound influence on the current study. The relationship between social group and cognitive aggregate has not been considered a direct one. It is assumed that a person is not considered Portuguese simply by virtue of being a member of the Portuguese social group. Instead a person is considered Portuguese only if he displays convincingly the "overt signals or signs" (Barth 1969), the "emblematic cultural traits" (Moerman 1965), the "markers" (Leach 1954) which people associate with those who are Portuguese.

Other interactants are sensitive to these overt behavioral signs because they give evidence of "basic value orientations." It is very difficult to interact successfully with a person whose basic value orientation remains unknown. It is for this reason that interactants try to establish very quickly the identity (e.g., Portuguese) of these with whom they come into contact.

1.11 Some Deficiencies in Barth's Theory

There are three problems in Barth's exposition, all perhaps stemming from the nature of the societies found in the geographic areas where he and most of the contributors to his book did their field work. The first problem is that he continued to reify the concept "ethnic group." He assumed that the concept reflected objective reality. This, though, is a somewhat arbitrary criticism,
since his ideas can be applied to many groups, including those which are not customarily called ethnic groups. The second problem is that his exposition tends to suggest that ethnic affiliation is a long-term either-or relationship. One is either a Pathan or a Baluch, a Fur or an Arab. An individual is characterized as changing identity because of a generally changed economic condition, but not dramatically and repeatedly with changing situational frames. His theory can imply that this is possible, but no explicit mention is ever made of it.

This dramatic and frequent change of group affiliation seems more characteristic of plural societies as Furnivall (1944) used the term. It seems especially true in urban situations where an identity and the validation of it are often generated over and over throughout the day during frequent interactions with unknown individuals. It is possible, however, to explain these rapid changes in terms of Barth's resource model.

Judith Nagata (1974) made these sorts of changes explicit. She characterized ethnic groups as

special kinds of reference groups, the invocation of which may vary according to particular factors of the broader social situation, rather than a fixed anchorage to which the individual is unambiguously bound. . . . Some individuals may therefore oscillate rather freely from one ethnic reference group to another, without, however, becoming involved in role conflict or marginality. (p. 333)

Many have used this idea since.

The third problem is that Barth's work suggested that the memberships of the cognitive aggregate and the social group are the same. This may have been the case in the areas he discussed where
population density is low, most contacts are with previously known individuals, and the ethnic identities open to a person are limited. It does not seem to be the case in complex societies. As mentioned, there are many Portuguese in Hawaii who are part of the cognitive aggregate but have little or no contact with the social group.

1.12 Ethnic Groups Are NOT Social Groups

Let us review what we have discussed thus far.

We have first seen what an ethnic group is not. We have seen that its popular use has no direct utility in anthropology because it is too imprecise for use in analysis. This popular use, however, clearly signifies the existence of a popular cognitive category. It is the general belief in the United States that there is some class of groups called ethnic which share some characteristics.

We have seen that ethnic group cannot be precisely defined by combing the social science literature for a single set of universal characteristics for all social groups so labeled. The term has been used repeatedly with imprecision to describe varied groups which, though they may seem similar, are clearly examples of different types of groupings. This lack of definitional clarity means that when ethnic group is used in the anthropology literature it can never be used to identify a specific type of social group. This can be easily demonstrated in a different way by showing that two groups generally accepted as ethnic may have radically different social structural forms.
The Basseri nomads of Persia (Barth 1961) and the Portuguese of Hawaii are examples of groups which have both been called ethnic in the anthropological literature. A comparison shows, however, that they have very different social forms. The Basseri have a single specialized economic base; the Portuguese have not. The Basseri have hierarchically organized leaders with strong sanctions to control the behavior of group members. The Portuguese have neither, but instead have individuals who function as role models with no investiture of power, and sanctions which are limited to a sort of weak, unorganized "shunning." The Basseri have an independent single language; the Portuguese share a language in common with numerous other Hawaiian groups. The "overt signals" for the Basseri are clear and easily recognized; they are much less distinct for the Portuguese. The Basseri have a high degree of singularity of culture distinct from other peoples in their area; the Portuguese share much of their culture in common with the groups who live around them. Thus, we have Naroll's dilemma--two social groups both of which are labeled as ethnic groups in the literature but which seem to share little in common besides the label itself.

There also are examples of actual social groupings which are very similar in many ways though they have not generally been classed together by anthropology. One would be considered an ethnic type group and the other would not. One example is the Basseri nomads of South Persia and a New York City local of the International Association of Theatrical and Stage Employees (I.A.T.S.E). The Basseri are called an ethnic group but I.A.T.S.E. has never been
termed an ethnic group either by social scientists or in popular discourse. They are, however, similar in the following ways. As a behavioral category both demand for validation a high commitment to a set of values, competence at a pervasive interactive style, and evidence of a detailed knowledge of a means of production. The members of both groups are in firm control of an economic resource which they exploit in common. In both cases control of this economic resource is centered on the exclusive knowledge of a specialized set of skills and the exclusive rights to practice them. The Basseri know herding and have rights to engage in it in certain areas. The I.A.T.S.E. members know stagecraft and have the exclusive right to engage in it in certain theaters. This resource that each controls is part of a larger resource system exploited together with other named groups and coordinated on the individual level through group membership.

Both groups recognize leaders who are supported by the majority of members. These leaders emerge because of great experience and central placement in a large social network. The leaders are able to exercise strong sanctions against individuals who act not only against the interests of the social group but also in a manner inappropriate to the behavior expected of members of the cognitive aggregate.

The Basseri have a common language as well as a shared repertoire of situationally appropriate behaviors and a shared cognitive schemata of the world. They interact mainly with each other. The I.A.T.S.E. members have an extensive and often arcane technical language which they use in their craft. They also share an extensive repertoire of
situationally appropriate behaviors. Because of the long and often erratic hours demanded by stage work, they tend to interact primarily with other I.A.T.S.E. members, both at work and away from work. Therefore, their specialized language and repertoire of appropriate behaviors tend to pervade their entire lives.

Work groups, once organized within the larger group, tend to perpetuate themselves, but the total group interaction is much like a social network; some individuals interact with a great many other members in the course of a year, others with very few.

One is assumed to be a Basseri by birth, and all individuals are expected to conform to the behavioral category. The children of I.A.T.S.E. members do not automatically become members at birth. This is a major cognitive distinction but is not as significant socially because they are assured through birth of a spot in an almost closed union. They are often considered potential members and are expected to act accordingly. The spouses of members are also expected to behave in accord with the dictates of the category. We therefore have an example of two groups which evidence similar social forms, one of which is called an ethnic group and the other of which is not.

Ethnic group does not define a type of social group because it does not define a group's membership, organization, or function. We are led to the conclusion that "ethnic group" as a discrete definable class of social groups does not exist. But to ignore popular discourse is to ignore reality. Human groups do exist and the strength of the term "ethnic" both on the popular and the social
scientific levels implies that some commonality is seen among groups thus labeled.

1.13 Ethnic Groups as Descent-Chartered Behavioral Cognitive Categories

I would suggest that this commonality at both the popular and the scientific levels lies in the cognitive, not the social structural, domain. An ethnic group is not a type of social group; it represents a type of cognitive label for identifying individuals. In order to elucidate this, we must very clearly distinguish between a cognitive category, which is culturally maintained and used by individuals for the organization and interpretation of interaction, and a social group, which is an actual collection of individuals who engage in social interaction. These two—the cognitive and the social—are evidently related. We thus have three interrelated entities to consider: the social group, a set of individuals distinguished by social interactions consisting of nontransitory structured role relationships; the cognitive category, a set of attributes thought to isolate and define a particular kind of individual; and the cognitive aggregate, the set of individuals defined by the cognitive category.

1.14 Interaction and the Interpretive Paradigm

The relationship between these three is expressed during interaction. In order to explain this relationship and before we can discuss the reason that "ethnic" groups are perceived as forming a class of groups, we must first digress into a discussion of interaction.
Barth and many others have provided insights into how the cognitive aspects of groups such as "ethnic" groups are used to interpret the communication of others during interaction. These insights rely on a method of understanding communication and relating it to culture as well as society which has much wider applications than simply the analysis of "ethnic" groups. Wilson (1971) summarized this theoretical perspective, calling it the interpretive paradigm. Drawing on the work of Ralph Turner (1962), he points out that role taking is fundamental to interaction. Social roles, though they are "a coherent pattern of behaviors," are not absolutely prescribed. Therefore an interactant must deduce, through observation of others' behavior, the roles being taken by them during interaction. He must also organize his own behavior and his explanations of past behavior in such a way that these will appear to constitute a coherent role. Wilson uses Garfinkel's (1962) notion of documentary interpretation to explain how this is done. "Documentary interpretation consists of identifying an underlying pattern behind a series of appearances such that each appearance is seen as referring to, an expression of, or a 'document of,' the underlying pattern" (Wilson 1971:68). The pattern which is being referred to by Wilson and Garfinkel in this "underlying pattern" as well as the relationships between observed behavior and the underlying pattern are all codified in the shared culture of the participants. A generally accepted cognitive category is one expression of this codification.

Using the interpretive paradigm for explaining communication, we therefore assume that all interaction is ordered in relation to, and
made understandable through, reference to mutually understood cultural cognitive categories. The behavior of another individual has meaning and predictability to the extent that it seems to represent an understood underlying pattern. An interactive situational frame has meaning to the extent that it also fits a recognizable pattern. Those aspects of behavior which provide evidence of this pattern are what Barth termed the set of "overt signals." The underlying motives and desires of another person, as well as the situational frame, are understood by inference from these signals and are themselves codified in what Barth called "basic value orientations."

This theoretical perspective can be used in widely varied situations to explain the relationship between culture and social organization. It explains equally situations where ethnic group type membership is or is not an issue. A simple example of social interaction will illustrate the mechanism described.

An example of a communicative situation and its appropriate roles is: "You are my boss and I am your worker and we are having a serious meeting in which you are reprimanding me because of my performance on the office library committee." Through their behavior, the participants negotiate a mutually understood framing to the situation and the roles they will act from within this frame. Concurrently it is in relation to the agreed roles and framing that the participants infer meaning in each other's behavior.

This negotiated framing of the communicative event remains valid only if there is no grossly inappropriate behavior. Inappropriate behavior is behavior which suggests that the participants' perceptions
of the underlying patterns in the situation have been wrong. If the 
boss takes off his shoes and dances on the desk, or the worker 
suddenly starts playing the trombone, the negotiated order of the 
situation and of the roles is destroyed. If it is a male boss and he 
changes from reprimand to flirting with a female employee, the roles 
and situation may be transformed. This transformation would demand a 
renegotiation by the participants and agreement on the new roles and a 
redefinition of the situational frame. If one substitutes the 
cognitive/social role Basseri or Hawaiian Portuguese for boss and 
employee, the method of interpretation remains the same. The 
interactants must act appropriately as Basseri or Portuguese for an 
underlying pattern, and thus meaning, to be inferred from their 
behavior. Some coherent pattern must be perceived for the interaction 
to have meaning for the participants.

Cognitive categories such as Basseri and Portuguese are, in part, 
a summary of all the characteristics which people who are Basseri and 
Portuguese are thought to have. The total cognitive category also 
provides a clue to the relationship between the surface behavior 
"appearances" and "underlying pattern" (Wilson 1971); between the 
"overt signals or signs" and the "basic value orientations" (Barth 
1969). When an individual is assigned membership during interaction 
to a particular cognitive category such as Portuguese, it makes their 
behavior understandable and their future actions predictable. This is 
true because the relationship between an individual's perceived 
behavior and his presumed motives are codified in the category. An 
example of this can be drawn from the Portuguese of Hawaii. It is
generally believed in Hawaii that Portuguese individuals are loud talkers and excitable, but they are not noted for quickly resorting to physical violence. The Samoans in Hawaii, on the other hand, are not noted for loud and excited talk but are believed to resort quickly to physical violence. When having a very loud and animated argument with another individual in Hawaii, it is clearly important to know whether that person is Portuguese or Samoan. This distinction must be made before interpreting that person's behavior in order to predict his immediate future actions. It is generally believed that at the same level of animation a Portuguese individual is "just having a friendly argument" but a Samoan is becoming furious.

There are a very wide range of these cognitive categories through which individuals interpret the behaviors of others. Some categories have importance in the framing and interpretation of nearly all interactions. These are categories with associated behavioral distinctions which can come into play in a wide variety of situations. Examples of these are age and gender. Those categories which have been labeled ethnic have slightly less general applicability, but they give clues and are important for the interpretation of behavior in a wide range of possible situations. There are cognitive categories near the other end of the scale which are much more situation-specific in their applicability for the interpretation of behavior. Examples of these are Xerox Corporation Employee and Office Library Committee member. In the urban American situation, the first of these may have little direct significance when at home and the second may be germane only for short periods at work. The actual significance of any given
category in the framing of interaction varies with the culture, locality, and individual background of the participants. It is the mechanism itself which can be thought of as universal.

1.15 Ethnicity and the Myth of Common Descent

When those entities which have been called ethnic groups are thought of not as a class of social groupings but as cognitive aggregates with behavioral significance, they are distinct from other such aggregates in one respect. That distinguishing feature is the presumed common descent of all aggregate members. You will recall that Naroll mentioned common descent. He was ultimately confounded, however, because he was trying to characterize a class of social groups, not cognitive aggregates.

The common descent referred to as an attribute of "ethnic group" type cognitive aggregate members is distinct from the form of descent found in lineage or family members because it is nonspecific. Unlike a family, it is not essential that a direct link be established between all ethnic type aggregate members but only that they share descent from some historical or geographic point of common origin. This nonspecific descent corresponds more directly to the origin myths which anthropologists, such as Malinowski, attributed to those entities known as tribes. It will be seen from the materials on the Hawaiian Portuguese that the presumed common descent of aggregate members is not always borne out as historical fact.

For all ethnic type aggregates the summation of the attributes of the aggregate members always includes the attribute common descent.
Ascription to the aggregate, however, takes place not once and for all time at birth, but repeatedly during interaction. A person is assigned to, or excluded from, the aggregate during a given interaction based on the evidence of observed behavior, not specifically on descent. Descent is not an observable behavior. Certain behaviors, though, can give evidence of descent. When unknown individuals are encountered, they are assigned immediately to a specific aggregate on the basis of behavior, not on historical research. Therefore, if their behavior indicates membership in a given cognitive aggregate and they do not actually disavow it, they will be assumed to have also the attribute of common descent. Descent is not, however, a directly observable attribute of aggregate members nor is it essential to have the attribute to be assigned to the aggregate during interaction. Those entities called ethnic groups therefore could be said to be the members of a class of cognitive aggregates which are described by a cognitive behavioral categories and which have a genealogical charter.

1.16 Aggregates Do Not Form Social Groups--People Do

The aggregates being described are simply a part of the cognitive raw material from which all society is built. The members of a social group are always drawn from a larger pool of individuals who constitute a specific cognitive aggregate. One reason that there is so little agreement on the meaning of "ethnic" group is that people have often given the name to dissimilar social groupings. Though their social manifestations are dissimilar, these groups have all been
called ethnic groups because of similarities in the cognitive aggregates from which they draw their membership.

As mentioned in the discussion of the heuristic school, that which is ultimately given the label ethnicity or ethnic group is often a manifestation of the researcher's particular interests. The Africanists find ethnic groups providing the order in rapidly expanding cities (Lloyd 1974). Barth (1968) finds them to be the economic units by which resources are allocated. American sociologists have characterized everything from a Polish-American block party in Milwaukee to manipulation of the pizza business in Philadelphia as a manifestation of ethnicity. Even Ronald Cohen in his summary of ethnicity for the *Annual Review of Anthropology* (1978) comes round to discussing ethnic groups as if they are essentially political. It can be seen that all these social groups are similar to each other and dissimilar from other social groups only to the extent that they draw their membership from a cognitive aggregate with a specific type of descent charter. Agreement on what constitutes an "ethnic group" when it is viewed strictly as a social group is impossible because this cognitive raw material has been used in so many different ways. The investigators therefore describe great variation in social groups all of which have memberships drawn from behavioral cognitive aggregates with a descent charter.

It is well in social science that terms not be asked to carry too broad a meaning. A broad meaning can only lead to imprecision and ambiguity in a term's application. One such overused word in anthropology is certainly "group." It is due to the wide application
and ambiguity of the word "group" that the term "ethnic group" is ambiguous. "Ethnic" does not describe a type of social group but instead has its true importance on the cognitive level. The cognitive and social are clearly related, but "ethnic" group has been made to do service in both domains simultaneously.

It is for this reason that the present dissertation will avoid the term entirely. We will speak instead simply of social groups and cognitive aggregates. When the realm of social organization is discussed, we will use the term cognitive/social so as to emphasize the distinction between, but relatedness of, these two domains.

1.17 The Significance of the Myth of Common Descent

The significance of the genealogical charter of these cognitive behavioral aggregates remains to be discussed. It has been frequently noted throughout the anthropology literature that any kinship system contains individuals who are generally accepted as members but whose biological claim to kinship ties is entirely fictional. Sometimes formal social institutions exist, such as adoption into the Chinese lineage, to legitimize these claims, but sometimes they are simply treated as legitimate without the need for a specific institution. It has also been often shown that group descent charters (referred to by Malinowski as "origin myths") are frequently manipulated. In both cases the assumed reality of the past is manipulated in some way to reflect more closely the perceived reality of the present.

The tracing of any individual's descent connections must start with his immediate kinsmen, but the descent connections between
members of an "ethnic type" cognitive behavioral aggregate more nearly approximate an origin myth than the Chinese lineage. An individual need not demonstrate a direct link to other members of the aggregate but only a link to the point of common origin. This link can even be established through past individuals who are unknown to other aggregate members. If the genealogical linkage is obscure, ascription to the aggregate can be made entirely on the basis of perceived behavior. This clearly allows for much manipulation of claimed descent by individuals who wish to be included or excluded from the cognitive aggregate.

The Portuguese of Hawaii, it will be seen, give evidence of both group and individual manipulation of descent. The original immigrants came from three quite distinct geographical locations. These were the Azores and Madeira Islands and, to a much lesser extent, the Portuguese mainland. Today the cognitive category ignores these earlier distinctions and traces the descent of aggregate members to a summary mythic place of origin known simply as "Portugal." It will also be seen that in Hawaii the claims of individuals to membership in a specific "ethnic" type cognitive behavioral aggregate sometimes include a peripheral or even nonexistent genealogical connection to the point of common origin. These claims are often accepted on the basis of behavior, which can be observed, rather than disallowed because of historical fact, which cannot. Behavior thus can serve as the sole validation of an implied genealogical connection. Because of these two types of manipulation, these cognitive categories and the
cognitive aggregates they describe could be said to have a descent charter rather than an actual descent basis.

The obvious questions arise, "Why does the descent charter exist? What is its significance?" I would suggest that its utility is based on the assumed, though not actual, immutability of descent. This immutability is an assumption which is supported by the everyday experience of societal members.

All cognitive categories which describe "ethnic" type aggregates describe some form of common descent as an attribute of aggregate members. This, though, is only one of a host of attributes they describe. These categories also attribute to their members characteristic behaviors and the relationship of these behaviors to "underlying value orientations" which are of significance in a broad spectrum of situations. In short, they tell us a lot about what to expect from their aggregate members. The descent charter, a trait seen as immutable, implies that the other traits are immutable as well. Mechanisms exist for joining other sorts of cognitive behavioral aggregates (e.g., the Republican Party—where one simply states that they always vote Republican, or I.A.T.S.E.—where one receives a membership card), but one is assumed to be an ethnic aggregate member solely because of birth. Since behavioral characteristics and "underlying value orientations" are both tied to an immutable characteristic a person can be expected not to change them in a capricious manner.

This immutability is supported by everyday experience. It is most people's experience that individuals ascribed to an ethnic
aggregate usually do have progenitors in the same aggregate. The behavioral regime described by the cognitive category is often so all pervasive that it is assumed one must learn it from birth to be able to execute it effectively.

Every social group which has control over its membership also controls some resource which it husband. This fact suggests the utility of forming social groups from descent-chartered aggregates. When a social group's members are drawn from such an aggregate, their behaviors and value orientations are not only predictable but can also be considered immutable. Aggregate membership thus is some assurance that social group members will not behave in unpredictable ways nor hold inappropriate "basic value orientations" which could lead to dissipation of the social group's resources. Social groups with a large resource base, or one which is difficult to protect (such as occupational specializing action), are best drawn from a descent-based cognitive behavioral aggregate. This, I suggest, is the reason for the ubiquitous and polymorphic nature of social groups drawn from "ethnic" cognitive aggregates.
Most of the Portuguese immigrants arrived in Hawaii as contract laborers between the years 1878 and 1913. An estimated 18,000 of them came to work in the sugar industry. Though many descendants of these original immigrants still live in Hawaii, there has been no significant Portuguese immigration since that time (Schmitt 1977:100). To be Portuguese has, however, remained a distinct and strong cognitive/social category. In Hawaii it is a category distinct not only from that of other immigrants, such as Japanese and Chinese, but from Caucasian as well. In the system of cognitive categories which exists in Hawaii, being Portuguese is in many ways as distinct from being "white" as being Japanese is distinct from being "white."

This dissertation will investigate why this seemingly anomalous situation, a wholly European aggregate being apparently classed as non-Caucasian, should have occurred and why it persists. Through this investigation a discussion of the total Hawaiian cognitive/social system will be given and light thrown on the manner in which cognitive aggregates and social groups outside Hawaii have merged and diverged in their own contexts.
2.1 A Summary of Historical Changes for the Portuguese

During their 100-year history in Hawaii the changes for the Portuguese have been large. The social group and cognitive category have changed dramatically. One hundred years ago, individuals of Portuguese ancestry were usually engaged in agriculture or skilled labor. All of their relatives and most of their friends were also Portuguese. The total aggregate tended to be culturally, economically and socially homogeneous. Today an aggregate made up of all those with Portuguese and part-Portuguese ancestry would be extremely heterogeneous. A large proportion of Portuguese individuals today have less than 100-percent Portuguese ancestry because of the high rate of out-marriage. Individuals would be found scattered throughout the present Hawaiian socio-economic system, engaged in almost any job, and living in any locality.

In the late 1800's there were numerous organizations such as benevolent societies, social and religious clubs, Portuguese language newspapers, and schools in Honolulu that facilitated and directed intragroup interaction. Today there are only a handful of Portuguese organizations, with a very small membership. The advantages and disadvantages to an individual of being Portuguese as well as the manner in which this cognitive category is manipulated during interaction in order to maximize personal return has also changed.

The strength of the cognitive category itself, in relation to other categories, has not changed to the same degree as the group, nor have the characteristics thought to be associated with its members changed to match the changes in the members themselves. Though the
actual membership of the Portuguese social group seems to have decreased dramatically, there are many people inside and outside the Portuguese aggregate who recognize the category and make use of it during interaction. There is also a widespread agreement on the characteristics evidenced in individuals ascribed to the category Portuguese. In summary, the Portuguese have moved from being a cohesive, highly structured group associated with a strong cognitive category to a diffuse and unstructured grouping still associated with a strong cognitive category.

2.2 Some General Implications of These Changes

The reasons for this transition will be investigated in detail, but some general implications important to all anthropology can be immediately inferred. It would seem that there is no constant relationship between the strength of the cognitive category and the extent to which actual members are organized into a social group with the same name, nor between all the characteristics generally ascribed to aggregate members and their actual characteristics. There also appears to be little direct correlation between the individuals who would be ascribed to the aggregate when the aggregate is considered to have its basis in descent and when its basis is considered to be behavioral.6 It will be seen clearly in this dissertation that the relationship between a social group and its cognitive aggregate is strongly mediated by the total system in which they exist. This relationship is influenced by the synergistic relationships among all the groups and all the categories throughout the system as well as by
those between specific groups and categories. This study will also point out a second reason why there is no inherent direct relationship between social group and cognitive category. It will be seen that the reason for the existence of a categoric label and a set of defining characteristics associated with members of the aggregate is not, on the level of popular discourse, primarily taxonomic. Its primary purpose is not the naming and description of coherent descent-based groups of individuals and the creation of an unambiguous and internally consistent taxonomy. Its primary utility is instead the organization and manipulation of interaction within a social setting.

The very term "ethnic boundary" may be a confusing misnomer. The whole concept of an ethnic boundary as it has often been used is an oversimplification and has tended to suggest that the social and cognitive realms reflect each other more closely than may actually be the case. To assume that a seemingly discrete cognitive category (e.g., Nuer, Pathan) also describes a discrete social group can often mislead the investigator.

It has frequently been pointed out that named social groups exist only in relation to other named groups. It has also been demonstrated that a systemic approach to the study of groups is very fruitful (Leach 1954). The current study will demonstrate that the engines which drive its social machinery and the cognitive patterns which guide its members' perceptions can lie almost entirely outside what have often been treated as the boundaries of a named social group. Many of the Portuguese in Hawaii today are Portuguese primarily to secure a specific position in the larger social system. A study
restricted solely to Portuguese individuals and groups could not discover this fact. It is therefore not only fruitful but possibly essential to take a wide systemic approach in any study of culture. To limit an investigation only to material from within the cognitive and social boundaries of one group may lead to distorted conclusions. It is possible, for instance, that a given group is known as a water people not because they have any real affinity for the water, but rather because another nearby group has a strong affinity for the land.

2.3 The Hawaiian Physical Setting

Hawaii is part of an archipelago of islands which stretch for 1,367 miles through the central Pacific Ocean at 20° north latitude. Only Midway Island on the western end and seven large islands on the eastern end are inhabited, the remainder of the archipelago being made up of shoals, reefs, and small rocky islands. It is the seven eastern islands which will concern us in this dissertation. Their total land area is 6,390 square miles. They are geographically remote, lying 2,397 miles from San Francisco, the nearest landfall, and 3,850 miles from Tokyo. We will speak principally of the island of Oahu, which contains the city of Honolulu, now the capital of the state of Hawaii.

The easterly islands have been shaped by volcanism and erosion. They all have high central mountain ranges which drop away to coastal plains of rich alluvial soil. The coastline is frequently sand beach and there are plentiful protected harbors. The climate can unabashedly be described as perfect. The mean daily temperature
varies from 88° F to 57° F during the course of the year. Rainfall is abundant in the high central regions and is sufficient for agriculture in most areas, excepting in a few rain shadows created by the trade winds and mountains.

Though Hawaii is beautiful, its natural resources are limited. There are no metal ores nor fossil fuels to support an industrial economy. No large rivers are available for power. Hawaii's three primary resources are geographic location, arable land, and climate. Throughout the history of the islands it is these three resources which have been consistently exploited.

2.4 A Summary of Hawaiian History

The aboriginal population developed a culturally rich and complex society economically based on irrigated agriculture and fishing. Their social order was hierarchical, with individuals ranked according to personal genealogy within ranked social classes. All power flowed from the top and individuals gained positions of power largely through birth. All land was ultimately controlled by the highest chiefs, who gave temporary control of parts of it to lesser chiefs who in turn divided it still further. There was a highly developed system of long-term reciprocity for the redistribution of material goods and influence. Though there is some evidence of earlier contacts, Capt. James Cook made the first fully documented European contact with these islands in 1778. His arrival and that of later explorers and merchants introduced diseases such as syphilis, measles, mumps, and
chicken pox, to which the Native Hawaiians had no reserve immunity and which devastated the original Native Hawaiian population.

Europe and the United States seem always to have been interested in Hawaii because of its location in the Central Pacific. For a great many years Hawaii served as a provisioning stop for sailors. It was soon discovered that the islands contained sandalwood, a commodity eagerly sought by China. The Hawaiian chiefs traded sandalwood for ships, guns, and consumer products until the forests became completely denuded of sandalwood trees. This trade was at its height from 1810 to 1830.

The year 1820 was pivotal in the history of Hawaii for two reasons. It was the year during which Protestant missionaries from New England first landed. Their influence and that of their families and allies has been felt strongly in Hawaii ever since. It was also the first year that a whaling boat visited Hawaii to secure provisions. Whaling replaced the sandalwood trade and was to be an increasingly important economic influence through the 1840's (Wist 1940). By 1859 whaling had stopped, ended by the new U.S. petroleum oil industry and the havoc caused to the whaling fleet by the American Civil War.

Plantation agriculture filled the economic gap created by the demise of whaling. Hawaii has a good climate for growing sugarcane and it is the growing of this single crop which has most strongly influenced the nature of Hawaii as we find it today. The sugar industry had started in the 1820's. Eighteen twenty-three was the first year that low grade sugar was manufactured in Hawaii, and 1835
saw the first commercial sugar mill in operation, at Koloa on the island of Kauai. By 1838, 22 sugar mills were operating on Kauai, Maui, and the island of Hawaii. The Civil War, which had ended whaling, created a market for Hawaiian sugar by cutting off the Northern states from their supply of Southern sugar (Coman 1903).

The entrepreneurs who started plantation sugar cultivation in Hawaii (and who still control it today) were Caucasians from the American mainland. They were sometimes the sons and daughters of missionaries, missionaries themselves, or new immigrants, but they were always closely allied with the original American missionary community. Until 1893 Hawaii was an independent kingdom and this group of Americans maintained close ties with the source of power and land, the Hawaiian chiefs. Through this alliance the relatively small number of American missionaries and merchants exerted great influence over the governance of the Hawaiian kingdom. It has been frequently suggested by historians that this influence was largely responsible for a number of major changes in the Hawaiian political and economic scene, changes which put the Americans in ever tighter control. These include: (1) the Great Mahele of 1848, in which land-related service tenure was abolished for everyone and ownership of land was given to those then cultivating it. This meant that the rights to land were no longer vested entirely in the chiefs. Land could be purchased by non-Native Hawaiians and large tracts were ultimately secured for the sugar plantations. (2) There was legislation in 1850 aimed at once more securing labor to the land. It required that permission be given before native subjects of the King could leave Hawaii. It also
recognized the legality of labor contracts made both in Hawaii and abroad. It mandated severe penalties for laborers who broke these contracts. Labor contracts were the mechanism through which the sugar plantations secured many workers. (3) The importation of labor itself greatly changed Hawaii (see Appendix A). There were an estimated total of 400,000 individuals imported to work on the sugar plantations between 1853 and 1941. Much of this importation was subsidized by the Hawaiian government (Lind 1967b). (4) Most believe that the resident Americans were strongly influential in the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893 and the annexation of the newly formed republic as an American territory in 1898. The American group advanced these last changes in order to secure American markets for sugar.

It was not until the 1940's that the political and economic influence of the sugar companies began to decrease in Hawaii, and then it was due to a dilution from outside sources rather than a disruption of the plantation-oriented oligarchy. During World War II, because of Hawaii's strategic location, there was an influx of people (more than 400,000 servicemen in the late 1940's), jobs, and capital from the American mainland. This was the opening wedge of a cultural invasion and after the war more permanent incursions were made from the mainland. After Hawaii became a state in 1959 the influx of people, capital, and institutions from the mainland increased again, as did tourism, which now ranks as the most important economic resource, followed by military expenditures and then finally by agriculture.
2.5 The Hawaiian Cognitive/Social System

After this very brief historical summary, it would be well to introduce some basic observations on the cognitive/social structure which will be discussed throughout this dissertation. The first observation is that the current cognitive/social framework of Hawaii was largely constructed in the plantation environment. Very nearly all those who immigrated to Hawaii until the 1940's had their first introduction to the area within the context of the plantations. This was directly true for people who came as laborers or management to the plantations, and indirectly true of almost everyone else. In 1930, of the 58,628 people working in heavy and light industry in Hawaii, 47,300 were employed by the sugar industry, 7,253 worked for the pineapple industry, and the remaining 4,075 worked in "all other industries." Included in "all other" are such concerns as tin can manufacture, foundries, and longshore labor, industries which themselves worked closely with the plantations (U.S. Department of Labor 1931). A high percentage of the people now living in Hawaii either have worked as laborers on a plantation or have a close relative who did so. Later changes in the total configuration of the cognitive/social system of Hawaii are at most modifications of the original patterns which developed during the plantation era.

The second general observation is that no individual can exist in the Hawaiian social setting without being a member of some genealogically chartered cognitive/social aggregate. If they claim nonalignment, they are nonetheless always ascribed to an aggregate during interaction. On the American mainland, if one is a Caucasian,
it is possible to be just "a guy who works as a fireman." In Hawaii, you can be a Japanese, or Chinese, or Portuguese, or "all mix up" kind of guy who works as a fireman—but you must be some kind of guy. This sort of ascription to a cognitive aggregate is usually accorded importance just after age and sex, in most interactive situations. Though among close associates, and especially among those of the same aggregate, this type of affiliation can lie latent, the general subject of group membership comes up very often in most conversations. Most people will readily state this fact.

Ethnicity is dealt with in Hawaii by facing it—not by hiding from it. So therefore I was consciously Portuguese all the time [in high school] but that didn't create any problems. You don't hide from the fact that you are Japanese or Portuguese or something. Your nickname reminds you, everything—just right down the line. I had friends that were called Pake [a slang word for Chinese] etc. and no one was taking offense. (I-13-1-288)

We are so used to thinking of ourselves as being Hawaiian or Chinese or Portuguese. (I-1-2-x958)

No individual is allowed to remain ethnically unaffiliated in Hawaii. (Steven Boggs p.c.)

This fact becomes obvious in conversation. When reference to a third unknown person is made, that person is almost always described as being affiliated with some cognitive/social aggregate. "These Haole [mainland white] kids came up to me" (V-B-1-14). "You know, I left my key on top of the table, so the Japanese boy, you know, that guy who pass us, he said . . . " (V-B-2-165). Some people are of mixed ancestry and therefore could make claim on a genealogical basis to more than one affiliation. For these people, as for everyone, aggregate membership is negotiated depending on the situational frame
and based on behavioral competence. They usually have one primary affiliation which carries through most situations. This is often assigned to them at a very early age. "People who are mixed, they are more one side [of the family] or the other" (I-6-2-360X). But even this basic ascription can be open to negotiation during interaction.

The hallmark of the cognitive/social system in Hawaii is diversity. Large numbers of people with very different genetic and cultural backgrounds were brought to the islands by the sugar industry. Hawaii therefore has an abundance of descent chartered cognitive aggregates represented in its native taxonomy. The representatives of these various cognitive categories are often, at least with older individuals, so very different in their behaviors and cultural orientations that it is essential to assign people quickly to categories in order for interaction to proceed smoothly. One must first know if a person is, for instance, Japanese, or Native Hawaiian, before being able to interpret and predict their behavior in relation to implied underlying cultural patterns.

Before listing all such groups in Hawaii relevant to this study, further clarification is necessary. Such a list is not only a list of social groups but also of cognitive categories and the cognitive aggregates they describe. As stated, the relationship between these is not necessarily a direct one. The label of the cognitive category (e.g., Portuguese, Chinese) is the generally accepted name associated with the collection of traits thought to describe members of an aggregate. The social group with the same name is made up of actual individuals presumably drawn from the cognitive aggregate but
identified by their repeated structured interactions. Their inclusion in a particular cognitive aggregate is dependent on the array of behavioral traits they evidence. Each individual in the social group conforms to the full collection of traits in the cognitive category to a greater or lesser extent. There is an assumption that the individuals in the social groups are described by the characteristics of the associated cognitive category. There is also an assumption (though it will be shown that this is not necessarily a valid assumption) that the individuals in the social groups are united by descent ties as well as by behavioral similarities.

Categories of this type, and the descent-chartered cognitive/social aggregates they describe, cannot be arrayed in an unambiguous taxonomic structure, nor are they amenable to a classic componential analysis. There is no single list of necessary and sufficient traits which describe their members and the absence of which absolutely excludes all nonmembers. There is no single concrete type in each category, but rather a focal image. It is like the category described by the label "horse." All horses are thought to have a number of common attributes. A horse has a relatively long neck and legs; it has a tail, and is quite a large animal. If a horse should be born with very short legs, it would still be considered a horse. It would be a strange horse, but clearly a horse. If it were born with short legs, no tail, and a short neck, people might wonder if it really is a horse at all. Horses are known to be incapable of performing mathematics. But a number of horses have in fact been on stage because they could "do mathematics." No one questioned their
horseness, because in all other respects they seemed to be horses, and this fact was the source of their public acclaim. If they had also had short legs, no tail, and a very short neck, many people would have doubted that they were horses at all.

Just so with the cognitive aggregates being discussed. There are some traits which are associated with an aggregate's members and some which are not. If a given person fits enough of the presuppositions described by a category, he will be assigned to the associated aggregate. People who vary slightly from the norm or are different in a predictable manner may still be assigned to the aggregate. If they vary too much in too many traits, they will not be in this particular aggregate but in some other aggregate. These are cognitive categories of high interactive salience because one of the characteristics which is assumed to be present is descent. (They are therefore assumed to describe immutable characteristics and thus be of utility in interpreting behavior.) But as with all other criteria, exceptions for the characteristic of descent can be made in evaluating an individual.

A person in Hawaii may be descended from earlier Portuguese individuals but behave in such an uncharacteristic way that he is excluded from that aggregate in daily interaction, and thus from potential membership in the social group. Another person's claim to a Portuguese ancestry may be extremely tenuous, but if he behaves consistently and convincingly as Portuguese, he may be assigned to the cognitive aggregate and accepted into the social group. It is thus through behavioral references to the nonbehavioral traits associated
with the cognitive category, such as descent, and through attention to the behavioral presentation and explain actions of behavior that individuals attempt to ascribe themselves, and/or are ascribed by others to a specific cognitive aggregate and by implication to its associated social group.

Due to the rapid social changes in Hawaii, however, there is not just a single focal image or list of criteria associated with each category. As individuals who claim ascription to the category change through time, the criteria associated with the category may also change so as to more accurately describe the aggregate's members and thus to remain of utility during interaction. Therefore, the behaviors (criteria) which would have identified a person as part of a cognitive aggregate in 1910 do not necessarily so identify a person of the same age today.

Speaking Portuguese is an example of one such change. In 1910, 28.9 percent of the Portuguese in Hawaii could not speak English (Adams et al. 1925). The ability to speak Portuguese, or at least to understand when spoken to in Portuguese, must then have been an important criterion associated with the category Portuguese. Today in Honolulu the ability to speak Portuguese is essentially nonexistent in people under the age of 50. Not a single respondent mentioned the ability to speak Portuguese as a characteristic of those who are Hawaiian Portuguese. The age of an individual therefore must be taken into account when evaluating his behavior in order to make an ascription to a likely cognitive category. For a person under 30, today the ability to speak Portuguese is not a necessary
characteristic for ascription to the aggregate Hawaiian Portuguese because it is assumed that those under 30 will not have this ability. The ability to speak Portuguese has not, however, become a trivial criterion. If discovered in a person under 30 it must be explained in the Hawaiian social context (e.g., "I was raised by my grandmother who spoke Portuguese and she made me speak it with her sister"). If it is not explainable within a Hawaiian context, it will suggest that the person under 30 grew up on the mainland or somewhere else outside Hawaii, and thus almost automatically disqualifies him as a Hawaiian Portuguese.

2.6 Relevant Hawaiian Cognitive Categories

The Hawaiian cognitive categories which will be most relevant to our discussion are Portuguese, Portagee, Haole, American, "other Caucasian," and Local. Native Hawaiian, Japanese, and Chinese will also be discussed. The Native Hawaiians today are cultural descendants of the original Polynesian inhabitants of Hawaii. Their numbers decreased precipitously after first European contact in 1778, from an estimated 250,000 or 300,000 in 1776 (Schmitt 1977) to 71,000 in 1853 and 24,000 in 1920 (Adams et al. 1925). Their outmarriage rate was high and the percentage of individuals with part-Hawaiian ancestry is also comparatively high in today's population. It was about 15 percent of the total population in 1960 (Schmitt 1977). The early American immigrants mingled freely with the ali'i, the Hawaiian aristocracy, who had total control of the islands. These Americans married into Hawaiian families, as did later immigrants like the
Chinese and Portuguese. Though numerically small today, the Native Hawaiians' cultural legacy is strong indeed. Those people called Chinese and Japanese today are usually either the original immigrants who came to Hawaii from these locations for plantation work, or their cultural descendants still living in Hawaii.

Most cognitive aggregates had a name which they were called on the plantation that was different from what they are generally called today. These names were not pejorative but simply the Hawaiian pidgin English word for the members of the aggregate. A Native Hawaiian was called a kanaka [kah NAH kah], which translates roughly in the original Hawaiian Polynesian as "person" (I-1-2-X340). The Chinese were called Pake [pah KAY], which may be a corruption of a Chinese term for paternal uncle (Adams 1937). The Japanese were called Japanee and the Portuguese, Portugee. The American missionaries, their descendants, and the Caucasian managers of the plantations were called haoles [HOWL ie]. This term was derived from the Native Hawaiian word for stranger, visitor or outsider ([I-1-2-X796], Adams 1937). The literature on Hawaiian race or ethnicity often translates haole as simply the local Hawaiian word for Caucasian (Vinacke 1949; Kinloch 1973, 1972). In fact, the situation is much more complex.

The word Haole had been applied to the first outsiders to consistently visit the islands. We may assume that the term haole was applied to Capt. Cook simply because he was a visitor and a stranger. As contact with these European strangers increased, they became "the" Haoles, since there was no specific native term for Europeans. Caucasians were certainly the most numerous strangers in Hawaii until
1852, the year when the first 293 Chinese laborers arrived. (Schmitt 1977:25, 97). The Chinese were strangers, too, but they were not called Haoles. At that point Haole no longer meant stranger but became the name for a racially and culturally distinct social group and cognitive aggregate. Haoles looked and acted wholly different from both the Native Hawaiians and the Chinese.

Haole came during the plantation era (1850-1940) to name a racial/cultural/class distinction. The descendants and allies of the original Haole immigrants gained control of the economy and government of Hawaii. Though many were born in Hawaii, they also continued to maintain close ties with the American mainland. Thus, the criteria for inclusion in the category became: Caucasian, upper class, and generally competent at behavior associated with the American mainland.

Since World War II, further changes have taken place in the criteria associated with this label. Because so many Caucasians from the American mainland have immigrated to Hawaii, the class characteristic of the category Haole has decreased in importance and relatively more emphasis is now put on the ability of an individual to produce a behavioral repertoire appropriate to mainland America. (This latter criterion is also stated in the inverse as an inability to produce a behavioral repertoire appropriate to Local Hawaiian social situations.) Haole, by extension, has come also to refer to any institutions and items associated with the American mainland. It has thus become once again a marker of cultural/racial/origin distinctions. The stronger emphasis is on the cultural. The Portuguese, for instance, are Caucasian but are not considered to be
Haole. The transition of Haole away from a category whose sole criterion was Caucasian was of supreme importance to the Portuguese immigrants and is the basis today for Hawaiian Portuguese often being classed as non-whites.

The term Haole has never existed on an official level. The categories "American," "White," "Anglo-Saxon," and "other Caucasian" were used instead. The first three were used widely and apparently interchangeably in official plantation and Hawaii Sugar Planters Association documents. It would seem after scrutiny that they correspond closely to the popular label "Haole," since, as in everyday practice, a few exceptional individuals like Scots, Germans, and Norwegians (none of whom were Anglo-Saxon and only a few of whom were Americans) are often put in this category, while the Portuguese and Spanish are excluded. More support is given to this contention by the statements of a plantation manager: "In plantation records American was meant to mean Haole." "They [Germans, Norwegians] weren't a distinct group. Either they had become Americans—or they had left" (I-1-615).

First the Royal census, then the territorial and finally the U.S. census listed Haoles as "other Caucasians" by first listing Portuguese, Spanish, and Puerto Ricans separately. This practice was stopped by the U.S. census and to some extent by the Territory after 1939 under pressure from the Portuguese. It is still the practice, though, in some state institutions to list Portuguese separately from "other Caucasians" where the distinction is thought to be an important one.
The category Local is of comparatively recent origin. It has grown in strength from the 1950's until today. Like Haole, its original use was as an adjective. It has become the name of a cognitive aggregate whose members have both definite and widely understood characteristics. At the most general level it exists in opposition to the category Haole and connotes Hawaiian and permanent versus mainland and transient. Its importance has grown as the influences of the mainland United States have increased. Prior to the 1940's, Haole existed in direct opposition to other labels such as Pake and Portagee. With the increased mainland influence, Haole is now on two of the levels of contrast. It contrasts with Local, but it still exists at the lower level in opposition to the original cognitive/social categories (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1

Levels of Contrast of the Terms "Haole" and "Local"

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Chinese (Pake)  Portuguese (Portagee)  Japanese (Japanee)  "Other Caucasian" (Haole)

In many instances the word "local" is used where one might also expect to hear the term "Hawaiian." Thus, "Oh, you got local
lettuce," is said about a type of lettuce developed at the University of Hawaii and grown principally in Hawaii. "That's local" is said about keeping the head immobile while raising the eyebrows in greeting, a gesture found in Hawaii but not generally seen on the American mainland. "He was some kind local guy" is said about a native of Hawaii (I-2-1-674X). This particular term has grown in usage perhaps because, though it means "things of Hawaii," the term "Hawaiian" already has a different meaning. In popular speech Hawaiian means those things and individuals descended from the original Native Hawaiians. Thus, when a person of Japanese or Filipino or Haole or Portuguese ancestry is asked by a tourist, "Are you Hawaiian?" the answer might be, "No," because, though the tourist may have meant, "Are you from this place?" the word "Hawaiian" means Native Hawaiian in most Hawaiian contexts. It is often stated that a Local can be "any person who was born and raised here." A Local person is always a member of some subgroup, like Chinese or Portuguese, and Local culture has become an amalgam of many things from many places. It has a very strong admixture of Native Hawaiian elements, but it has also been added to by all the groups found in Hawaii during the plantation era.

The use of the word "local" to mean "someone from here" is certainly not unique to Hawaii. The term is used throughout the mainland United States. Local Mainer and local New Yorker are both categories with definite attributes. Local in Hawaii, though, is a category with more cultural and behavioral implications and represents a more distinct aggregate than it does in most other places in the
United States. Two reasons can be suggested for this. First, geographic isolation has meant that resources which are specifically those of Hawaii can be readily distinguished from those which are not. These resources are both finite and limited in scope. It is thus clear when Locals are losing control of them. As mentioned in chapter 1, social groups always have a resource to protect. When they have a membership drawn from a descent-based cognitive aggregate, there is some insurance that the resource will be protected. In a situation where there is great competition for resources the cognitive aggregates will be more specifically described and deliniated by the cognitive categories. In Hawaii there are specific scarce assets to protect and thus a need for greater cognitive coherence in the category Local.

Second, and most importantly, in most places on the U.S. mainland local stands in opposition to the loose category "everybody else." This general category, "everybody else," can have subcategories like "newcomers" and "tourists," but in all locations on the American mainland some members in the category "everybody else" share many of the traits associated with the locals. New Hampshire residents are privy to many of the localisms of Maine, New Jersey residents are in many respects similar to those of New York. Hawaii is geographically isolated and has developed along unique historical lines. Thus evolution has taken place toward a very singular culture. Therefore, in Hawaii the category in opposition to Local is both more distinct and has much more coherence in its contrast to Local. Haoles represent all that is mainland and stand in clear contrast to Locals.
because of different lines of cultural development and lack of contact. Some elements of the contrast as well as the sense of competition are summarized in a quote from a local woman who was talking about a common reaction to Haoles: "Dumb Haole. You come here and rob the land and then you complain and bitch and grumble" (I-2-52).

It will be seen that the cognitive category Local now describes a cognitive aggregate of the type of often referred in the literature as "ethnic"—that is, a cognitive aggregate with very wide-ranging behavioral implications and a descent charter. It stands in opposition to the cognitive category Haole, which is of the same type. The descent charters state that Haole aggregate members can trace their descent to the American mainland and that Local aggregate members can trace their origins to Hawaii, specifically to plantation Hawaii.

Analysis from this theoretical perspective allows us to see the distinction between "local" as it is used in Hawaii and in some other parts of the United States. It also allows us to distinguish in Hawaii between individuals who are Local (e.g., members of the behavioral aggregate) and those who are nearly local (e.g., born in, or very long-term residents of, Hawaii). The cognitive category and the aggregate it describes have a descent charter but not a descent basis. The actual basis for an individual's inclusion or exclusion is largely behavioral. Thus simply being born in Hawaii, or even tracing one's descent back to the early plantation era, does not automatically qualify one for inclusion in the aggregate Local. Descent alone will only make an individual a local. For the same reason, it will be seen,
an individual can be classed as Local even though his actual descent would seem to disqualify him from the aggregate.

Because the category Local is comparatively new, it is usually younger people who consider themselves forthrightly Local. A 40-year-old Native Hawaiian said, "Before we thought of people as more different—Japanese, Filipino, whatever. But now you ask anyone and they say, 'Oh, I'm Local.' More [of] the young people are thinking like that" (I-2-X592). But a young person who considers his own primary identification to be Local will accord Local status to an older retired plantation worker who may think of himself as being primarily Filipino.

A necessary distinguishing behavioral characteristic of a Local is the ability to speak fluent Hawaiian pidgin English. "A guy can be classified from afar and then distinguished after he opens up his mouth as a Local or non-Local" (I-1-3-155). (See section 4.2 for fuller discussion of Hawaiian Pidgin.) Local is also associated with a world view which is hard to define. As one Local man who has worked construction jobs in Hawaii and on the mainland put it, Locals are "guys who are more interested in life than in just grinding out eight hours of cement" (I-15-1-X154). This is the "underlying value orientation" referred to by Barth (1969).

2.7 Hawaiian-Portuguese History as Four Isolated Phases

The social group Portuguese in Hawaii today is made up of those individuals who are the cultural descendants of the original imported Portuguese laborers, or in a few cases the laborers themselves. In
this analysis we will assume the existence of four
demographic/historical periods for the Portuguese.

The history of the Portuguese in Hawaii is a complex one. It
stretches over 150 years and encompasses a number of disparate
locations as well as different time periods with markedly different
social settings. For clarity the description and analysis of this
history will be presented in four phases. These are:

1. The time before 1878, the year when Portuguese contract
   labor importation started
2. The plantations
3. Early Honolulu
4. Honolulu of the 1920's and 1930's

The isolation of these phases is to some extent an analytic
device. The phases do not represent a purely historic development for
the Portuguese as a whole nor are they the stages in each Portuguese
individual's life in Hawaii. These specific phases were chosen
because this is not only an ethnography of a social group but also an
ethnography of a cognitive category. These phases represent the areas
in which the changes in the cognitive category, as well as its
relationship to the social group, can be most clearly seen.

The first phase is strictly historic. It simply marks the time
before the organized importation of Portuguese contract laborers. The
second phase marks the time spent on the plantations. Very nearly all
the Portuguese who came to Hawaii were imported to work on the sugar
plantations. Their initial contracts stated that they had to serve a
minimum number of years (often three) on the plantation before seeking
other employment. This phase, as it is described, represents a time period from 1878 till the early 1940's. Throughout this entire time period there were at least a few Portuguese employed on the sugar plantations. There are still some thus employed today, but because the social and cognitive setting of the plantation underwent marked changes during and after World War II the phase, as described, stops in the 1940's.

The third phase, early Honolulu, as well as the fourth, Honolulu of the 1920's and 1930's, can thus be seen to be coincidental with the second. A Portuguese laborer who arrived in Hawaii in 1878 and left the plantation for Honolulu in 1881 would have found earlier Portuguese settlers already established in the city while additional new laborers continued to arrive on the plantations until 1914. The fourth phase, Honolulu of the 1920's and 1930's, is clearly demarcated in both time and location. It has been isolated for analysis because it was a time of significant demographic changes within many groups and aggregates in Hawaii. It has also been isolated because World War II in the 1940's brought new directions of change to the Hawaiian social and cognitive setting which have continued until today. The final part of the description, the period since World War II and a description of the present, will be made only after the earlier historical groundwork has been laid.

A more expanded introduction to these phases is in order before the detailed description of the Portuguese history in Hawaii is begun. The first phase is the one before the labor influx starts. In 1878 the Royal census enumerated 486 Portuguese-speaking people in Hawaii.
These 486 were for the most part foreign nationals and many of them seem to have been included in both the category and the group Haole. During the early part of the second phase, from 1878 to approximately 1910, most of the Portuguese were living on plantations or in other rural areas. During this period the Portuguese were a cohesive group. The principal leaders of the group were foreign born and thus the preferred personal behaviors and roles expected of people were structured in accord with Old World models. Many Old World Portuguese institutions were simply maintained with some modifications to fit the Hawaiian context. These European practices ranged from the personal family bread oven and courting rituals to the more public religious institutions and holidays.

Being identified as Portuguese had advantages. One of these was that, because there must have been strong internal group congruence between expected and actual behavior, the group could provide a meaningful framework in an unfamiliar setting. Group membership also provided access to resources. Personal information networks made opportunities (from the location of a ripe mountain apple tree to a job opening) available. There were also group institutions, such as the benevolent societies, which provided direct cash benefits to Portuguese individuals.

The disadvantages of being Portuguese grew out of the cognitive/social position of the original group. They had been entered in the plantation records as a laboring group, and the Portuguese were also enumerated separately from "other Caucasians" in the Royal census.
Thus, one of the earliest criteria for the category Portuguese was laborer. This criterion has not changed greatly today. Being Portuguese was a disadvantage simply because being part of a laboring group was a disadvantage. Robert Schmitt puts it this way:

You could very properly speak of the plantation as a fairly rigid two-class system, or even a two-caste system, indicating, of course, that the barriers between these groupings were practically insurmountable. There was a very definite ceiling beyond which the worker from the various immigrant groups could not move. He might move as high as a _luna_ [lower supervisory] job... but that was all. (1967:27)

The third phase for the Portuguese, which started almost as soon as the laborers arrived in Hawaii, continued up to the 1920's. This was marked by a move out of the rural areas and into homogeneous neighborhoods in the cities. This move was principally to Honolulu on the island of Oahu, and to a lesser extent to Hilo on the island of Hawaii. Most of the original Portuguese institutions were maintained, but they were augmented and changed by the second and third generations. People's expected behavior also started to change in order to better match the urban Hawaiian social situation. The original advantages and disadvantages continued. The fourth phase, Honolulu of the 1920's and 30's, saw only a few internal changes in the Portuguese group and category. Their place within the total Hawaiian cognitive and social system changed, however, because of changes in other categories and groups. Demographic changes for the Haole aggregate were particularly significant for the Portuguese.

The final phase for our analysis started with World War II and continues to the present. It has seen the break-up of the homogeneous
neighborhoods, the abandonment of most of the early Portuguese and Hawaiian Portuguese institutions. Individuals of Portuguese descent have now spread throughout Hawaii geographically and socioeconomically. Though these descendents are an increasingly heterogeneous grouping, the cognitive category seems to have remained essentially unchanged. This would seem to be in spite of an increasing lack of congruence between the criteria of the cognitive category and the actual characteristics of the group "all those with Portuguese ancestry."

2.8 The Portuguese Characterized as "Trying to Be Haole"

There is a very strong belief on both the popular and social scientific levels that the Portuguese are trying and have always tried to become Haoles. This seems to be based on the reasoning that since the Haoles controlled the resources it was an advantage to be Haole and since the Portuguese already fulfilled one of the major criteria of Haole (being Caucasian) it was possible for them to become Haole. This belief on the popular level is aptly demonstrated by the following exchange.

Investigator: What is a Haole?
Non-Portuguese Local: Someone who is white.
Inv: Anyone who is white?
NPL: Yes.
Inv: How about Manuel Sousa [Portuguese name], an old man who lives in Waianae?
NPL: Naw—he's a Portagee!
Inv: But he's white.
NPL: That's what they try and tell us. (Interview)

On the social scientific level this belief is often stated no less clearly, but of course in a more erudite manner. Lawrence Fuchs in *Hawaii Pono* characterized each group in Hawaii as striving for
something. For the Portuguese this was being classed as Haoles. He
writes that "the problem of the Portuguese is non-acceptance as
'Haoles'" (Fuchs 1961). Estepe, a sociologist who worked with the
Portuguese in the 1930's, holds the same opinion: "Anything and
everything was justified in order to obliterate the Haole stereotype
of a Portagee" (Estepe 1941). Kimura (1955) writes in the same vein:

Their effort has always been a positive one of getting assimilated into the Haole community. Their consistent
and unceasing effort has been to prove that the separate
classification of Portuguese from all other Caucasians was
wrong and to eliminate the mark of difference from the
Haoles.

The question which arises is obvious. How can this general
belief in an unceasing effort to be Haoles be true? If the Portuguese
have all been striving unceasingly to become Haoles, and if the
characteristics for the aggregate Portuguese are increasingly out of
congruence with the actual totality of individuals who are of
Portuguese descent, why have the characteristics not changed? In our
theoretical framework we must assume an interactive utility for the
cognitive category. What utility is there either to the people who
currently call themselves Portuguese or to the Hawaiian
cognitive/social community at large in maintaining the category in
essentially its original form (and clearly in a form which is
absolutely distinct from Haole) when this category does not fit a
large number of those who are Portuguese by descent? If the
Portuguese are all trying to be Haoles, it would seem that by now the
categories Portuguese and Haole could have merged. One possible
explanation of why they have not will be discussed in later portions of this dissertation.
CHAPTER III
THE HAWAIIAN PORTUGUESE BEFORE LABOR IMPORTATION

The following survey of the history of the Portuguese in Hawaii will concentrate on explaining the historic relationships between the social group Portuguese, the cognitive category Portuguese, and the aggregate Portuguese. Four primary points will be covered for each of the four historical periods. (1) The social group will be investigated. In this investigation groupness is defined as the number of structured (not transitory) role relationships and information pathways that exist between individuals. (2) The characteristics associated with the cognitive category Portuguese will be described. These are the characteristics which people generally believe to describe the individuals in the associated aggregate. (3) The demographic and socio-economic characteristics actually found in those individuals ascribed to the aggregate Portuguese will be outlined. (4) The advantages and disadvantages an individual might have found in being ascribed to the category or participating in the social group Portuguese will also be described and explained. For each period the place of the category and the social group Portuguese within the total cognitive/social structure of Hawaii will also be described. Special reference will be made to the relationship between the categories Portuguese, laborer or Local, and Haole.
The first historical phase for the Portuguese in Hawaii took place before the start of their organized importation as plantation laborers in 1876. From the early 1800's to 1876, a few hundred individuals of Portuguese background settled in Hawaii. These were most often seamen who found themselves in Hawaii because the ships on which they worked had put into port there. Their numbers were small and they do not seem to have formed a separate and structured social group or to have been recognized cognitively as an aggregate distinct from and in direct opposition to that of the other Caucasians.

The first official Hawaiian census in 1853 showed fewer than 80 Portuguese living in the Kingdom. This was far less than the number of "other Caucasians," 1,262, but both were dwarfed by the Native Hawaiian population of 71,000 (Adams et al. 1925). In 1878, just before labor importation began, the number of Portuguese had grown to 486. Of these, 403 were men and 83 were women. In the years between 1820 and 1878 the internal economy of Hawaii continued to be based on agriculture but ship chandlery and the servicing of whaling boats had risen, and then diminished, as the focus of Hawaii's contact with the outside world. Though their relative numbers were small, the Haoles were gaining almost total de facto control of the Hawaiian Kingdom. The missionaries and a few agriculturalists still lived scattered throughout the islands, but there was an increasing Haole concentration in the whaling ports, such as Lahaina on the island of Maui and Honolulu on Oahu.
3.1 The Portuguese Demographic Profile

The Portuguese population in 1878 was made up largely of single seamen who, when their ships reached Hawaii, had decided to stay. It can be judged, based on early census data, that most of these seamen were from the Madeira, Azores, and Cape Verde Islands. These islands are still known today for their accomplished sailors. They are also reminiscent of Hawaii, being semitropical, volcanic, and a long distance from the nearest land. It is remarked often by Portuguese tosay that many early Portuguese seamen stayed simply because Hawaii looked like home. The Hawaiians were congenial and it was a place of opportunities, since the economy was growing rapidly.12

There were two ways for a seaman to leave service on a ship. He could terminate his contract legally by either foregoing back pay, buying the rest of his contract, or arranging for a replacement (Jardin 1971). His second alternative, if the captain refused to consider these, was simply to jump ship. Because of various reciprocal treaties the Kingdom of Hawaii had made with other countries, this latter course was a crime punishable by imprisonment. Some of the consequences of jumping ship are described by an old Portuguese man in a story about his father.

My father came here on an English whale boat. He and five other Portagee. Iolani Palace was only a shack, you know, when he landed here. The first time when they came they went right through, they never stop. The second time when they came they ran outta water, run outta food. Then they came right inside harbor [at Honolulu]. Then before the boat pulled out my father and five other Portuguese, they run away. They run up Kalihi Uka [the back of Kalihi valley, near Honolulu] to hide from the police. He was up there five, six years. He married Hawaiian wife. Had [a] few kids. Then she die.

There are a number of events in this story which were true generally for this early Portuguese population. Seamen who broke their contracts had to hide or go to prison because their contracts were penal labor contracts. Many of them came as single men and married Native Hawaiians (Adams 1937). Few Portuguese women were available for marriage. The Hawaiians were dark skinned but the Portuguese apparently brought no prejudice based on skin color with them to Hawaii. This lack of prejudice based on color can be seen in many of the former Portuguese colonies. Marriage to Native Hawaiians had also been practiced by the other earlier Caucasian immigrants. The Haoles had in part achieved their domination of the Hawaiian political and economic system (a system based largely on kinship) through marrying into royal Hawaiian families. Because of this intermarriage, many of the early Portuguese became property owners sharing the land held by their wives' families. There were also many Portuguese shopkeepers; Jacintho Pereira, for example, owned a large dry goods store in the center of Honolulu.

There is little evidence that these early Portuguese had any formally structured social organization distinct from that of the "other Caucasians." The earliest major organization formed exclusively by and for Portuguese was the St. Antonio Society. This was a benevolent society organized by the same Jacintho Pereira on
January 1, 1877. There were 28 charter members. Members paid dues which were held and then were redistributed in times of a member’s need (St. Antonio Society 1926). This society may have been formed in part because attempts were already underway by the Hawaiian Kingdom to start the importation of Portuguese laborers. After importation started Pereira became the first Portuguese consul general in the Kingdom.

3.2 The Portuguese as a Kind of Haole

The personal characteristics associated with the individuals ascribed to the category Portuguese during this first period are difficult to establish because no one alive today remembers those times. It seems unlikely that the Native Hawaiians treated Portuguese as a category of people very distinct from the other Haoles. The population ratio of Native Hawaiians to Haoles was 70:1. To the average Native Hawaiian it must have seemed that one Haole was very much like another. Haole was the term commonly used by Native Hawaiians for all foreigners "no matter what the differences among the various foreigners might be" (Hormann 1982).

The following quotation suggests some of the general characteristics that the rest of the Caucasian community associated with the Portuguese. The Hawaiian Gazette remarked, "There are now about 400 Portuguese here, and they are among the most industrious of our people, being generally small farmers or dairymen, or serving on plantations and ranches" (Hawaiian Gazette 1879).
It would seem from the above quote that little distinction was being drawn between the members of the aggregate Portuguese and "other Caucasians." The Portuguese are mentioned as being industrious but not categorically as "laborers." There were, however, a few characteristics which could have been used to mark the Portuguese individuals as distinct from the rest of the Caucasians. These were skin color, religion, and education. It is generally accepted by historians that a large number of these early Portuguese immigrants were from the Cape Verde Islands. Because of its history the population of the Cape Verde Islands has a large proportion of Negroes. Thus, some people from these islands are very black. Just how many of these early Portuguese came from Cape Verde is not clear. The first Hawaiian census in 1853 has a footnote stating that there were 20 "negros" in Honolulu. Some of these were no doubt seamen from Cape Verde. Romanzo Adams (1937) estimates that by 1879, 50 percent of the Portuguese immigrants were from Cape Verde.

The idea of cognate races was still in vogue in the late 1800's. This theory held that people were arranged along a racial continuum. Those closer together--Caucasians and Hawaiians, or Hawaiians and Blacks--could produce viable offspring, but those further apart--Caucasians and Blacks--could not. This and other beliefs formed the scientific basis for racial discrimination by Europeans of that period. Though the Portuguese had no prejudice toward Blacks, some of the other Caucasians must have. We must assume that some of this antagonism was directed at the Portuguese immigrants from Cape Verde. In fact, the Portuguese from Cape Verde were sometimes called "black
Portuguese" by the Haoles while the others were known as "white Portuguese" (Adams 1937).

There was strong antagonism toward Catholicism in Hawaii which must have affected the Portuguese during that period. The first Catholic priests arrived in Hawaii in 1827, seven years after the first Protestant missionaries. They were expelled in 1831. The same priests returned again in 1837 and were immediately expelled once again. At the time of the second expulsion a proclamation was issued by King Kamehameha III, titled "An Ordinance Rejecting the Catholic Religion," which categorically outlawed Catholicism. In 1839 the French government threatened war if the practice of Catholicism were not allowed, and the Hawaiian Kingdom acquiesced. But not until 1859 (39 years after the Protestants' arrival) did the first ship carrying Catholic missionaries arrive in Hawaii (Bunson 1977).

Even as nominal Catholics the Portuguese could not have escaped some of this antagonism toward the religion. The Protestant missionaries and their families were the unofficial leaders of the Caucasian community and the missionaries preoccupation with formal education is well-known. It is unlikely that most of the Portuguese seamen had received much formal education, and this probably set them apart from the missionary community.

Though these sources of distinction existed, there is no indication of a wide social gulf between the Portuguese and the "other Caucasians." Even by 1872 the total Caucasian group was still relatively small—approximately 5,000, including the Portuguese (Schmitt 1968)—and most contacts within the group must have been on a
personal level. The Haole group was also too worried at that time about the growing number of Chinese to feel any threat from the Portuguese. In fact, when Portuguese contact labor immigration began, they were viewed as a way of counterbalancing the Oriental population (Reinecke 1967).

The Portuguese had progressed economically from seamen to landowners and merchants. At least a few cases give evidence that individuals among them were welcomed into the Haole community. J. A. Gonsalves was a charter member of the Haole-dominated Central Union Church (The Friend 1940). Joao de Castro was personal physician to the Native Hawaiian King Kamehameha I. Many Portuguese were landowners and successful merchants. The son of Jacintho Pereira went to the exclusive Haole school Punahou, and later served as Chief Justice of the Hawaii State Supreme Court. The admittedly scanty evidence suggests then that while individual Portuguese may have been set apart from the Haoles because they were Black, or fervent Catholics, or coarse and unlettered, no one was set apart simply because they were Portuguese. Certain individuals were excluded but the aggregate Portuguese had not yet been differentiated from Haole. Portuguese was a type of Haole and did not stand in cognitive opposition to it.

In fact, if it had not been for the massive labor importation, these original Portuguese might well have merged completely with the other kinds of Caucasians and been lost as a distinct group. But the son of the first Portuguese consul, Jacintho Pereira, served on the Supreme Court under a new name, Antonio Perry, and after labor
immigration started Jacintho's own name metamorphosed to Jason Perry.
Societal machinations took a very new course for the Portuguese after 1878.
The second phase for the Portuguese took place on the sugar plantations. Though some of the later Portuguese immigrants paid their own passage and thus avoided plantation labor, most spent at least three years under contract to the Hawaiian sugar companies. The plantation setting is important in any analysis of today's Portuguese because a number of its features (an almost caste-like hierarchy, paternalism, long-term reciprocal bonds, and the identity and relationship of the cognitive/social groups) were to remain important elements of the total Hawaiian social system until after World War II.

4.1 The Plantation Setting

In 1878, when the first Portuguese arrived under labor contract, Hawaii itself was entering a new era. The signing of the Reciprocity Treaty between the Hawaiian Kingdom and the United States in 1877 assured Hawaiian sugar of favorable markets on the American mainland. This promised a rapid recovery for the then-faltering sugar industry, and in fact the industry soon started an expansion which was not to cease until the 1960's. As the Haoles exerted increasing economic and political control over the Hawaiian Kingdom, the concerns of the sugar planters and those of the government became increasingly indistinguishable.
The sugar industry always had but one primary concern—profit. The "industry" was a collection of many plantations and a number of commercial sugar factors (who supplied materials to the plantations and marketed the sugar). They were tied tightly together by networks of kinship and friendship. The Hawaiian sugar industry believed that profitability demanded two things: a guaranteed and protected market, and a constant supply of cheap labor. Simple arithmetic seemed to show that inexpensive labor meant larger profits. A protected market was necessary because Hawaiian sugar was never able to compete successfully in the open world market against other sugar-producing colonies (Coman 1903). The sugar industry had to reach a continually shifting compromise between these two preoccupations. As will be explained later, one consequence of this compromise was the importation of the Portuguese.

The planters' need for fresh labor was insatiable for a number of reasons. First, the industry continued to grow steadily after 1877. Early forms of plantation mechanization like irrigation flumes, steam plows, and railways added to the amount of land which could be cultivated and thus increased rather than diminished the need for labor (Coman 1903:6). Second, as an inducement to stay on the plantation the wages of more experienced laborers had to be raised periodically. It was therefore cost effective to import new labor at lower wages for the many absolutely unskilled jobs present on the plantations.

Perhaps the biggest reason for the constant desire for fresh imported laborers was the large number of workers who left the
plantations after their initial contract had expired. This movement by workers off the plantation did much to shape the present Hawaiian cognitive/social system. Though the intention of the sugar planters was to increase profits by importing inexpensive plantation laborers, the end result of their efforts was the populating of Hawaii.

Finding the perfect workers was a goal pursued by the planters for many years—always without success. We may surmise that the perfect worker in their view was inexpensive to import to Hawaii, came as a young man, worked for a subsistence wage on the plantations his entire productive life, remained single, and finally paid his own passage back home.

Though they were paternalistically benevolent, the planters still tended to treat all laborers as chattel. This is suggested by the following excerpt from a plantation letter (an order placed by a plantation with its factor in Honolulu):

Hoisting machinery—we do not think it will take less than $1,400 for this.

Portuguese laborers—there are no other particulars that we think of except that they may ship them for as short a time as three months, provided that they do not cost us more than $40.00 landed, each. We want them for general use on the plantation, i.e., hoeing, stripping, running small plows and cultivators and driving teams. They may also be required to do mill work. . . .

No. 1 sugar—we will be able to make a good deal larger. . . .

(letter from plantation to sugar factor)

The legal rights of plantation workers were better protected in Hawaii than in most other parts of the world (Coman 1903; Lind 1967b). This was due perhaps to three factors which distinguished Hawaii from
other plantation colonies of the time. These were: the Haoles' missionary roots, their conscious efforts to be "true Americans," and the fact of resident ownership of the plantations. Though until 1898 a laborer could be jailed for breaking his contract, he was also assured of being able to leave the plantation when it expired. The Hawaii Supreme Court made this evident in its interpretation of the contract labor law: "This is a personal contract and the laborer is not bound to the land as a serf." "No contract laborer may be compelled to work beyond the term of his contract in liquidation of a debt entered into during such term" (Coman 1903).

The laborers were paid in gold or silver every week, so that capital for a departure from the plantation could be accumulated. They were free to leave the plantations after their contract—and huge numbers of them did leave. The importation of laborers thus served to constantly increase the non-plantation population of Hawaii.

In successive and sometimes simultaneous waves, workers were brought from many areas throughout the world (Table 4.1).

4.2 Some Shared Characteristics of Imported Laborers

In some respects, the individuals from the four largest groups of early plantation laborers (Japanese, Chinese, Portuguese, Native Hawaiian) had similar backgrounds. They came from agricultural, disadvantaged, and often rural backgrounds. They were not the dregs of society but more often were individuals who saw that their options
Table 4.1
Imported Plantation Laborers by Origin, with Numbers and Period of Importation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Years Imported</th>
<th>Approximate Total Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>1885-1924</td>
<td>180,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>1908-1934</td>
<td>120,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1946</td>
<td>7,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>1852-1885</td>
<td>46,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>1878-1884</td>
<td>10,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1906-1913</td>
<td>6,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>1903-1905</td>
<td>8,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>1907-1914</td>
<td>8,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>676</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>1906-1916</td>
<td>2,248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Polynesian</td>
<td>1865-1885</td>
<td>2,244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>1881-1888</td>
<td>1,403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Hindoos&quot;*</td>
<td>1904-1911</td>
<td>629</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwegian</td>
<td>1881</td>
<td>615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galician**</td>
<td>1898</td>
<td>386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>1870's</td>
<td>a few hundred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American farmers</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td>15 families</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*"Hindoos" were immigrants from South Asia.
**From Poland.

at home did not measure up to their ambitions. As one very old Portuguese woman said about her life in Madeira before immigration,

My family had lost everything we'd had and I couldn't go to school. I just felt trapped. I was only 10 years old but I--somehow or other--that was killing me. My mother wanted me to learn how to [do] embroidery but that hardly pays anything and I wasn't meant to do that, anyway. (II-8-1-89)

There were other similarities between members of the larger plantation cognitive/social aggregates, similarities which also included Native Hawaiians. A legacy of these can still be seen in some of the current characteristics of the category Local. The original societies from which they came were often rigidly hierarchical, with little or no chance for individual upward mobility. In some areas there was transgenerational debt. In most cases people had lived in non-cash economies or on the periphery of a cash economy. They thus were very familiar with the exchange of goods and with the implications of long-term reciprocity. There was a strong sense of respect for elders and progenitors. The Chinese invested the lineage, and the Japanese the household, with great importance. The Hawaiians' social standing depended on ancestry. The Portuguese placed a strong emphasis on family history and a "good name." All these groups also had some quite similar mechanisms for artificially extending kinship ties. The Chinese adopted male heirs and the Japanese adopted sons-in-law in order to continue the family line. The Hawaiians had a system of hanai through which children could be adopted during their youth. The godparents for the Portuguese sometimes had as much importance in a child's life as the biological parents. Though these
are different institutions and though China is clearly unlike the Azores in very many respects, there was enough common ground for some mutual understanding to develop between members of the different laborer groups. Enough common characteristics existed to form the basis of a common cognitive aggregate which included all the different laboring groups.

They certainly all found themselves in a common situation after arrival in Hawaii. Until 1898 all laborers were brought under labor contracts. They had similar first jobs under similar bosses on similar plantations. They worked together and, especially after the introduction of the cane railroads in the late 1800's, lived near each other.14 Also, most importantly, they were treated in many respects as a single group, laborers, by the powerful Haoles, who considered themselves to be management. One Portuguese man in his fifties recalls this from his youth on Aiea Plantation:

When there would be big Christmas parties on the plantation--that I remember distinctly. All the Haoles were set apart. All the Haoles were put on one side and all the Locals on another. It was a noticeable difference but it was something we just assumed was the proper order. They're the big shots. They're running this joint. (I-19-4-340)

One important thing newly arrived laborers did not have in common was language. They frequently learned to communicate in each other's languages. Many of the early immigrants, especially the Chinese who were the earliest, learned Hawaiian (Reinecke 1936). This was also true of the Portuguese because of Native Hawaiian kin and because of work relationships: "I used to work with so many Hawaiians I knew Hawaiian better than Portuguese" (I-7-1-321). But the most common
language on the plantations was what has come to be called Hawaiian pidgin English.

Hawaiian pidgin seems to have started as a simple trade lingo used between the whalers and traders and the Native Hawaiians. It was called hapa haole (literally "one-half Haole"). This was a "makeshift form of English strongly influenced by Hawaiian grammatical forms and interspersed with Hawaiian words" (Reinecke 1936:7). This language was carried to the plantations by the very early Native Hawaiian workers. It was learned and modified slightly by each subsequent group because it was used as the language of command by the Haole bosses and had come to be the lingua franca for all laborers (Reinecke 1936).

Extensive personal networks developed among the laborers. Through these flowed information, influence, and perishable foodstuffs. Information, especially about jobs, was very important to a plantation laborer, but there were no institutional means, such as newspapers, of getting it. Information thus passed from person to person and the amount a person knew depended on the number and nature of his contacts. After their contracts had expired, many people continued to work for the plantations. The census of 1896 showed that of 23,500 people employed on the plantations only one-half (11,700) were working under importation penal labor contracts (Coman 1903:64). Job information became very important for the non-contract plantation employees. They moved from job to job and plantation to plantation in order to move up the pay scale: "Then I heard they paying more for engineer's assistants on Waipahu [plantation], so I went work
there. . . . My brother-in-law was working as engineer Ewa [plantation]. He says, 'We got place for you,' so I went back work there" (I-7-521X). All manner of information and influence flowed through these networks:

... as in the case of my sister. Somebody told the man she married that there was a good girl at a certain plantation so he proceeded to get friends to talk to her and when, for the first time, he called on her, obviously to propose to her, she accepted. (Jose 1978)

There was cash available on the plantations, but the older immigrants recall that most workers tried to accumulate this cash against the time they would leave the plantation—not spend it. Thus, when a superabundance of food, such as a ripe breadfruit tree or a large catch of fish, became available, it moved into the network. The members of various groups were living in similar circumstances and close contact, so networks crossed group boundaries. A Portuguese recalls Aiea plantation:

We used to swap—the Japanese would bring my mother eggplant and fresh vegetables and stuff and in return she would give them sweet bread or coffee cake. It was never done in tit-for-tat sort of way—never, never. That would be rude. She would give them later. (I-5-1-K153)

4.3 Reasons for the Portuguese Labor Importation

In many respects the Portuguese importation was much like that for other groups. They were brought to work on the plantations. They entered the labor force at the most unskilled level, they worked out their contracts, and then moved up the plantation labor hierarchy or moved to town. There were a few elements of the Portuguese immigration which were singular. Unlike most laborers who came as
single men expecting to return to their native lands, the Portuguese came as families, most with the intention of never returning to Europe. Unlike the other laborer groups, they were Caucasian, and it was this fact which had caused their importation as laborers in the first place.

The Portuguese immigrants to Hawaii came primarily from either the island of St. Michael (Sao Miguel) in the Azores or from one of the Madeira Islands. As already mentioned, these were not areas of universal opportunity. The social situation was little removed from feudalism. The chances for advancement, or even for the liquidation of transgenerational debt, often were small for the lower classes. An old Portuguese woman says this of her life before immigration:

[In Madeira] you either have it or you don't have it. When you're down below, people won't look at you. Some of them have it hard, it's hard for them to come up. They didn't have a way of raising themselves up. There is no opportunity there unless you have money. Some people have luck and others don't. (11-21-1-713)

There were other problems of more recent origin. In 1852 a plague had wiped out the principal industry of Madeira, viticulture. The vineyards didn't recover for almost 50 years (Jardin 1971). The 1870's were also years of near drought in the Azores (Sanborn 1976). Additionally, a widespread system of conscription had been imposed by the Portuguese government. Many people were loath to fight the battles of the remote mainland Portuguese government which lay thousands of miles away across the ocean.

Various pressures and constraints on the sugar planters caused them to start the importation of Portuguese laborers. (Please see
As the Native Hawaiian population continued to decline, both the Native Hawaiian rulers and the Haoles felt a desperate need for more people in Hawaii. The monarch, King Kamehameha III, was concerned with the dwindling native population and hoped to replenish it with the importation of other Polynesians from distant islands. This plan was tried, with little success. The sugar planters saw a chance for expanding their profits and production after the Reciprocity Treaty of 1877 had assured them of a dependable and profitable market. This demanded more laborers. Until 1878 most of the imported labor had come from China, but anti-Chinese sentiment by the Haoles in the Kingdom was running very high:

[There is] a feeling of hostility springing up in these islands against the Chinese. . . . Shoemakers, bakers and other mechanics, as also saloon keepers, and merchants begin to complain. (Pacific Commercial Advertiser 1876)

The sugar planters, who had been importing these Chinese, looked for other sources of labor. An attempt to import Japanese in 1868 had ended in a fiasco and the Japanese government refused all further attempts until 1885. It was hoped by the Haoles that a European source could be found to augment their own relatively small numbers. The Chinese, since they came as single men from comparatively nearby, were the best investment for the planters and they continued to be imported in ever-increasing numbers despite opposition from the population at large. The sugar industry, however, had attempted to import various Europeans, including Norwegians and Germans, in an attempt to pacify the non-plantation Haoles. The only successful European importation, though, was from the Portuguese islands.
The Portuguese importation started after the urging of Dr. William Hillebrand, a botanist, who had been commissioned by the Hawaiian Board of Immigration in 1865 to survey the Orient for possible labor sources. Under this commission he had helped arrange the importation of 500 Chinese. Dr. Hillebrand was living temporarily in the Madeira Islands, from whence he wrote, "In my opinion your islands could not get a more desirable class of immigrant." He characterized the people of the Madeira and the Azores Islands as "sober, honest, industrious, and peaceable . . . and inured to your climate" (Kuykendall 1967). The experiment was attempted.

Dr. Hillebrand arranged for the first ship, the Priscilla, which arrived in Hawaii on September 30, 1878. Both the planters and the other Haoles were pleased with the Portuguese, and the importation was put on a regular basis. An official shipping agent in London was chosen and after a number of difficulties a "provisional convention" was signed with the government of Portugal in May 1882 formalizing relations between the countries.

The contracts offered the Portuguese were generous, by previous Hawaiian plantation standards. They were for a term of three years and guaranteed the workers 10 dollars per month plus food, lodging, medical care, and a garden plot. The sugar planters were to pay for all of the men's and half of the women's passage, and all that of the children. It was agreed between the planters and the Hawaiian government that the proportion of women was to be 35 percent to 40 percent of the total number of men, and two children would be allowed per couple. Hawaii's agents were thus instructed. To the dismay of

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the Board of Immigration, the Portuguese refused to be held to these percentages. The second boat, the Ravenscrag, arrived with 130 men, 110 women, and 76 children. A later ship, the Monarch, arrived in 1882 with 202 men, 197 women, and 458 children (Felix 1978). The totals for 14 ships calculated in 1887 were: men--30 percent; women--22 percent; children--48 percent (Kuykendall 1967). This was very expensive labor; more expensive than the Hawaiian government had dreamed. It seemed that other problems would soon make it even more expensive. It was written in 1884 that all wages in Madeira "have recently been doubled and there are other signs that the surplus population has been disposed of" (Coman 1903). Despite the high cost, Hawaii had persevered in the Portuguese importation—perhaps in an attempt to offset the importation of Chinese, which had been continued in undiminished numbers.

The year 1885 was a pivotal year in Hawaiian labor importation. After over six years of negotiation, the government of Japan finally agreed to allow the importation of Japanese laborers. Laws restricting the importation of Chinese (laws which the planters had previously strongly opposed) soon began to be passed in Hawaii. Immediately after these two events, the Portuguese immigration abruptly ceased. It can be assumed that the Portuguese workers, who were increasingly expensive to secure, were no longer needed to offset the Chinese. The Japanese, who seemed to pose no threat at the time because of their relatively small numbers in the Kingdom, were cheaper and easier to import.
There was then a hiatus of nineteen years in the Portuguese immigration. It began again in 1907. A coalescence of factors caused the planters and the Board of Immigration to attempt once more the importation of Portuguese. Hawaii had become a territory of the United States in 1898—some say in order to gain more control over her markets—and that had in turn caused other changes. Because of U.S. law, all penal contracts and any labor contracts signed abroad became illegal in Hawaii. U.S. law also disallowed the importation of any Chinese. In the minds of Hawaii's citizens, the "Chinese problem," however, had become the "Japanese problem." In 1900 the population of Japanese was double that of Native Hawaiians, and was much larger than any other group (Table 4.2).

The Haoles were still firmly in control, but clearly outnumbered. The signing of the "gentleman's agreement" between the governments of the United States and Japan in 1907 ended all immigration by Japanese to the U.S. in return for the relaxation of West Coast anti-Japanese legislation. Because of Hawaii's new territorial status Japanese importation to the plantations was reduced dramatically. The planters needed laborers. They set out on the course of importing relatively more expensive Europeans so as to be allowed by the U.S. government to import the relatively more economical (but illegal) Chinese and Japanese. Internal plantation documents support this fact:

So long as we continue to introduce Europeans it is hoped that the Administration at Washington will overlook such efforts as have to be made to supply our wants in addition from the Orient.
### Table 4.2
Population Groupings in 1900

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian</td>
<td>15,642</td>
<td>14,157</td>
<td>29,799</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian-Hawaiian</td>
<td>3,603</td>
<td>3,582</td>
<td>7,185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asiatic-Hawaiian</td>
<td>1,415</td>
<td>1,257</td>
<td>2,672</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>9,785</td>
<td>8,487</td>
<td>18,272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Other Caucasian&quot;</td>
<td>5,699</td>
<td>2,848</td>
<td>8,547</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>22,296</td>
<td>3,471</td>
<td>25,767</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>47,508</td>
<td>13,603</td>
<td>61,111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Other</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>648</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>106,369</td>
<td>47,632</td>
<td>154,001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Adams et al. 1925.
During the period from 1907 to 1913, Portuguese, Spanish, and Russians were "introduced," as well as Japanese and a trickle of Chinese.

Because of the continuing trade-off between markets and inexpensive labor, between the plantation interests and those of the rest of the Haole community, the Portuguese importation had taken place. They were brought because they were thought of as good plantation labor, but more importantly because they were Caucasians. Their Caucasian attribute was used by the planters to pacify first the non-plantation Haoles and then the U.S. government, thus allowing continued less expensive Asian importation. They had been encouraged and then suffered to bring their large families in the expectation that they would settle in Hawaii and join the permanent population. They were Europeans and considered Caucasian, but this fact soon turned out to be a trivial one in the Hawaiian context. Though Caucasians, it became obvious that they were not to be considered Haoles. Caucasian was a category with no cognitive/social significance in Hawaii.

4.4 The Portuguese Immigrants' Life

A number of very good descriptions of an early immigrant's life in Hawaii can be found in the literature. The Portuguese seem generally to have come with enthusiasm and initially to have felt rewarded. A Portuguese woman says of her arrival as a young girl, "My mother was disappointed, in a way, but in a way she was happy because at least she could see a way out" (II-8-1-361). Also:

[The very first day] my father went to work in the cane fields. He came home very tired but happy. He said he
worried about us because we don't know the people and the new place. My father was hoe hanna man in cane field [the lowest job--cleaning brush and weeds] and he said he was going to get good pay. (Sasaki 1935)

Hoe hanna was the level at which every new laborer, no matter what his origin, started. As their familiarity with plantation life and their linguistic skills increased they started to move up the long plantation hierarchy to better pay. It seems true that many of the Portuguese were already specialized non-agricultural tradesmen, such as masons, leatherworkers, teamsters, and carpenters upon their arrival. These men moved into skilled positions on the plantations. This was a boon which came to the plantations with the Portuguese importation, but until a skill was proven, everyone started at the bottom.

For the early immigrants, the chance to accumulate capital, to go to school, apparently to move up the hierarchy must have seemed like a blessed change. It was "a way out." But plantation life was difficult. Their contracts called for a month of 26 days, working days with 10 hours of work each day. There was rural isolation and sometimes there were insensitive, stupid, and brutal field bosses. Between 1888 and 1890 one third of all the arrests in Hawaii were for violation of labor contracts. In a total plantation labor force of 17,000 there were 5,387 convictions for this offense. (Reinecke 1936).

4.5 The Portuguese Social Group

The Portuguese social group formed quickly in Hawaii. To a large extent, the Portuguese immigrants to Hawaii simply imported their Old
World institutions with them. A number of factors allowed them to do this. They came as families; some had known each other before coming to Hawaii; there were people of all ages; they had come to a place which was physiographically much like the one they had left; and they had absolutely no intention of going back. The group arrived with a coherent social order and with enough individuals to fill the various roles necessary to maintain it. Apparently the older people lived out their social lives much as they might have in their original homes.

"The old Portuguese who came here--they dress just like in Portugal" (I-7-2-580).

The family and many of its institutions, like the outside stone bread oven, courting and marriage practices, and absolute obedience to parents, were maintained. The families remained strong and the whole community retained its integration partly because of this respect which had to be shown to elders. A Portuguese woman recalls her marriage in 1900: "Those days, those people, the old people. You couldn't do nothing without your mother's and father's word" (I-10-1-845). A Portuguese woman says this about her parents' period.

The influence of the parents on their kids was really very, very strong. If you grew up in an average family and you were physically old enough to go to work, you went to work, period. (II-3-1-X90)

A man in his eighties has this memory:

Those days you couldn't do nothing. You try to choose anything, they hold you back . . . the parents stop you. When the Navy start up Pearl Harbor I told my mother, 'I want to go in [work at] the Navy.' She say, 'Well, you go over there, you might get more money; but you stay on the plantation. You might get less money but you got sure job.' If I had come to the Navy I would be better off today than what I am now. But I took my mother's words.
She was older, she knew better than what I knew. So that's why I stayed back. (1-14-1-870)

This respect for the older generation—the original immigrants—was clearly a mechanism which encouraged a social conservatism. Original roles were maintained and children were socialized into these traditional roles.

The importance of personal networks for the Portuguese has already been noted. Formal collectives of individuals made up of members of the Portuguese aggregate were also established. In the beginning these organizations were very often religious. On the plantation men would get together frequently after work to play cards and drink (1-5-570). Women, who had to spend long hours caring for large families, had no such easy opportunity. Unmarried girls, who were very closely chaperoned, sometimes had almost no opportunity at all for social contacts outside the family. In the Azores and Madeira religious feast days had been the occasion for large festivals in one village or another. People would travel in crowds to attend these. Relatives and friends who were separated would gather. They exchanged information. It was often the only chance for young people to meet prospective husbands and wives.

These practices were transplanted to Hawaii. From the Azores was brought the Festival of the Holy Ghost, the most important religious holiday of those islands. Holy Ghost chapels, the site of these festivals, were soon established on every island in Hawaii. Each chapel was associated with a large club which maintained it and which also organized the social functions for the festivals. On the island
of Oahu three of these chapels had been started by 1895. Thousands of people would gather for the Holy Ghost festivals. The most famous religious site in Madeira is the shrine Our Lady of the Mount. An organization reminiscent of Madeira, Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Monte, was started on the island of Oahu in 1901. Their festival was held in the mountains behind Honolulu. Thousands attended this festival also, coming from every island. Many of the plantation towns which had a concentration of Portuguese, such as Waialua and Kahuku on Oahu, would have their own festivals in association with a Saint's Day (I-7-1-333). These local festivals were also heavily attended. Through the festivals networks were expanded and reintegrated until it would seem that there might have been a potential pathway for information between every Portuguese in the Territory.

The personal networks provided stability and a form of non-monetary security, but for sickness, accident, and old age some monetary security was also needed. Most Portuguese in the late 1800's were laborers working for relatively low salaries and for employers who had no organized pension plans. One very old retired plantation worker bitterly remarked, "What I get outta the plantation? I work 40 years the plantation. What I get outta the plantation after I put my life in the plantation? They never give me nothing" (III-5-1-202). The Portuguese organized to solve this problem through the formation of benevolent societies.

The first society, the St. Antonio Society, had been formed in 1877. By 1910 there were four of these benevolent societies in the Territory. The largest ones, the St. Antonio and the Lusitana, had
approximately 2,000 members each. The San Martino, which was mostly Madeiran, and the Michalanse, which was mostly Azores, had a few hundred members each (I-6-1-775). Members were assessed a relatively small sum each month. This was accumulated and then paid out to any member in distress. Benefits were paid to widows on the death of a member husband, to members who became invalids, and to members who were sick. These payments were not made frivolously, and a person had to be sick indeed to qualify for benefits. As one old member said, "You no could carry one glass of water. You even couldn't go in the store, pick up one package. They catch you with a package—they discard you [from receiving payments]" (I-5-1-205). Many people were benefited, and the cumulative sums involved were quite large. Between 1882 and 1910 the Lusitana Society paid out almost $500,000 in benefits (Thrum 1910). The resources of these organizations were held within and controlled by members of the Portuguese aggregate. The by-laws of the Lusitana Society stated that "no person not of the white race, shall be accepted for membership unless he is of part Portuguese descent" (Sociedade Lusitana Beneficente de Hawaii 1887).

A significant internal social division could have developed within the Portuguese group. The earlier immigration had been quite evenly divided between people from Madeira and those from the Azores: 60 percent had come from Madeira and 40 percent from the Azores (Rodrigues 1957). Cognitive distinctions were often drawn between these two groups, but a social dichotomy never developed.

The immigrants seem to have quickly emphasized current social connections rather than maintaining European ones. The
characteristics of the category also changed quickly from describing European-oriented immigrant Portuguese to describing a Hawaiian-based Portuguese aggregate. Network connections based on pre-immigration relationships seem to have been completely ignored by the second generation. One woman remembers, "My mother kept in touch with the old people back in the Azores, but after she died we never heard nothing again" (I-1-1-250X).

The recognition of a descent connection to the Azores or to St. Michael remains alive, though it now has no social structural significance. People often remember that a specific relative was from one island group or the other. It is also still possible to distinguish a very slight difference in the way older members of these two aggregates speak Hawaiian pidgin English.

A social division and friction did develop, however, between Portuguese groups after the second wave of immigration. This friction sprang from Hawaiian sources. Among the later immigrants were some families who came from the Portuguese mainland. They often had purchased their own passage to Hawaii and therefore did not work on the plantations. These mainland Portuguese were disturbed by the characteristics (e.g., laborers) already associated with the cognitive aggregate of which they were assumed to be members. There was apparently antagonism and an effort by the mainlanders to separate themselves socially and cognitively from the early immigrants. The internal social division was established but the Portuguese mainlanders' claim to be a distinct aggregate described by a different cognitive category was not generally accepted by other Hawaiian
residents. Most of those from the mainland of Portugal soon moved to the American mainland (Hormann 1954).

4.6 The Haole Social Group and Aggregate

Because the Haoles are a significant group in this analysis, it is important to describe their role on the plantation. Their numbers were always small. As late as 1920 they were still less than 9 percent of Hawaii's total population (see Appendix C). The Haoles were, however, quite clearly in charge, living under better conditions and always holding all the top management positions. They saw themselves in the role of colonial capitalists. One of the more powerful planters stated in 1886, "I have an exalted idea of the high destiny of the white man and his power to control and govern both men and elements" (Reinecke 1967:2). The Haole community felt itself the heir to the earlier missionaries. They thus not only practiced a sort of paternalistic despotism but remained as forthrightly American as they possibly could. Women in Honolulu prided themselves on dressing in the latest East Coast fashions. Men were expected to go to college on the mainland, preferably at Yale, before returning to enter business in Hawaii. Many Haoles married people from the mainland (who were, of course, expected to be of a high-class family).

Through these various contacts—school, relatives, friends, and business—the personal networks of most Haoles extended to the mainland. Since having mainland contacts was definitely not true of Hawaiian laborers, it became an emblematic characteristic of being a Haole. This mainland tie was strongly encouraged by some plantations,
who granted management-level employees as much as three months paid
vacation every three years on the condition that it be taken outside
Hawaii (I-14). A second emblematic characteristic, closely tied to the
first, was the ability to speak standard American English. Haoles
spoke this with each other but always spoke pidgin English when
conversing with a laborer.21

Though there were many internal social divisions and cognitive
distinctions which members of the Haole aggregate themselves drew, they
maintained an absolutely united front, both socially and cognitively,
toward other groups. There were Haoles who were in the sugar industry
and there were those who were not. There were Haoles who owned
plantations and those who only managed them. As the group grew slowly
by accretion, other distinctions developed. Some of the early Germans
and Norwegians married Haoles and were absorbed into that group. Many
Scots were recruited to work in business or plantation management and
they also were accepted into the Haole group. A retired plantation
manager's remarks on the Scots demonstrate both cognitive distinctions
within the Haole aggregate and the Haole united front toward all other
groups: "The Scots were always considered Haoles--jokingly they were
not, but in reality they were always considered part of the Haole
community. They were not a community apart, such as the Japanese or
Chinese" (II-3-2-471).

The Haoles truly were a social group apart from the rest of the
population. Multiple lines of kinship, friendship, and business
relations existed which wove them into a single social network. This
was a network which extended to the mainland, and it was the mainland
that provided the group with new members. It was always plantation policy to hire their management personnel from the mainland rather than from the other groups in Hawaii. These mainland recruits would be started at a level just above laborer and gain their promotions as they learned the system. A Japanese said this about the plantation:

"You can't go very high up and get big money unless your skin is white. You can work here all your life and yet a Haole who doesn't know a thing about the work can be ahead of you in no time." (Mitamura 1940)

The Haoles had a privileged position, and they tried constantly to maintain it.

As previously mentioned, social groups of the type we are discussing draw their members from an associated cognitive aggregate. One must qualify as an aggregate member by displaying the characteristics codified in the cognitive category before being recruited into the social group. In less precise terms, this means: "You have to be a Haole to join a Haole club." The fact that Haole social institutions recruited their members from the mainland is of great cognitive significance. It indicates that Haole aggregate members believed not only that the cognitive category which described themselves did not describe non-Haole Hawaii residents but also that it did describe mainland American whites. This is a clear example of an aggregate origin myth or descent charter. The charter is: Haole origins are on the American mainland. It will be seen that the corollary of this myth—laborers are from Hawaii—developed into the descent charter for what came to be the opposing aggregate.
4.7 The Haole-Portuguese Social and Cognitive Relationship—

Social Relations

Because the Portuguese on the plantation were considered to be Caucasian but not Haoles, their relationship with the "other Caucasians" was a very ambiguous one. The discrimination they felt was benign and paternalistic, but it existed on every front. There were discriminations made in hiring, housing location, social relations, and even pay scale within the same job. In 1901 the average pay for a plantation carpenter varied wildly. On a daily basis this one job paid the following wages: Mainland Haoles—$3.67; Scots—$2.90; part-Hawaiians—$1.73; Portuguese—$1.54; and Japanese—$1.09 (Kuykendall 1967). This practice of different pay scales was not directed only at the Portuguese, nor was it out of malice. It sprang from a feeling of the "white man's burden," and an all-pervading attempt by plantation management to economize in everything. The plantations, in an effort always to pay as little as possible, made discriminations everywhere. Not only did individuals from different named aggregates receive different wages for the same job, but often individuals from the same aggregate who had arrived on different boats would be on different pay scales. The fact that plantation records always carried people as members of a named group institutionalized and perpetuated on the social level the importance of the corresponding cognitive distinctions. It could safely be suggested that the complexity of the current cognitive/social system in Hawaii has direct roots in the painstakingly detailed record systems of the sugar plantations.
The relations on a personal level between Haoles and Portuguese were not those of economic or social equality. Some conclusions about these relations can be drawn from the comments of a retired plantation manager: "In general there was pretty good rapport between the Portuguese and the Haoles. . . . Well, actually, I believe the Portuguese are Caucasians—I mean, ethnically speaking (I-14-2-310). . . . They were more similar to us in philosophy—outlook on life [than the orientals] (-2-380). . . . [One foreman] was a Portuguese and we were quite good friends, we and his family. We wouldn't entertain each other, of course, but occasionally we would have a meal together. We wouldn't, as a general rule, go out to a restaurant together" (II-9-2-280). From the perspective of most Haoles, the Portuguese were simply not social equals. This was often explained through a collection of historical half-truths. The same plantation manager also states:

Many of the Portuguese came from the Azores, and that was a sort of criminal colony, so many of the people we got here were descendants from that sort of Portuguese people. . . . And I think there was a certain amount of Negroid mixture, too. (I-6-2-320)

Neither statement is true of the Azores, nor of Madeira. The myth is probably based on the Cape Verde Islands, from which some of the original whaling Portuguese came and for which both statements are true. This myth nonetheless allowed that some Hawaiian Portuguese were most likely neither convicts nor Blacks, and thus explains why some Haoles could be friends with a few of the Portuguese. It does caution, though, that Haoles should not accept indiscriminately all members of the Portuguese aggregate. The myth allowed for some
mingling and a few Portuguese were already moving, at least tentatively, into the Haole aggregate. This transition was usually through marriage and was often attended by some changes in the personal characteristics of the Portuguese. These changes will be discussed in a later chapter.

4.8 The Portuguese as a Type of Laborer

The official Haole opinion of the Portuguese in the late 1800's and early 1900's was essentially that they were sturdy yeomen and dependable laborers. This is best illustrated by a number of quotations from that period. Thrum's Hawaiian Almanac and Annual of 1911 refers to the Portuguese as "immigrants of the earnest working class" (p. 43), "good, steady, conscientious workers and industrious, thrifty and law abiding people" (p. 51), and "such good helpers and such desirable citizens" (Thrum 1910). A Hawaii Chamber of Commerce publication in 1912 says of the Portuguese,

Their greater number are wage earners and 25% of them are laborers on the plantations. As laborers they have long ago proven their qualities of industriousness and self reliance. (Chamber of Commerce 1912:61)

This idea of the Portuguese as a laborer had become and would remain one of the hallmark characteristics of the category. It was based to some extent on fact. The Portuguese had been brought as labor, not management. In 1898, 70 percent of the Portuguese population was still working in labor positions (Fuchs 1961:57). This idea was, however, to develop later into a contradiction for individual Portuguese. This contradiction will be mentioned in a moment.
Not only were the Portuguese considered to be categorically laborers, but there was an increasingly strong public belief that the Haoles were not. In fact, it was a growing Haole opinion that a Haole could not be a laborer under Hawaii's tropical conditions. The Territorial Governor stated in 1904, "the white man cannot and will not stand the work of tropical cane fields" (Governor of Hawaii 1904). Since the Portuguese apparently could, they were by implication not white men. The contradiction that would develop for individual Portuguese was this: If one of the primary characteristics which separated the Haoles from the Portuguese was laborer, to what extent could a Portuguese in management still be considered a real Portuguese? Did they not automatically become a sort of Haole?

The relationship between the Portuguese and the Haoles might have been different had there been fewer Portuguese. There is evidence that the initial reaction of the Hawaiian Caucasian community was a guarded acceptance of the Portuguese as potentially a new type of Haole. A Honolulu newspaper made this comment on the arrival of the first Portuguese immigrant boat in 1878:

The men all belong to the laboring classes, but, with few exceptions perhaps, are not likely to engage as common plantation laborers. Some of the men are mechanics, such as masons, carpenters, etc. . . . They are a cleanly looking, well behaved set, with the old fashioned polite manners of the Portuguese and Spanish races. (Pacific Commercial Advertiser 1878)

This suggests that on first arrival at least some of the Haoles were willing tentatively to accept the Portuguese into the Haole aggregate. The fact of their being laborers is minimized in this newspaper
statement, while their possession of social graces, presumably a Haole trait in the view of this Haole newspaper, is emphasized.

In 1910 the Haoles were still a tiny minority of the Hawaiian population. They organized their total control of the Territory through unofficial means. Coordination of the economy and government took place through personal networks and in the environs of such organizations as the Hawaii Sugar Planters Association, the Pacific Club, and the Maui County Fair and Racing Association. It was only possible to admit new individuals into the social group and therefore into the associated cognitive aggregate slowly if control of the territory were to be maintained.

The personal characteristics of the Norwegians and Germans brought under labor contracts were less divergent from the Haoles than were those of the Portuguese but, excepting in religion, they were not greatly so. Yet these people were very soon included in the Haole social group and aggregate. Their numbers, however, were few, and thus they did not threaten to dilute the Haole resources. If the older Haole families had recognized the Portuguese as members of the Haole cognitive aggregate, and thus granted them potential free access to the resources of the social group, their own positions would have been quickly undermined. The Haole social group would have become too large too quickly for control through existing informal networks. In 1900 the ratio of Portuguese to "other Caucasians" was 18,000 to 8,500. The original Haoles would have been overwhelmed. So the Haoles emphasized the differences and vehemently kept the Portuguese
as a separate cognitive aggregate with definable and distinct characteristics.

The inclusion of the Norwegians and Germans in the Haole aggregate clearly indicates the mythic nature of the Haole descent charter. The charter is that Haaoles were either directly or by descent from the United States mainland. The Norwegians and Germans, who were clearly from Europe, were incorporated into the Haole aggregate. The Portuguese, also from Europe, were not. This illustrates the reverberation between the social and the cognitive. It shows how the "realness" of cognitive distinctions are sometimes made on the basis of pragmatic social considerations.

In an effort to maintain control, the Haaoles steadfastly remained both cognitively and socially a community apart. Because they held most of the total resources in the system and were therefore a very important group, this Haole versus everyone else (laborers) distinction became important within the entire Hawaiian cognitive/social system. In order to be internally consistent and to accommodate interaction with the dominant Haaoles, the cognitive systems of all people living in Hawaii classed the Portuguese along with the Orientals as part of the group "those who can labor." This category stood in opposition to the Haaoles as "those who cannot."

We will see as the analysis progresses that this same distinction is preserved today in the dichotomy between Haole and Local. It will be demonstrated that the original category "laborer" was transformed into the current category "Local." We will also see that the most important characteristics of these two categories have shifted. For
the Haoles, the characteristic "upper class" has decreased in importance and that of "mainland orientation" has increased. The characteristics of the opposing category, Local, have paralleled these shifts. The characteristic "lower class" has decreased in importance and "recent immigrant" has disappeared entirely. "Hawaiian orientation," which went almost unnoticed as a characteristic of the original laboring group, has now grown dramatically in importance as a characteristic of the current group, Local.

Some of the advantages and disadvantages of being Portuguese on the plantation can be concluded from the above description. The advantages included the social stability brought by participation in a coherent social subsystem and access to the resources of this subgroup. These resources included the monetary security found through the benevolent associations, and the valuable information which flowed through the personal networks. The disadvantage was being classed irredeemably as a laborer and being thus barred from the resources of the Haole elite.
CHAPTER V
THE PORTUGUESE AND EARLY HONOLULU

When I came from Madeira, I was three years old [1889]. I don't remember nothing. We landed Honolulu then he [her father] went on a contract of three years to Hana [Maui]. Whenever you had a labor contract, you had to be three years there and after three years you could go where you want. After three years we came to Honolulu and we stayed here. We moved first Punchbowl. I was single. Then I got married after that [in 1900]. My husband came as a little boy from Azores. He was living across the street in Punchbowl. My father worked in the sugarmill. My mother sewed bags [also in the mill]. When we came Honolulu, my father went out to the mill in Kahuku. Then he got sick and St. Antonio Society paid benefits. Then I move Aiea. My husband work there in the plantation store. When he [the husband] die 1909, I get death benefits from St. Antonio Society. We move to my brother's house. Then I buy my land in Kalihi [in 1911 with the money from St. Antonio Society]. After I move Kalihi, my mother move here [also]. (I-21-790)

This brief story of a Portuguese woman born in 1886 contains many of the elements common in the early immigrants' lives. These will be discussed in the course of this chapter.

After the expiration of the original labor contract (usually three years), a plantation worker was free to go where he wanted. Thus began the third phase for the Portuguese—life in town. Exodus from the plantations started within four years of the first arrivals in 1878, but Portuguese labor importation to the plantations and thus to Honolulu continued for 36 years (1878-1914; see Appendix A).
Therefore what are here called the second and third phases in fact
coincided to a large extent. Portuguese immigration to the plantations continued even after second- and third-generation individuals were already living in Honolulu.

5.1 Portuguese Population Movement

The number of relocations to the city increased steadily for the Portuguese from 1880 onwards. The peak years fell between 1900 and 1930 (Felix 1978). By 1930, 45 percent of all Portuguese were living in Honolulu (Adams 1937). Though the movement into town was ultimately to be the most significant in the development of the present category and group Portuguese in Honolulu, there were three other directions in the early shifts of population. Some Portuguese workers went to other plantations, some homesteaded on their own small farms, and some moved to the American mainland. The plantations were always eager to retain experienced and skilled workers at slight increases in pay. Thus, people often moved from plantation to plantation in the slow climb up the plantation job hierarchy. As late as 1929 there were still 1,654 Portuguese employed on sugar plantations (U.S. Department of Labor 1931). This was 3.3 percent of the total plantation workforce. The Portuguese in that year were 8.3 percent of the total population of Hawaii. These figures show that a marked shift off the plantations had already taken place.

Early records suggest that many of the Portuguese were interested in buying small farms in Hawaii. Unfortunately, any type of land for this purpose was almost nonexistent. By 1900 most of the arable land in Hawaii was owned by either the sugar companies or the territorial
government, or it was tied up in huge family estates. More important for farming than ownership of land was control of water. The sugar industry, realizing its dependence on irrigation, had very early secured control of most sources of water. Therefore, even when land was available it usually was not good for farming because it had no dependable water source. The sugar industry strongly encouraged what they believed to be a type of homesteading. This was a system whereby the plantation leased small plots of land for sugar cultivation with a guaranteed sugar purchase agreement. This system was of little use to a person who wanted to be disassociated completely from the plantations.

The Territorial government had set some of its lands aside for homesteading and statistics on the distribution of these lands from 1896 to 1919 suggest the degree to which the Portuguese wanted to own land (Table 5.1). These territorial lands were difficult to obtain, however. There was great demand and therefore they were allocated through a lottery. In 1919, 261 plots were made available, but for these there were 2,905 applicants. An old Portuguese man remembers the difficulties faced by the immigrants in buying farm land.

The first ones who came, they got the land, Chinese, and Hawaiians too. . . . You cannot buy land from a Hawaiian; you don't know who own the land—could be the whole family. (I-5-1-819)

This unavailability of land seems to have been one of the primary motivations for a Portuguese exodus to California. The exodus was prodigious. Thrum's almanac states in 1910:
Table 5.1
Homesteads Taken from 1986 to 1919, by Nationality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>No. of Persons</th>
<th>Area (Acres)</th>
<th>Average Acreage per Person</th>
<th>Appraised Value ($)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>4,513</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>114,294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>1,877</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>65,596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese &amp; Spanish</td>
<td>938</td>
<td>48,554</td>
<td>51.7</td>
<td>415,499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian</td>
<td>1,113</td>
<td>31,673</td>
<td>28.4</td>
<td>613,698</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglo-Saxon</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>36,420</td>
<td>70.0</td>
<td>361,868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other nationalities</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>10,453</td>
<td>80.0</td>
<td>77,153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,039</strong></td>
<td><strong>133,490</strong></td>
<td><strong>45.5</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,648,108</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Hawaii Governor 1920.
Now out of the 13,000 oldest settlers . . . many—fully one half—are known to have left this country at different times, the bulk attracted to California . . . over two thousand men had thus already left the territory with their families, even before annexation. (1910:44)

Many Portuguese seem to have moved directly to some town or city in Hawaii at the end of their first labor contract. The city was seen as a place of greater opportunity, certainly of greater excitement, and for those who had come from Europe with skills it was seen as a place to set up a business. The two cities in Hawaii which attracted the most Portuguese were Hilo on the island of Hawaii and Honolulu on Oahu. In 1910 Honolulu was growing steadily. It had a good harbor, was the seat of the territorial government, and had become the location of all the large sugar companies. Though it was the biggest metropolitan area between Tokyo and San Francisco, it was by comparison with today not very large (see Appendix B). The population of Honolulu in 1900 was 39,306, which was 25 percent of Hawaii's total population of 191,874 (Schmitt 1977).

5.2 Honolulu's Homogeneous Neighborhoods

In 1910 Honolulu was a city composed of distinct and scattered neighborhoods. These neighborhoods contained homogeneous collections of people representing the cognitive and social divisions of the original immigrants. The Haoles, Chinese, Japanese, and Portuguese were each centered in one or more neighborhoods. The city had grown outwards from Honolulu Harbor, and the Chinese, who had left the plantations first, occupied the land immediately around the harbor. The Haoles lived away from the center of town in Manoa and upper
Nuuanu valleys. The Portuguese, who left the plantations after the Chinese, had established neighborhoods in parts of Kakasko, Kalihi Kai, Kalihi Uka, and on the slopes of the hill facing the harbor called Punchbowl.22

Of the Portuguese neighborhoods, Kalihi Kai and Punchbowl seem to have been the oldest. They were already considered Portuguese areas in 1890. The Portuguese were known at the time as the best stone masons in the Islands, and it is possible that the stone quarry on the slopes of Punchbowl formed the original nucleus of that neighborhood. The house sites on Punchbowl were originally leased from the Kapiolani estate. When these leases expired the land passed into the hands of the Territory and it was put up at public auction in 1912. Those already in residence were allowed to buy their lots, and thus the neighborhood became stabilized as Portuguese. Punchbowl was generally considered by the Portuguese to be the most prestigious neighborhood, followed by Kalihi and Kakaako.

These homogeneous neighborhoods were organized by and for their residents, and tended to strongly reflect the land from which the people had originally come. Punchbowl, for instance, was very Portuguese. There were many outside stone bread ovens, shops which sold Portuguese food, Portuguese language newspapers, a Holy Ghost chapel, and streets with names like Concordia and Lusitana. The houses looked much as they had in Madeira and St. Michael. They were white, scrupulously clean, and surrounded by neat flower beds. Maidenhair fern was almost always in evidence, because the Portuguese knew the secret of its cultivation.23 As one very old woman put it,
"Ahhh--there were plenty, plenty Portuguese" (I-10-1-999). Within these neighborhoods, to an even greater extent than on the plantations, the original immigrants were able to recreate portions of the life they had left behind in the old country. They were good places to live. One woman's feelings are, "I'd love to go back... It's just that there's no way. But I'd love to go back there and live in Kakaako" (Ethnic Studies 1979:285).

5.3 Some Changes in the Portuguese Aggregate and Social Group

By 1910 the individuals within the cognitive aggregate Portuguese seem to have changed in some ways, but the changes were still largely within the parameters set down by the first immigrants. Though after 32 years in Hawaii there were Portuguese who were second and even third generation, 34 percent of the population was still foreign born (Schmitt 1977). These original immigrants, plus the 5,000 new immigrants who would arrive before 1915, kept many of the old cultural and societal ideas alive.

The major change for the Portuguese seems to have been in capital accumulation. They were accumulating considerable capital as individuals. Some owned farms and many owned houses. To buy land seems to have been a universal desire, but as one man remembers, "The land was looked on only as a place to build a house and something to leave your children" (I-1-1-345). It had been very difficult to buy productive farms, and few people tried. By 1912 the total value of Portuguese-owned real property within the Territory was $3,335,059.00 (Castro 1912). The total capital must have been higher, because the
early Portuguese were notoriously distrustful of banks and were known to have accumulated large amounts of cash.

The central focus of the neighborhoods in Honolulu were the parish churches and chapels, but the central focus of a person's life was the family. Children married young (women often at 15 or 16, men a bit older) and through the influence of the older generation were quickly integrated into the social group. Respect for elders was still considered an absolutely essential quality by the Portuguese. The following quotation illustrates one way that the socialization of young people took place.

I got married. I was just 20 years old. The day I got married my father said to my wife, 'Hey, you and xxx now go down the Holy Ghost [chapel]. I paid your membership. (I-7-2-310)

A person's primary contacts outside the family were with neighbors, who were also Portuguese, and thus the group had a high level of integration (I-20-1-460).

Though by 1910 the number of small farmers and businessmen was increasing, the Portuguese were still primarily laborers and craftsmen (Castro 1912). Education beyond the primary grades was not readily available, and it was expensive. Though money was itself more available, the size of these early families (12 children was not at all unusual) meant that little of it could be spared for advanced education. One Portuguese man of 95 remembers, "When sons were a little older they never went to high school. They went out and got work, made big money. There was plenty work that time. The country was young and growing" (I-6-1-600).
5.4 Portuguese Social Group

With an increasing total number of Portuguese and an increasing Portuguese concentration in the cities, the amount of social group integration also increased. For this study, the existence of group organization has been defined as long-term structured role relationships. The integration of a group may be symbolically represented at an institutional level, but it takes its form from manifold personal interactions. The structure and integration, in fact the very existence of the group, consists of long-term (i.e., repeated and not isolated) roles, relationships, affiliations, and information pathways between the group members themselves. These are often to be found in various sorts of clubs and associations. For the Portuguese, the size and number of clubs and associations continued to increase until the 1930's. Newspapers are a form of structured information pathway, and the Portuguese press flourished in the late 1800's and early 1900's. There were a total of five Portuguese newspapers published in Honolulu during that period (Young 1973; Rodrigues 1957).

5.4.1 Social Group--Clubs and Associations

In order to suggest the extent of the Portuguese groups' organization, a review of their early associations is in order. These associations can be divided into the following categories: benevolent, religious, neighborhood, occupational, cultural, political, and fraternal/social. A number of these social groupings were Portuguese primarily by default. In each case note will be made
of the extent and nature of the association's membership as well as
the function it had within the total group. These descriptions are
based largely on the recollections of participants.

The benevolent societies had been organized by the early
immigrants to answer a specific need. Though the Territory of Hawaii
developed a rudimentary form of workman's compensation in 1915, the
earlier need for financial security and the societies which provided
it continued for many years. Though their offices were in Honolulu,
the membership included people from every island, and their capital
holdings continued as an important potential resource for the
membership of the Portuguese aggregate (Castro 1912).

The Holy Ghost societies developed as a central social focus of
the urban neighborhoods. Each Portuguese neighborhood in Honolulu had
one: Kalihi, Kakaako, Punchbowl, and the Fort Street area. The Holy
Ghost Society at St. John's Cathedral on Fort Street was organized
earliest and seems originally to have drawn its members from the whole
city. Each society had a chapel; they also had grounds which were
often used by children and athletic teams. There were usually a few
extra rooms which could be used by other community associations.

Neighborhood people gathered at the Holy Ghost every Saturday night.

The old folks would sit in the chapel and talk story or
sometimes dance, the young ones would run wild [which in
that era might mean no more than a boisterous game of
tag]. It was a chance to get out. Weren't any movies or
other stuff back then. (III-7-16-241)

[The Holy Ghost] was the place to go to socialize. [It]
was nearby, religious, could keep up with friends and
Portuguese news. (I-I-1-775)
The Holy Ghost Festival, which was the primary celebration for these chapels, marks the seven Sundays between Easter and Pentecost in the Catholic Church calendar. Each Sunday was celebrated, but the largest celebration was on the final Friday, Saturday, and Sunday of Pentecost. On Punchbowl, all the streets were decorated and thousands would gather at the chapel. The old people kept watch in the chapel all through the final Saturday night, singing songs and telling stories. On Sunday morning a procession would carry the symbol of the Holy Ghost through the streets and into the parish church for mass. After the procession had returned to the chapel the crowds would continue to swell. There was dancing, singing, food, innumerable children, and great commotion—it was a festa, a festival. The final event on Sunday was an auction and raffle. During the auction the excitement was palpable. People would drive the bids up to astronomical amounts (sometimes one or two months' salary for a laborer) in an effort to buy a niece's special cake or a special loaf of bread. It was actually a magnificent public display of competitive generosity to the Holy Ghost chapel. After the auction came the raffle, where seven families would be chosen to be responsible for the arrangements of the next year's festival. One woman's comment: "I think we looked forward to this more than we did to Christmas" (I-10-1-440).

Throughout most of the year the Holy Ghost chapels were neighborhood institutions, but during the festivals they drew people from the whole island of Oahu and often from other islands. The festivals of the different chapels fell on successive weeks so that an
individual could attend them all. Most people were affiliated primarily with one chapel (usually the one in their own neighborhood), but they often had memberships in two or even three, and would also attend these other festivals. The function of social integration, mentioned in the previous chapter, continued in these festivals until the 1930's. It is likely that a personal message could have gotten to any Portuguese individual in the Territory through a contact met at one of these festivals. There was also an element of economic redistribution. As part of the festival a large piece of meat, a loaf of sweet bread, and a bottle of wine were delivered to each member's household. The low annual membership fee did not cover the cost of this food, the difference between membership receipts and actual operating expenses being made up through various kinds of contributions to the chapel.

The festivals were also important revitalization ceremonies for the group. The festival was a time when people came together to do Portuguese things in a Portuguese way. The bond of Portuguese-ness (shared membership in the aggregate Portuguese) was reaffirmed between individuals and families who, especially in the second and third generation, might lose sight of this fact during the rest of the year. Their participation demonstrated to other aggregate members that they personally accepted a significant number of the concepts contained in the cognitive category Portuguese. This statement was made through participation in a social institution which was made up, at least theoretically, exclusively of members of the aggregate. Through their actions people were also publicly stating to non-aggregate members, "I
am a Portuguese and I expect my personal behavior to be evaluated in that context." The public statement was especially strong because non-Portuguese from the surrounding neighborhood often attended the festivals, and certainly were aware of the procession.

The festival at the chapel in Kalihhi Uka, Our Lady of the Mount, though having a different religious basis, functioned socially in much the same way. This chapel had a three-day festival, culminating on August 15, which was attended by Portuguese from the whole territory. All of these chapels, the Holy Ghost and Our Lady of the Mount, while theoretically Catholic, were not really part of the official Catholic structure in Hawaii. They were tied to their local parish churches only by geographic proximity and a large overlap of membership. The idea behind these festivals was wholly Portuguese and seems always to have been treated by the non-Portuguese clergy with some reservation.

In a largely Portuguese neighborhood the parish church was dominated by the Portuguese. Thus, by default various organizations within that church, such as the men's Holy Name societies and the women's Altar and Rosary societies, would be de facto Portuguese organizations. These societies met regularly, the men often meeting once each week for breakfast. These groups allowed older people to hold official leadership roles and ensured that neighbors would meet often (Ethnic Studies 1979). They functioned for discussion purposes much like the community associations of today, since most issues which affected the parish also affected the neighborhood. Other organizations, like the precinct level of the Republican Party, would
also have functioned in some neighborhoods as de facto Portuguese organizations.

A number of unions and craft associations in early Honolulu functioned in much this same way. The Portuguese dominated a number of occupations, such as masonry, printing, and draying. These unions thus served to strengthen internal social group ties. They also served to protect for the members of the Portuguese aggregate the resource represented by the Portuguese domination of these trades.

The Patria Society was active in the first decade of the 1900's. It met on Vineyard Street in the center of Honolulu above V. O. Teshara's grocery store. The membership was less than 100 men, in their thirties and forties. The most active member seems to have been Frank Santos, who was city plumbing inspector and owner of a number of buildings called Santo's Court. Like most of these early associations, it collected fees and paid a death benefit to its members (Thrum 1910). It also started a Portuguese language school. The school operated on Vineyard Street for a number of years, but then closed, reportedly due to lack of interest (1-6-1-454; I-7-1-745). This would seem to have been an association made up of Portuguese businessmen and those in government service. They organized not only to strengthen their own personal social ties but to support traditional Portuguese high culture through the study of Portuguese language and literature in their school. The Uniao Portugueza was a quasi-political organization centered in Honolulu. It had wide support within the Portuguese group. More will be said of its activities at the conclusion of this chapter.
A number of local chapters of various men's fraternal lodges were organized in Honolulu. They met weekly and had the same official functions, such as social charity work, associated with such clubs on the United Stated mainland. In addition, they paid a cash benefit to a member's family upon his death. To the extent that some were de facto Portuguese organizations, they contributed to the integration and extension of personal networks within the group. Through their offices they also provided official leadership roles for aggregate members. Men were often members of more than one of these clubs. Of these early groups, the Foresters was Portuguese, the Elks was Haole, and the Redmen was originally Haole with a few Portuguese. It would seem that the Haoles were free to join the Foresters, but did not choose to, while the Portuguese were completely barred from the Elks. The following was said about the Redmen: "Had to have some kind of pull to get in there. Was Haole, but a few Portuguese boys got in there" (I-6-1-260). The Portuguese who were members of these clubs were from all the various neighborhoods in Honolulu. They seem to have been the more successful small businessmen, skilled craftsmen, and government employees.

Many of these organizations had restrictive membership clauses, but the clauses were not absolutely necessary for even the de facto groups to remain Portuguese. Once an association became identified with the Portuguese, it tended to remain in the hands of Portuguese. A conversation with two current members of the Eagles (a club which came to Honolulu in the 1920's) serves to illustrate this point.
Investigator: Is the Eagles a Portuguese organization?
Member 1: Yes, it pretty much is.
Member 2: No, no. Any kind of people can join.
Member 1: Maybe--so where are they? Stop the smallest kid in the street and he knows the Eagles is a Portuguese club. (I-B-275-160)

As has been noted, all the organizations served to extend and strengthen personal ties within the group. They also allowed natural community leaders to hold various kinds of officially recognized into the complex networks which held the social group together.

5.4.2 Social Group--Personal Networks

The importance of personal networks did not diminish after the Portuguese moved to Honolulu. They remained an essential method for transmitting information and influence. By 1910, because of constant shifts in residency, a person's extended family and friends could be living throughout the Territory. The best way to keep in touch with these scattered individuals was through the networks. Extended personal networks could also be essential in many occupations.

The Portuguese had a reputation for tenacious loyalty to an employer, but because many Portuguese were skilled laborers and craftsmen, immediate information on available jobs was also essential. Craftsmen and laborers, especially in the construction trades, often had to change job sites as projects were completed. Young people and recent arrivals from the plantations had to be found jobs. Additionally, the economy was growing, so new and original opportunities opened all the time. The following statements illustrate how networks were used to secure jobs.

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This guy was working in the French laundry [in Honolulu]. And I went to work for him. . . . He knew me from Maui, see.

So my uncle went and see the foreman and told [him], 'Eh, my nephew wants to work.' He say, 'Yeah, sure. Tell him to get up tomorrow 3:30 in the morning. Start working at four in the morning.'

(Ethnic Studies 1979:251)

Your population was small, everybody knew one another. You could quit one job today and work tomorrow. (I-6-1-X59)

Not until the 1950's did the Haoles' paternalistic yet vise-like grip on Hawaii diminish. In this system most relationships were personalized and access to influence was therefore very helpful in dealing with government institutions. The networks, based on long-term reciprocity, also gave access to this influence.

My father used to be, as I said, a big politician [a campaign manager]. That's how my brother used to get out of a lot of trouble, because my father used to go see this fellow, and that fellow—and then that's how my brother used to get out. (Ethnic Studies 1979:200)

5.5 Characteristics of the Portuguese Aggregate

The characteristics associated with the Portuguese after they moved to Honolulu changed little from those on the plantation. They were considered to be very clean, somewhat boisterous (Ethnic Studies 1979:370), personally loyal, solid citizens, and hard workers. But they were still considered by the Haoles to be a group apart, a laboring group. Their position in the total cognitive/social system became more ambiguous. Though the Haoles considered them part of the aggregate Laborers, the Portuguese seem in some ways to have been given by the Haoles a cognitive position distinct from the Orientals.
There were several social manifestations of this. The varying pay scales found in Honolulu as well as on the plantation with Haoles receiving the most, orientals the least, and Portuguese something in between for the same job, are certainly indicative of this (see section 4.7). The fact that a club like the Redmen was mostly Haole but had "a few Portuguese" is also an indication. The Orientals and poorer Native Hawaiians seem however to have considered the Portuguese as simply part of the larger aggregate "Laborer" to which they themselves belonged. A Japanese might live next door to a Portuguese in Kakaako, but never next door to a Haole.

The advantages and disadvantages of ascription to the category Portuguese remained the same. The associated social group was tightly bound together by extensive personal networks and had developed group-centered institutions to answer problems common to many members of the aggregate, such as social and financial support. Displaying the expected characteristics associated with being Portuguese and thus being considered a member of the aggregate gave access to these social group resources. It also, however, restricted one's entry into other social groups. It barred one from going to a good school, like Punahou, or from being promoted to a top job in industry.

5.6 The Portuguese in the Hawaiian Cognitive/Social System

The individuals who identified themselves as part of the Portuguese aggregate were clearly starting to chafe under these social restrictions by the late 1800's. They were still effectively barred from holding higher job positions, and felt increasing pressure from
the bottom of the economic hierarchy as the flow of fresh imported labor continued. A Portuguese social grouping, made up apparently of the entire aggregate in Honolulu, tried overtly to manipulate the Hawaiian cognitive/social system in the 1890's. In the spring of 1896, the Uniao Portugueza organized a series of public demonstrations. This was not an attempt to change the cognitive system in Hawaii because the group did not attempt to alter the characteristics associated with the category Portuguese (manipulation on the cognitive level would come 35 years later). The group was trying instead to alter the developing social situation by modifying its human components. Their efforts were directed at stopping the further importation of Asiatic laborers by the sugar planters. In March 1896 a petition was delivered during a march by this Portuguese group on the Hawaiian government buildings in Honolulu. Further demonstrations followed, culminating in a mass meeting on May 19 in the Palace Square. During the mass meeting speeches were given on behalf of the "laboring class." A number of conclusions can be drawn from the Portuguese petition and the speeches at the mass meeting, as well as from the Haole's published reactions to these demonstrations.

It can be seen that the Portuguese did not publically question the characteristic "laborer" which had been assigned to them in the Hawaiian cognitive system of the time. In fact, part of the justification for the petition was based on the fact that, while the Uniao Portugueza and the demonstrations were made up entirely of Portuguese, they represented all laborers. A number of statements
made in the speeches by Portuguese at the mass meeting of May 19 bear this out.

This meeting is in the interests of the working man. Sugar planters and bankers have no use for mass meetings; they can get along without them.

The poor class is always the one upon whom all the evils are pressed . . . Why did the Portuguese as a class get up and protest against being driven to the wall? Because it is the class most driven to the wall by the Japanese [labor importation].

A continuance of this Asiatic immigration means the taking of bread and butter out of the mouths of every working man in this country.

I am not a laborer, but these people [the assembled Portuguese] are and my destinies are linked with the working man, and for that reason I say us.

What the Portuguese ask must be done in an honest, upright way, and after a while we will be heard. It is not for us [alone], but for all classes who labor.

(Pacific Commercial Advertiser, 05/19/1896)

The petition presented to the Government of Hawaii on March 23 is perhaps our best clue to the public self-image of the Portuguese in the 1890's. It was approved by the membership of the Uniao Portugueza. This document also indicates the acceptance of laborer as one of the characteristics associated with the category Portuguese. Paragraphs three, six, eight, and eleven make this acceptance clear. The petition also indicates the growing feeling of dissatisfaction at the injustices the Portuguese feel are being directed against them.

To his Excellency Sanford B. Dole, President of the Republic of Hawaii, and to the Honorable the Legislature of the Republic of Hawaii.

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The undersigned, the Central Committee of the Uniao Portugueza, an organization representing the entire Portuguese population, not only of Honolulu, but of all the islands, from whom we have received assurances of their support, respectfully represent to your honorable body the following facts:

That the majority of the Portuguese residents and taxpayers of these islands were invited and encouraged to come here by the past and present Governments of the country.

That they immigrated to these shores not only as laborers, but for the purpose of becoming permanent settlers.

That after years of hard labor, mostly under the pernicious contract system, many of them have, through their industrious habits, become settlers in diverse ways.

That they have brought with them or taken unto themselves here families which, during their residence of sixteen years, have largely increased so that their total number now exceeds 13,000 souls.

That the invasion during the last few years of Chinese and Japanese into these islands has been such that the remuneration of labor has been reduced to such a figure that it has become almost impossible for Europeans and other workingmen to subsist on the wages offered.

That at the time the cost of living has not materially been reduced, while the taxes on the poorer classes have been steadily increased out of proportion with the taxes paid by large land-owners and corporations, who not only by law are well protected, but by their great influence in the general affairs of the country.

That the Portuguese residing here are finding themselves under peculiar conditions, far away from home, and, owing to the isolation of these islands, prevented from seeking new fields to better their conditions and to ensure the future prosperity of themselves and families.

That under these circumstances we find ourselves in a position not only affecting the present grown-up generation, but also the large number of our children born or reared here, and whose future is cast in Hawaii as their country.

That as a class we do not claim to be entitled to any separate privileges from any other class, although we feel
that our peculiar circumstances impose a moral responsibility for the future of ourselves and our children, on the shoulders of those who brought us here.

[11] Therefore, we, residents and taxpayers of the Hawaii Republic, respectfully pray your honorable body to adopt measures during this session of the Legislature which will further restrict Chinese and Japanese immigration into this country; that laws be passed resulting in a more equitable system of taxation, and that means may be devised for the better protection of the interests of the laboring classes in these islands.

And your petitioners will ever pray. (Signed)


Central Committee of the Uniao Portugueza.

(Pacific Commercial Advertiser, 03/26/1896)

A slightly different perspective on the issue can be found in an interview with M. G. Silva, a Portuguese merchant from the store called the Temple of Fashion. He addresses himself not only to the economic pressure by new laborers but also to the limited number of positions available to the Portuguese who wanted to move out of laborer positions.

Our people have not been treated right in the past, and are not being treated right now . . . How many Portuguese do you find in the military? One, Captain Camara. All the rest were discharged and no cause assigned. We feel that our people have been kicked about like dogs and we can not stand it any longer . . . We have been earnest in our appeals and the Portuguese feel as one man that injustice has been done, and that we have been crowded out from all lines of work, and we object. Men who have been shoulder to shoulder with the Government through two revolutions are now sitting at home doing nothing. Is it right? (Pacific Commercial Advertiser, 03/26/1896)
Haole reactions to the Uniao Portugueza and the demonstrations were mixed. Those who represented the plantation interests wanted a continuation of labor importation and often people associated with the plantations were critical of the Portuguese's public position. But Haoles not connected with the plantations opposed importation of Orientals and thus supported the Portuguese.

Allusions to General Coxey in connection with the Portuguese demonstration are entirely unwarranted. On the general principle of Oriental aggression there are few Anglo-Saxons or Europeans that do not agree with the Portuguese Coloney. (Pacific Commercial Advertiser, 03/26/1896)

It is instructive to note that while paragraph six of the petition strongly implies that the Portuguese are Europeans, the above statement implies that they are not. The above distinction between the "Europeans" and the "Portuguese Coloney" is an example of the cognitive distance which the Haoles attempted to maintain.

A few of the comments on the demonstrations not only show us the Haoles' immediate reactions to the Uniao Portugueza but also can provide insights into the characteristics which Haoles associated with the category Portuguese. The members of the Portuguese aggregate were viewed as laborers who should be content with a rural life and plantation employment.

An example of such a view is seen in one reaction by the plantations to the petition. When the petition was first delivered to the government, the plantations made known their intention of immediately hiring 300 Portuguese. This was apparently considered an adequate concession to a laboring group. That "not one man had
applied" (Pacific Commercial Advertiser, 03/28/1896) suggests that though the Portuguese were willing to be considered laborers they were unwilling to return to the plantations which many had so recently left.

Other examples of such views are seen in newspaper editorials by Haoles during the period.

Is not a good portion of the distress in the Portuguese colony due to the tendency to seek homes in Honolulu rather than go to the country districts? There is plenty of land in the country that will amply repay the expenditure of persevering labor.

(Pacific Commercial Advertiser, 03/25/1896)

Exactly what Mr. Vivas [a leader of the protest] wants is difficult to find out . . . As far as can be learned, the Portuguese are not prevented from working, they are not prevented from taking up land, and as a fact most of them do so and raise large families of healthy children . . . They came here a few years ago, bringing nothing with them but sturdy arms to labor. They have labored and labored well . . . Their houses are furnished. Their gardens produce vegetables, figs, grapes, and flowers. Most of them have a chicken coop, and they find a ready market for all their little produce. The girls find employment as seamstresses, as nurse girls, as house servants and there is work for the men, if they wish it. In fact the Portuguese have no grievance except the grievance of all mankind, and that is that we can not get, as a rule, as much as we want.

To sum up the whole matter with regard to the Portuguese of this city [Honolulu], we should recommend them to emulate their countrymen on [the more rural islands of] Hawaii and Maui. It is not good to congregate in a city; men such as they are should be at work in the country districts founding houses for their families.

(Pacific Commercial Advertiser, 05/20/1896)

A number of conclusions can be drawn from this total event. We see an awakening discontent by the members of the Portuguese aggregate. They continued to accept their position as laborers in the
Hawaiian cognitive system. They were generally blocked from access to higher economic and social positions by the Haoles. They felt increasingly threatened as laborers because of continued importation of new laborers who would accept lower wages for the same work. The Haole cognitive system also maintained "laborer" as a hallmark characteristic of the category Portuguese. The Haoles felt that the members of the Portuguese aggregate should be content with rural living and jobs on the plantation and in domestic service.

At that time the members of the Portuguese aggregate were still mostly laborers, skilled or unskilled, and thus an attempt to protect the economic position of laborers in Hawaii was for them a group concern. It was the Portuguese as the favored Caucasian members of this laboring class who not only felt the pressure but seemed to have the best chance of a successful appeal during the brief Haole-run republic. The fear of Oriental inundation by a large number of Haoles suggested that they might be successful. The laws which took effect when Hawaii became a U.S. Territory would seem to have answered their pleas, but in actuality the importation continued and the pressure continued to grow.

The 1920's and 1930's were to see a number of small but significant changes in the total Hawaiian cognitive/social system. These small general changes were, however, to initiate some large and significant changes for the Portuguese group and aggregate. The growing tension within the cognitive/social system had already begun for the Portuguese and are illustrated by the comments of a man born in Honolulu in the 1880's:

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How can you go to public school, speak the English, then
come home and try to tell your father and mother what it
is. So a lot of them [the original immigrants] was still
young women, still young men, so instead of staying with
the Portuguese they learned English too and talked with
their children in English. Then they lose interest in a
lot of things. The old people join a society but his son
already has different ideas, he goes someplace else.
(I-19-1-X90)

The Portuguese came to Hawaii with the intention of staying, and were
rapid in some of their adaptations, such as use of English, because
they were trying to find their place in a new home. But the original
immigrant's "hope of a way out" was developing into just another
impenetrable hierarchical system for the son. If a person remained a
Portuguese, his options were very restricted. This feeling of
restriction was to increase in Honolulu during the 1920's and 1930's.
The 1920's and 1930's saw the beginning of a number of significant demographic changes in Hawaii (see Appendix B). Many of these trends have continued until today. Some of them influenced the Portuguese directly, but all had some effect on the members of the Portuguese aggregate because they heralded changes in the total cognitive/social matrix of Hawaii.25

During the 1920's and 1930's the population of the Territory was increasingly concentrated on the island of Oahu and in the city of Honolulu. The Haole population increased in size relative to most other groups, with most of the new Haoles being middle-class individuals who immigrated from the mainland U.S.A. Labor importation continued but from yet another source, the Philippines. Sugar remained the primary industry of the islands but was augmented by the cultivation of pineapple, another plantation crop. Some of the original sugar factors, now known as the "Big Five," expanded their concerns until they controlled indirectly the entire economy of Hawaii (Shelley 1967). These companies, as well as the Territorial government, were still directed by the old Haole elite. The relative isolation of Hawaii continued. The mainland U.S.A. was very distant to most people working for a laborer's wage.
6.1 Repercussions of Increased Haole Immigration

As sugar exports continued to grow, Honolulu's economy also expanded. Not only were jobs created in sugar-related businesses but the increasing population itself created jobs. Many of the lower-level jobs, such as shopkeeper, construction worker, domestic, and laborer, were held by those who had been part of the laboring class on the plantation. Many of the higher-level jobs, however, went to Haoles, often Haoles who had just arrived from the mainland (U.S. Dept. of Labor 1931). Between 1920 and 1930, the number of Haoles in the Territory doubled (see Appendix C). Most of these new Haoles settled in Honolulu. Some of them came to work for the sugar companies, but many were either small businessmen or professionals who saw opportunity in Hawaii's growing economy. Because the U.S. military's presence in Hawaii grew constantly, there were also an increasing number of military dependents. These, too, were mostly Haoles transplanted from the U.S. mainland.

The new Haoles were frequently called Coast Haoles, to distinguish them from the older Haole elite who were called kamaaina Haoles. Though the origins of the Coast Haoles were mainly middle class, in contrast to the elevated status of the old Haoles in Hawaii, they were publicly accepted by everyone into the traditional Haole aggregate. Internal cleavages, both cognitive and social, became greater for the Haoles, but they still maintained a solid front toward the laboring class. Just who was invited to which social event may have been very important to some Haoles, but it was trivial data to a
laborer with no chance of ever entering a Haole social grouping with equality.

This sentiment is expressed by a Portuguese man who grew up on Oahu during the 1920's and 1930's.

I never thought I would ever see the day when I would get to meet a Haole that wasn't loaded. They lived better. They had better financial arrangements, it seemed. To us it seemed they were rich. When I look back I think the Haoles I thought were so rich—they really weren't. They were just middle class people. But it's the impression they gave. After the war [World War II] it dawned on everybody in these islands that to be Haole doesn't mean automatically to be rich or to be better. (I-4-5)

Another insight into the social status of those in the Haole aggregate is provided by a comment from a slightly earlier period. It was said that in 1905 the skilled Haole laborers in Honolulu were as privileged as the Haoles on the plantations. Never was a white laborer in Honolulu seen "carrying a dinner pail," and white carpenters and painters often kept Japanese servants (Fuchs 1961).

The slow and steady trickle of immigrant mainland Caucasians was absorbed into the Haole social group without changing its place in the total social matrix and initiated into the Haole aggregate without seriously distorting the defining cognitive category's earlier characteristics. The Coast Haoles did, however, introduce a new element into Haole-laborer relations. This is best described as racism, and was a marked change in the relationship, which had previously been based on class differences (Haoles vs. laborer aggregate) and paternalism. This racism, expressed as public antagonism toward all Orientals whatever their personal
characteristics, increased through the 1920's and 1930's as the Coast Haole and military Haole population grew (Fuchs 1961).

It must be remembered that one of the important characteristics of the Haole category had always been identification with the mainland U.S.A. Haoles were expected to be able to speak standard American English. As a wealth of communication literature shows, this assumption of speaking ability would imply much more. A Haole had to be acceptably competent at producing a total American behavioral repertoire. They not only had to be able to speak like Americans but also to act like Americans.27

This mainland communication repertoire was something the laborers in Hawaii (who spoke pidgin English) had never been in a position to learn. Non-Haoles were always addressed in pidgin by Haoles, and the public school system had provided little opportunity to learn standard American behavior. It was through the satisfying of these verbal/behavioral criteria that the new Caucasians from the mainland found themselves easily classed with the social elite. They were not all, however, in the economic elite, and this forced an important change in the Hawaiian school system. This change was the establishment of the first English Standard High School in 1924. Prior to 1924 the Hawaiian public high schools had not been considered primarily college preparatory. A child planning to attend college was expected to attend one of the private high schools, such as Punahou. These private high schools had remained Haole institutions, drawing their students mostly from the Haole aggregate through charging very high tuition and through conscious student selection. A growing number of
Coast Haoles could not afford the private tuition and demanded the creation of a college-preparatory public high school. This was the English Standard School, Scott School, located in Honolulu. To gain entrance to Scott School a student had to pass a proficiency test in Standard American English. This test, by emphasizing a Haole characteristic, effectively created what was an almost exclusively Haole school within the public school system. It also therefore perpetuated standard American English as an exclusively Haole characteristic. The English Standard High Schools were a part of the Hawaiian school system until 1954, when the U.S. Supreme Court decision on desegregation of schools forced a change in school policy.

The degree to which these schools were Haole and also the degree to which the Portuguese were not considered Haole is illustrated in this narrative. It is the recollection of a Portuguese man who went to an English Standard school in 1944.

I started going to Roosevelt. That was a Haole school then. It was English Standard to keep the Orientals and Hawaiians out and locals in general. I started in 1944. I don't know how I got in. We all spoke Pidgin in Aiea [the plantation town where he grew up].

We knew we couldn't get into Roosevelt because it was a Haole school. [He applied with a friend.]

We looked at the application thing and it had race, and then it had "Caucasian, Oriental, Polynesian and other." My friend Manuel was blond and blue-eyed as any Haole could be and I'm not all that black and we thought, 'What are we going to mark down?' Then we thought, 'Well, what the hell, I guess we're Caucasian.' We knew we were European, that's what we were taught at home. So we put down Caucasian. And later on when she [the teacher] checked, after calling all these Johnsons and Philips and Simpsons, she comes across Souza and Rodrigues. Then she says, "What kind of name is that?" We said, "Portuguese." "Well, you're not Caucasians, you're other" [she said].
We were given a bad time at Roosevelt mostly, I think, because of the way we talked. Manuel, my friend, besides speaking pidgin, he spoke with the most awful, what we call a Portagee twang. So at Roosevelt he was a target. Those Haole kids would really razz him.

Most of them were the children of military personnel. Those days you hardly ever saw an Oriental unless—if there were any Orientals in the school, they were the children of judges and prominent people in the community.

[There was a] bitter rivalry between Roosevelt and Punahou. When the Punahou game came around, it was like a fever in the school. The rich Haoles against the poor Haoles.

[He then switched to St. Louis High School, a Catholic school identified with the Portuguese.]

We didn't think it was all that great being around Haoles. We went back to our own kind. (I-0-4-300)

6.2 The Development of the Hawaiian School System

The paternalistic attitudes of the early Haoles meant that they might become the educational patrons of a few non-Haole children whom they considered bright and promising. For most laborers' children, though, any advanced education was impossible. One 70-year-old Portuguese man, who moved repeatedly as a child so that he could attend high school, put it quite graphically: "You had to fight like a tiger to go far in school back then" (I-9-2-320X). (For detailed discussion of the school system see Livesay 1932; Wist 1940; and especially U.S. Department of Interior 1920).

The early Protestant missionaries were committed to education. In 1841 they started a college preparatory school for their own children, who they expected would attend American universities. This school, Punahou Academy, has a reputation today as one of the best
private high schools in the United States and has trained the children of the Haole elite for generations. Public education, however, took a much different course. Having created a written script for the Hawaiian language, the missionaries' original goal was simply to bring literacy to the Native Hawaiians. Protestant missionary primary schools, and later Catholic missionary schools, were spread throughout the Islands. These sectarian schools were the full extent of public education in Hawaii for many years, because the monarchy had made it the responsibility of each locality to "procure themselves a teacher" (Bunson 1977). In 1840 these same sectarian schools were brought under a small degree of central control by the monarchy and declared to be nonsectarian. Nearly all public school students in the 1850's were Native Hawaiians. For their parents there was a growing realization of the importance of English, and some schools started using that language as the medium of instruction. Schools which taught in the Native Hawaiian language charged no tuition but there was a fee for attending an English language school. In 1878, when the Portuguese first arrived in Hawaii, Punahou Academy was customarily sending its graduates to mainland universities, but 61 percent of all public instruction was still offered in the Native Hawaiian language and there were no public high schools on any island. Though the laws of the Hawaiian Kingdom mandated compulsory education for children in the 12-15 year age group, the plantation labor contracts stipulated that children of those ages be given plantation work. This is referred to in an internal plantation document of 1893 as "a complication between the contract and the law." In 1893 this sort of
complication was generally resolved in the favor of the plantation. This contract problem was augmented for the Portuguese by the fees charged at English schools and the extreme remoteness of many plantation camps. Thus, the first Portuguese immigrants often had little opportunity to take advantage of even the minimal public instruction which then existed.\textsuperscript{28}

The short-lived Hawaiian Republic (1894-1898) brought some changes in the public school system. English was made the only medium of instruction, tuition was abolished, and there was an initiation of public secondary schools. But the public school system remained rudimentary. In 1900, 86 percent of all public school enrollment was in grades 1-3 (Wist 1940:143). Prior to 1930 there were only four public high schools in the Territory, one each on the islands of Oahu, Maui, Kauai, and Hawaii. The new mainland Haoles had forced an expansion of the public high school system in 1924, but because of the English proficiency test most non-Haole children were barred from these new college preparatory high schools. The recognition of standard American English as a characteristic of Haoles was thus perpetuated and reinforced. The school system made preparation for college much more readily available to Haole children than to children from laborer groups. Thus, advanced education was also perpetuated and reinforced as a characteristic peculiar to Haoles.

6.3 The Portuguese Social Group and Cognitive Category

The year 1928 marked the fiftieth anniversary of the first arrival of the Portuguese. In 1930 the characteristics of the
individuals in the aggregate Portuguese were very different from those of the late 1800's. By 1930 aggregate members were no longer immigrant Portuguese but had become Hawaiian Portuguese. After the arrival of the last Portuguese labor boat in 1914, additional immigration was essentially nonexistent. Therefore all Portuguese of that time, and all Portuguese of today, had relatives who arrived in Hawaii before 1914. By 1930 the total Portuguese population of 27,588 contained only 3,713 (13.5 percent) foreign-born individuals (Schmitt 1977). In 1930 some children were already being born into the fourth generation and the group contained large numbers in the second and third generations. The Portuguese immigrants had reached Hawaii with no intention of returning to Europe. They had severed all connections with their original homeland. No additional Portuguese arrived in Hawaii to revive these European ties. As older individuals died, the European ways were slowly forgotten. Though the social group retained the name Portuguese, its structure did not extend to Europe and though the category was also called Portuguese, the people it described retained a decreasing number of characteristics which would be generally recognized as European.

The original Honolulu homogeneous neighborhoods had grown in size and strength. In 1930, 45 percent of all the Portuguese in the territory were living in Honolulu (Fuchs 1961:57).

The number of Portuguese organizations increased, but as the foreign-born population dwindled many of the earlier characteristics associated with the Portuguese, such as dress and accent, changed. Though some of their observable behaviors had changed, the Portuguese
self-perception had not changed greatly on some more fundamental characteristics. These represent some of the "basic value orientations" of which Barth (1969) speaks. The intra-group idea of a good Portuguese individual was still that of a person who was hardworking, loyal, thrifty, emotionally open, active, and family-oriented.

The Portuguese social group was beginning to include more individuals from mixed backgrounds. Outmarriage was higher among the Portuguese than the Hawaiian population as a whole. Between 1912 and 1934, approximately 40 percent of Portuguese individuals married non-Portuguese. These marriages were mostly either to Native Hawaiians or to individuals of a non-Portuguese Caucasian group. During this period, for instance, many people from the original Spanish group of the plantation era were being absorbed into the Portuguese social group, and to some extent into the aggregate, through marriage. There were also many marriages to Haoles. Twenty percent of Portuguese women married Haoles between these years; only 2 percent of Portuguese men, however, married Haoles (Adams 1937).

In the 1920's and 1930's, Portuguese individuals continued to acquire personal equity and some were becoming successful businessmen, but the general perception seems to have been that the Portuguese were falling behind the orientals in both economic and social advancement (Fuchs 1961). These years were the beginning of what is usually remembered as a very difficult time for people ascribed to the Portuguese aggregate in Hawaii. It seems that even if a Portuguese individual was not a laborer, he was still treated (especially by
Haoles) as being part of the laboring aggregate. It was a period when many people were no longer publicly willing to admit to being Portuguese because it suggested that they were part of a cognitive/social group which had not and could not advance.

A number of recollections illustrate the difficulties for the Portuguese:

From about 1910 or 20 up to 1955 or 60 it was not the greatest thing in the world to be Portuguese in Hawaii. There was a lot of discrimination. (I-12-1-20)

I don't recall knowing any Haoles on an equal basis. (I-13-1-447)

At one time being Portuguese didn't give you very much status, and there still are many stereotypes about the Portuguese, so it took somebody who really had guts to admit being Portuguese. (I-1-2-X999)

The following comment was made about the naming of a large Portuguese club now called the Portuguese Pioneers Civic Association. The club was originally named only the Pioneers Civic Association: "It was before the war, so [it was] hard to use the word Portuguese" (I-7-1-20).

6.4 Portuguese-Haole Relations

During this period, the earlier disadvantage of being Portuguese, being cast indelibly as a low-status laborer, continued. The kamaaina Haole social group was able to absorb the slow accretion of mainland transplants. It was also able to absorb at least some Portuguese and their children on an individual basis. This is illustrated by the fact that 20 percent of Portuguese women married Haoles. The Haoles would not, however, accept the total membership of the aggregate.
Portuguese into their social group. They steadfastly maintained the cognitive distinction between Portuguese and Haole and thus excluded them. Presumably there was still the fear of inundation and dilution of the Haole's resources (see section 4.8). The year 1930 was the first census in which more Haoles than Portuguese were enumerated (see Appendix C). But even in 1930 the margin was not large. There were 45,000 Haoles and 27,500 Portuguese enumerated in the Territory (Schmitt 1977).

6.5 Cognitive Separation and the Generative Model

This study does not subscribe to the conspiratorial theory of history. It is not suggested instead that the Haoles, meeting in congress, decided to exclude the Portuguese from their group in order to protect its resources. It is suggested that each individual Haole was aware of the limits of his own personal resources and to some extent those of the entire group. The combined effect of each individual Haole acting independently in an attempt to maintain his own security would bar the Portuguese from participation in the Haole social group. Two examples will illustrate how this might occur.

The expected and the acceptable behaviors of aggregate members are described by a cognitive category. The underlying value orientations are likewise described. People in an aggregate can be expected to behave within the parameters of this description and explain their behaviors in accordance with the basic value orientations. If they do not, social sanctions may be brought to bear against them by individuals who recognize their nonconformity.
Another Haole or a recent mainland immigrant could easily be integrated into a Haole's personal social group. They could be expected to behave in accord with recognized Haole principles and conventions. If they did not, negative sanctions could be applied to them. Members of another aggregate would behave in relation to a different cognitive category and therefore social sanctions could not as easily be applied to them by a Haole. A resource of any kind was therefore comparatively more safe when shared with a member of the same aggregate.

A Haole businessman might feel more safe about his business when his partner was another Haole. Because the Portuguese had always been an aggregate kept separate from Haole, they had different shared values and behaviors. Their behavior was less predictable to a Haole and social sanctions could not be as easily mobilized against them. From the Haole's perspective, therefore, his resources were less secure in the hands of a Portuguese not because they would be carelessly handled from a Portuguese perspective but simply because the Portuguese and the Haole perspectives had been maintained as distinct. Haoles would therefore be more likely to share their resources with other Haoles than with Portuguese.

A child is usually considered a thing of value in a family. For the same reasons as stated above, a Haole family would feel more secure if their child married another Haole. A son-in-law from another aggregate might act appropriately for his aggregate but at variance from accepted Haole behavior. Should this happen, the parents-in-law would again have difficulty mobilizing social sanctions
against the son-in-law. We can postulate that it was the total effect of many individual Haole decisions of this kind which maintained the Haole-Portuguese social distance. The social distance in turn reinforced the cognitive distance.

In 1930 group size of the Portuguese and the Haoles was still very close. If Haoles had acted as if there were really no difference in the characteristics of these two categories, a great diluting of the Haole social resources and a modifying of the characteristics associated with Haole would have followed. The Haoles had no need to admit the Portuguese to their social group. The Haoles controlled most of the economic and political resources of the Territory, and as these resources increased additional personnel were constantly added to the group from the U.S. mainland. There was thus no need for the Haoles to recruit any Portuguese into their group. Rather, it would seem that they actively discouraged Portuguese from inclusion in the Haole group. They also tried to create cognitive distance between the categories Haole and Portuguese. One method by which this was accomplished was by steadfastly clinging to a belief in those characteristics traditionally associated with the Portuguese, despite increasing dissonance between those characteristics and the actual personal characteristics of members of the aggregate. Characteristics which were the opposite of generally accepted Haole characteristics seem to have been emphasized for the Portuguese. The inability of the Portuguese to speak standard American English and their role as laborers, though only 30 percent actually were laborers (Schmitt
1977), are examples of contrasting characteristics which were emphasized for the Portuguese by the Haoles.

6.6 Reactions of Aggregate Members to the Cognitive Category

Portuguese

This identification as laboring people and the limitations it imposed in a Haole-dominated system chafed on many Portuguese. There were both individual attempts and an attempt by the Portuguese group as a whole to eradicate the cognitive distinction between Portuguese and Haole. The attempts by individuals were called "passing" by the Portuguese, and are a common phenomenon throughout the world. These changes of personal ascription are what Barth (1969) referred to when he spoke of ethnic boundary permeability. Individual Portuguese through modifying their personal behaviors came to be ascribed to the aggregate Haole. Since they were Caucasians, the Portuguese already looked like Haoles. By modifying some of their behaviors and assuming the characteristics associated with Haoles, they could be taken as Haoles and thus become Haoles during short-term interaction. The actual mechanism of this change will be discussed in the next chapter. Some of the reasons why passing took place are suggested in these comments by two Portuguese:

The attitude at that time was you could associate with the Portuguese—but you wouldn't marry one, and the Portuguese felt that very strongly, and this is why this strong desire to shake off this identity as quickly as possible, especially among those that could pass for Haole; and many can. (II-7-4-480)

The desire on the part of a lot of these people was to get out of the Local category into the Haole category, because you got better treatment as a Haole. Since they could
pull that off, I can see why a lot of people took that route—or tried to. (I-13-2-529)

Because being Portuguese was looked on by some (though definitely not by all) Portuguese as a social stigma, there was a continuing attempt by some socially prominent Portuguese to change the characteristics popularly associated with members of the Portuguese aggregate. Instances of these attempts can be found from 1890 to the present. The desire to change the characteristics was sometimes expressed in various newspaper and magazine articles, where the virtues of the Portuguese were extolled.31 It also affected Hawaiian public policy during the 1940's.

The official censuses of Hawaii had been carried out first by the missionaries, then the monarchy, and, starting in 1900, by the U.S. Census Bureau. In 1930, the enumeration still followed in a number of ways the pattern laid down in the plantation record system. Portuguese and Spanish were listed separately from the Haoles, who remained "other Caucasians." Much pressure was put on the Territorial government by some Portuguese to request that the U.S. Census Bureau discontinue this separate enumeration during the 1940 census. The issue was discussed heatedly, and various expert committees were formed. It was finally decided that "other Caucasians" would not appear on the census and the Territory would no longer officially recognize a distinction between Portuguese and "other Caucasians."

This was an attempt to manipulate the cognitive aspects of the cognitive/social system through public policy. It was directed at ending the distinction between the Haole and Portuguese aggregates.
These attempts may be the basis of the observations by Fuchs (1961), Estepe (1941), Kimura (1955) and others that the Portuguese were trying to become Haoles. Though these attempts to manipulate the characteristics associated with Portuguese continued for many years, they seem to have failed. Evidence of this is the almost universal recognition of the category Portuguese as being distinct from Haole in the Hawaiian cognitive system of today. This is not evidence of failure to manipulate the category on the part of all Portuguese, however. This study proposes that there was a countercurrent by some of the Portuguese. The participants in the countercurrent endeavored to keep the category Portuguese distinct from Haole and securely within the contrasting aggregate laborer, or Local. It will be seen that keeping these categories distinct also requires manipulation of the characteristics of the cognitive category Portuguese. The existence of this countercurrent indicates that even as the disadvantages of being Portuguese, and thus being considered a laborer, became more manifest, certain advantages were also growing. One of these advantages developed as anti-Haole sentiment in Hawaii grew to match the new racist attitudes of the Coast Haoles. This is a description by a Native Hawaiian playground supervisor from the 1940's. It suggests one advantage of being Portuguese, and in the laborer group, rather than Haole:

And so, when I came to be a recreation director--now I worked in Kailua. Palama, Kalihi, no more Haoles. [There were no Haoles in the areas of Palama or Kalihi.] Get Portuguese that look like Haoles. [There are Portuguese who look like Haoles.] But funny, you know, nobody jump
on the Portuguese. Blond hair, blue eyes, but you no see anybody jump on the Portuguese. But if Haole, immediately the world changes. (Ethnic Studies 1979:402)

6.7 Some Cognitive/Social Effects of World War II

World War II had enormous social and cognitive repercussions in Hawaii. As an aftermath of events brought on by the war, the old Haole elite would lose social, political, and economic control of the Islands. This control was not immediately wrested away from them, but after the war their influence was slowly eroded. One of the causes for the cognitive changes in the category Haole was the huge influx of servicemen.

The [mainland] Haole impact during the war was overwhelming. There were more servicemen than civilians. It just broke up Island society. That was the end of it. No one was the same after the war. (I-4-4-700)

In 1944 the total civilian population of Hawaii was 452,134, while the active military personnel numbered 406,811. The military personnel had numbered only 27,000 five years before (see Table 6.1). The military personnel and the thousands of civilian war workers who accompanied them to Hawaii were mostly mainland Caucasians and they were thus classed as a kind of Haole. But they were transients and there was no possibility of integrating them into the established Haole social group, nor of initiating them into an understanding of expected Haole behaviors. The Local reaction seems to have been almost universally one of shock and amazement.

Since Haoles had always maintained a unified social and behavioral front, the new range of variation (from Appalachian farmer to New York City kosher butcher) must have seemed remarkable. The
Table 6.1
Population of Hawaii, 1940-1951

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year (July 1)</th>
<th>Resident Population</th>
<th>De Facto Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Armed Forces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>427,884</td>
<td>30,041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>459,335</td>
<td>48,187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>582,026</td>
<td>135,907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>649,650</td>
<td>199,832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>858,945</td>
<td>406,811</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>814,601</td>
<td>354,734</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>545,439</td>
<td>65,731</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>526,238</td>
<td>38,683</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>517,013</td>
<td>32,849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>511,039</td>
<td>30,681</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>497,980</td>
<td>20,063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>514,256</td>
<td>44,188</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The Haole out-migration during the war is not reflected in the figures below because it was counterbalanced by an almost equal influx of civilian military workers.

Caucasians brought by the war were Haoles by the old definition (mainland, Caucasians), but they did not act like Haoles. Most could not tell a Chinese from a Korean, or a Portuguese from a Haole—and they often did not have the time or inclination to try. The characteristics associated with Haole were slowly changed to include the new variations. The defining characteristics of Haole no longer included "wealthy," and they would never include it again. "Mainland orientation" had always been a characteristic of Haole, but this now became the hallmark characteristic.

As the mainland servicemen accumulated in Hawaii, a large number of the local Haoles were moving to the mainland. The Pearl Harbor attack and a later shelling of downtown Honolulu by a Japanese submarine convinced people that Hawaii was not safe. Everyone suddenly wanted to move to the U.S. mainland, and there were thousands of houses on the market. Both the Haoles and the Portuguese moved out of their traditional neighborhoods and the Japanese and Chinese moved in. The mainland was not a comfortable place for an Oriental during World War II and few moved there. To the Japanese the mainland meant almost certain imprisonment in an internment center. Hawaii, on the other hand, interned only those Japanese who were religious leaders or who taught in Japanese language schools. There were a number of very Hawaiian reasons for the Japanese not being interned in the Territory, but one reason which cannot be ignored was the difficulty of incarcerating a group which constituted 37 percent of the population. So the Japanese and Chinese inherited many of the houses and the jobs which the refugees left behind.
World War II brought other changes for the Japanese. Japanese men formed the 442nd Division, which fought in the European theater. It was the single most decorated division in the American armed forces, and finally laid to rest what had been the "Japanese problem" in Hawaii and was starting to be called the Yellow Peril. The loyalty of the Hawaiian Japanese unquestionably lay with the United States. The Republican Party, which was the Haole party, had always controlled Hawaii, but after World War II the Democratic Party, supported by the Japanese, gained complete dominance in the Territory.

The war also had an effect on education. The children of most laborers had little chance of attending college before World War II. The GI bill meant that many attended afterward. Thus, advanced education was no longer the exclusive province of the Haoles.

After the war many kamaaina Haoles returned to Hawaii, but so did some of the servicemen stationed there during the war. This immigration of new mainland people has continued to increase each year since 1950. At the end of World War II the Big Five corporations still controlled the total Hawaiian economy. The sugar industry was the backbone of the economy, with the Haoles still in control. American Factors and Theo H. Davies, two of the Big Five, shared between them the wholesaling of nearly any item in Hawaii (Shelley 1967). The war, however, had familiarized the mainland with Hawaii, and established mainland companies, such as Woolworth's, started to move in during the 1950's. These new businesses introduced a type of competition which the Big Five were unable to contain. (Shelley 1967). After statehood in 1959, mainland economic interests increased
dramatically. The sugar industry continued to grow, but federal expenditures and tourism grew much more rapidly and finally they supplaned sugar in importance within the Hawaiian economy.\textsuperscript{32}
A review of the history outlined in the previous chapters is necessary to highlight a number of trends which will be germane to the following discussion of the present Hawaiian cognitive/social system. At one level, the Hawaiian cognitive/social system on the plantations and in the cities until World War II contained two major aggregates--the Haoles versus everybody else (i.e., the laborers). There were, however, many other cognitive distinctions if one views the system from the perspective of each aggregate (e.g., the Japanese versus everybody else, the Portuguese versus everybody else, the Japanese versus the Portuguese). The Haoles' exclusive control in the social domain, however, meant that in the cognitive domain Haole versus everybody else was a distinction of paramount importance.

The Haoles had control of almost all of the economic, social, and political resources while the laborers had control of almost no resources at all. The laborers developed an internal system of social relations appropriate to this setting of limited cash and power. In many ways it was clearly better to be a Haole than a laborer, but the Haoles maintained a rigid barrier against any individual of the laborer category gaining entrance to their social group or securing control of Haole resources. It became increasingly difficult to be Portuguese. The status and socio-economic position of Portuguese
individuals was generally perceived as declining constantly relative to that of individuals in most other aggregates, until the 1960's (Fuchs 1961). Many of the Portuguese purportedly tried to solve all of the above problems (lack of resources, low status, etc.) by satisfying the personal criteria for Haole, gaining ascription to the Haole cognitive category and thus securing potential membership in the Haole social group.

We will see in this chapter that the category laborer has metamorphosed into the new category Local. This category now stands in opposition to Haole, which has now become synonymous with Mainland. These two concepts, Local and Haole, form a cognitive contrast set. They describe two descent-charted behavior aggregates of the type previously discussed in Chapter 1. They also represent parallel social subsystems or matrices which exist simultaneously in Hawaii today and which draw their participants from the corresponding aggregate. This cognitive contrast between Haole and Local thus represents perceived differences in the behavioral as well as the social structural or institutional domains. It will be shown that parallel social matrices do exist simultaneously today in Hawaii. The members of the current Haole aggregate and the social subsystem they dominate have retained some of the traditional resource base of the old Haoles. This has been augmented by mainland introductions. Due to marked social, economic, and political realignments, the Local subsystem has now gained its own resource base. The two social subsystems or matrices are associated through the cognitive categories which describe their participants with quite different underlying
assumptions about the world and with contrasting appropriate
behavioral repertoires.

We will also see that even though the cognitive distinction at
the group level remains intact, the social boundary between the
aggregates Portuguese and Haole is permeable to individuals. Many
Portuguese have in fact become Haoles. At the same time, however,
there are Haoles who have become Portuguese. This transition between
Portuguese and Haole is a decision made by individuals based on their
own current and potential resources as well as on the frame of their
current and long-term interactive situations and their own personal
proclivities.

7.1 The Current Honolulu Setting

At the end of the 1970's Hawaii seems, at least superficially, to
be a very different sort of place than it was in the 1930's. The
island of Oahu has changed the most dramatically. Its population has
continued to increase faster than that of the other islands, some of
which are showing a net decrease in population. The total
population of the Honolulu metropolitan area was 581,449 in 1980
(Hawaii Department of Planning and Economic Development 1981). It is
a big city which seems to have grown on the pattern of Los Angeles,
with a metropolitan area that spreads far beyond the official city
limits. Oahu is now laced with highways, and by the mid-1970's there
was one registered vehicle for every licensed driver on the island.
Though there are still areas considered to be "country," Honolulu can
be reached from any spot on the island in less than one hour by car.
Waianae, which in 1900 was a full day's wagon ride from the city, is now 40 minutes away by car.

Though some areas of Oahu are undeniably rural, city versus country has also become a state of mind. Papakaleo, an area of official Native Hawaiian homesteads, though within Honolulu's city boundary and only five minutes from the center of town, would be considered by some people to be essentially country in nature. There is a huge shopping center in the middle of Honolulu which features mainland retailers such as Sears, Penney's, Long's Drug Store, and McDonald's. Waikiki has also grown prodigiously, to accommodate the increased number of tourists. On the average day in 1980 there were 96,000 tourists in the state (Hawaii Department of Planning and Economic Development 1980). This number equals 10 percent of the total resident population of the state.

It was the penetration of Hawaii by social and economic institutions from the U.S. mainland that ended the Haole domination of the islands. The sugar industry and the Big Five are still active in Hawaii. The old Haole elite is also still there. These old-style Haoles can be found at the Hawaii Sugar Planters Association, the exclusive Pacific Club, and sitting on the boards of directors of major banks, corporations, and foundations. They may still have power individually, but the total control exercised by the old Haole oligarchy is no more. One is no longer considered rich and powerful simply because he or she is Haole.

The expansion of mainland institutions in Hawaii has allowed the social and economic advancement of individuals from aggregates other
than Haole. Many people from what was considered the laboring class are now in roles previously reserved for Haoles. Many go to college, enter the professions, have become extremely wealthy businessmen. It is not unusual to meet a member of the Local aggregate in any social or economic role in the state. The Haole elite was always a minority of the population. As the laborers and their children struggled for education and gained citizenship and the right to vote, the power relationships slowly changed. The Haole-dominated Republican Party was voted out of office and does not seem likely to return to power in the foreseeable future. Thus the previously disenfranchised Local social group has gained control over extensive political and economic resources which it must husband and protect.

Another significant change has been the shift in relative numerical strengths of the various cognitive/social groups in Hawaii (see Appendix C). The last organized importation of laborers was from the Philippines and ended in 1946. The Filipino laborers, as with many early groups, came as single men and their stated intentions were most often to get rich and return to the Philippines. Very many did not return, however, and these men formed the nucleus of a growing group of permanent immigrants.

The majority of plantation labor today is still Filipino and this group is often considered part of the larger aggregate laborer or Local. The Japanese and Chinese groups grew in size through some in-migration and the addition of locally born offspring. The original immigrants had been barred from gaining citizenship; their children were automatically citizens. This growing number of previously
disenfranchised citizens is a major factor in the shift of power in local Hawaiian politics.

7.2 The Increasing Importance of Self-Ascription

The issue of self-ascription of aggregate membership was mentioned in Chapter 2 but must now be dealt with in more depth. No one in Hawaii can enter interaction without ascription to some Hawaiian descent-based cognitive aggregate. The implications of this ascription are always of importance in the framing of any interaction. A number of developments have coalesced, however, to give the interactant some flexibility in self-ascription for both short- and long-term contacts. First among these factors is the number of inter-aggregate marriages and thus the number of individuals who by a strictly genealogical measure have a claim to be in two or more cognitive aggregates. There is always, at the popular level, an assumption that ascription to the type of social/cognitive aggregate being discussed is genealogically based. At the popular level the Hawaiian approach to these claims of genealogical heritage is bilateral, including all affines. The number of inter-aggregate marriages has continued to grow through the years. In 1930 it was 21 percent, in 1960 it was 38 percent (Schmitt 1977); in 1975 it was 40.1 percent (Hawaii Data Book 1976). Thus a growing number of individuals have a genealogical claim to ascription in more than one aggregate. Not only are those with multiple claims growing, but the number of claims which any one individual can make is also growing. One frequently meets individuals who can trace their descent lines to
members of three or four distinct cognitive/social groups. The following is not an unreasonable pedigree for a person born in Honolulu in the 1970's (Figure 7.1). One now meets younger people who characterize themselves simply as "Mix," [mixed] which means "generalized Local."36

Other factors have also conspired to make the ascription of an unknown individual to a specific aggregate increasingly ambiguous during short-term interactions. Though a person's surname is evidential, it is no longer a conclusive characteristic of any aggregate. An example is a Native Hawaiian all of whose kin are also Native Hawaiians, save his paternal grandfather, who was Chinese. He might be considered, during all interactions, a Native Hawaiian, but with the surname Wong.

Not only do individuals sometimes carry what seem to be inappropriate names but the source of many surnames themselves have become obscure. For various reasons a family could enter the plantation records with a name other than the one that they had carried before immigration. The descendents of these people now carry a name associated with the wrong aggregate or with no aggregate at all. A non-English speaking immigrant sometimes had little comprehension or control of how he was listed in the records. The Portuguese name Simão seems sometimes to have been Anglicized into Simmon.

The following story illustrates this confusion for one Portuguese family. Bernardo is not considered a Portuguese surname.
Sample (Hypothetical) Pedigree for an Individual Born in Honolulu in 1970's, Showing Four Plausible Categories for Ascription on Genealogical Grounds

Figure 7.1
My grandfather's family was named Bernardo because they asked the kids in school, "What is your father's name?" His real name was Sousa but they must have said "Bernardo," his given name. (I-15-1-31)

Increasingly a person's surname is seen as a trick of fate rather than a sure sign of his aggregate affiliation.

Because of mixed marriages, phenotypic appearance is also becoming an ambiguous characteristic. It is least ambiguous at the level of contrast between Haole and Local. Haoles are assumed to be unmixed Caucasians and a person who looks Oriental cannot qualify as a Haole. Locals are usually assumed to be Oriental, Polynesian, or mixed in appearance. The only unmixed Caucasians who are generally recognized as potential Locals are Portuguese (an original laboring group), and Local Haoles. (Local Haoles will be discussed in section 7.6).

Another factor is a general convergent evolution of individual and therefore group behaviors. Almost everyone speaks English, most men wear some type of loose-fitting tropical shirt, the decision of whether to buy Japanese saimin at the local drive-in or Portuguese sweet bread at the bakery is one of personal taste and is not dependent on being Japanese or Portuguese. Distinguishing behavioral characteristics do exist in many realms (e.g., pidgin accent, hair and dress styles, preference for certain foods), but they have become emblematic (referred to by Leach [1954] as markers) and thus more open to direct personal manipulation. The existence of this convergent behavior is described in comments by two Portuguese, both in their nineties:
I tell you something about the Portuguese—these younger generation altogether different. (I-7-1-800)

Those days [1910] was plenty Portuguese. Today is hardly nothing. You don't even know if they Portuguese. (I-10-2-100)

Social changes in Hawaii have brought an increase in the number of potentially ambiguous interactive situations. Especially in Honolulu, people are constantly forced into interaction with previously unknown individuals. Unlike on the plantation or in Honolulu of 1915, one comes in contact with many people who are familiar but are still not well known. The salesman, the newspaper boy, the telephone repairman, the other women in the typing pool are all basically strangers. Thus a person's childhood group affiliation need not necessarily remain unchanged following them through life. There is more opportunity for negotiating aggregate self-ascription on a short- and even a long-term basis.

7.3 The Negotiation of Self-Ascription

A few examples will summarize and clarify how self-ascription, in the context of this ascriptive ambiguity, is operationalized at both the official and personal levels. On the purely statistical level, there can be much confusion which leads to a great difficulty in profiling the Hawaiian population using aggregate affiliation as one of the indices (see Appendix C). One man, who is Native Hawaiian-Portuguese-Chinese, tells this story:

I had a heck of a time every time the census came into the school. They'd say, "Check one," and when you have three or four nationalities—which one you gonna check? So I ask the teacher, "What do I put?" They would say, "Are you part-Hawaiian?" You say, "Yes." They say, "Check
that one." They never ask how much Portuguese you are or Chinese or Caucasian. As a result I have cards listing me as everything. In the military the question is, "Have you got any Mongolian ancestry?" I had to put yes, 'cause I'm one-eighth Chinese. I said, what the heck. On my driver's license I got Caucasian. (I-23-2-X958)

As mentioned in Chapter 2, individual children in a mixed marriage are usually identified as being more like one side of the family or the other. They usually learn the appropriate behaviors associated with both categories. If the two potential aggregates are compatible (i.e., if they have a number of behavioral or physical characteristics in common, like Portuguese and Native Hawaiian, or Japanese and Chinese), then a person may simply remain both, emphasizing one or the other depending on the context of the immediate situation. Individuals may also come to be recognized as being entirely one identity or the other during all interactions.

The negotiation of self-ascribed aggregate affiliation is a potential part of all short-term interactions between previously unfamiliar individuals. The degree of specificity arrived at, however, depends entirely on the importance of aggregate affiliation in the framing of the interaction. Two examples from the research for this study will illustrate the development of ever greater specificity as an interaction continues and its negotiated framing evolves.

I was in a Local job setting and requested an interview with any Portuguese employee. The supervisor stated that there were no Portuguese employees. I identified what I believed to be a Portuguese employee by finding an uncommon Portuguese name on the job roster. When the employee I sought came in, he was asked asked in pidgin by
the supervisor (who was not his immediate boss), "Eh, you Portuguese?"
The employee's answer was, "Full." The employee, it would seem, had
been ascribed by the supervisor as simply some unspecified type of
Local.

The interview proceeded framed as Haole interviewer and
Portuguese informant. After some time the Portuguese man mentioned
that he had gone to Kamehameha High School. I gave a questioning
look, as only Native Hawaiians are admitted to that private school,
and the previously "full" Portuguese informant finished his sentence
by saying, "So I must be part-Hawaiian." The topic shifted to
ancestry, and he mentioned that his mother was from Molokai. When
asked if he knew the German relative of a friend of mine, it turned
out that they were also his relatives. His final pedigree was 1/2
Portuguese (from his father), 1/4 Native Hawaiian, 1/8 Portuguese,
1/16 German, 1/16 Dutch (from his mother). There was no deceit in his
initial claim of being Portuguese. It was simply his opening position
in the negotiation of aggregate membership and of an interactive
frame. This process of negotiation could also be stated as, "Tell me
more about yourself and I'll tell you more about myself."

A second example is more nearly a natural everyday speech event
and also exemplifies the reluctance with which some people admit
Portuguese affiliation, as well as the impersonal nature of many
Honolulu settings. I was in a large middle-management level office of
a big institution, talking with a Portuguese woman in her late forties
who is a friend of mine. The office contained at least 30 desks.
This particular setting would be considered a Haole environment. I
asked if there were any other Portuguese in the office, and she said
she didn't think so. I then asked specifically about the "Portuguese­
looking" woman who had a desk on the other side of the large room.
They had never been introduced. The woman was approached and my
friend asked, "Are you Portuguese?" The woman's initial response was,
"Some." Introductions showed her to have a Portuguese name. When she
discovered that my friend was Portuguese and that I was sympathetic,
she said she was "mostly" Portuguese. She then discovered some
childhood friendship connections with my friend, and as they traced
these out, searching for other connections, she proved to be entirely
of Portuguese ancestry. Thus, as the framing of their interaction
shifted from a conversation between unknown office co-workers to one
between possible old friends with interlocking personal networks,
their aggregate affiliation shifted as part of the framing.

A person's own self-ascription to a cognitive aggregate is
increasingly accepted in the framing of a situation. This self­
ascription is immediately disallowed only if there is obvious
dissonance between a person's appearance or behavior and the
attributes of the category claimed. The instances in which an
individual's self-ascription is questioned are decreasing. This is
due to a decreasing number of characteristics through which an
observed individual can be unambiguously assigned to or barred from
ascription to a given aggregate. Because the validity of aggregate
ascription during short-term interactions is more often evaluated
through immediate behavior than by a knowledge of a person's kin ties,
the whole process of aggregate ascription has come to have primarily a
behavioral rather than a strictly descent basis. The Native Hawaiian named Wong can be accepted during interaction as an undisputed Native Hawaiian. The characteristics in a cognitive category which describe an individual's behavior and the implied aggregate membership of the individual have become almost totally independent of actual descent. Descent is more often assumed from behavioral clues to aggregate membership than the reverse.

7.4 Descent Basis versus Descent Charter

Throughout our discussion thus far, reference has often been made to the fact that the type of cognitive/social aggregates we are discussing (often called "ethnic" groups) have a presumed descent basis but an actual behavioral basis and only a descent charter. A comparison of the relationships between an item and its category in both the periodic table of elements and the Hawaii cognitive system of social groups will illustrate this behavioral basis. To be useful, all classification systems must allow inference from both a specific example to the general descriptive principles and from the general principles to the specific example. If we are told that a specific piece of metal is known to be lead (i.e., to be a member of the category lead) it can be assumed to have all the properties we associate with lead. Likewise, if we determine the properties of a piece of lead, these are also general properties and describe all other pieces of lead. The characteristics of the class of metals lead are unambiguously the properties of every piece of lead.
For this same bidirectional inference to be true of the system which describes cognitive aggregates, the significant characteristics must be behavioral, not descent. In this case descent turns out to be a trivial characteristic. If a person's observed behavior is always and in every way consonant with that expected of an individual described by the category Filipino, then one can infer (in fact, the implied underpinnings of the system demand that one should infer) that he is a member of the Filipino aggregate and has some descent connection with other members of the Filipino aggregate. This is because claiming aggregate membership through behavior is synonymous with claiming shared descent, which is one of the characteristics of aggregate membership. It is not, however, possible to infer in the opposite direction using the single characteristic of descent. If one discovers that this same individual actually has a totally Japanese genealogy, it is profitless to infer that he should be treated as a Japanese during interaction. His behavior is entirely that appropriate to the category Filipino and therefore can be decoded and predicted most effectively within the parameters of that category. His actual descent is less important than his behavior during interaction. The purpose of assigning him to a descent-chartered aggregate, especially during short-term interactions, is not to establish his pedigree but instead to find a cognitive framework within which his behaviors can be meaningfully interpreted. It might be wise to remember that he could perhaps produce behavior at some future time which is meaningful only if interpreted within a Japanese context, and it would also be wise to notice that there may be other individuals with Japanese
descent who behave as Filipinos, but to treat him as Japanese when he consistently reacts as a Filipino would confound the interactive situation and lead to a complete degradation of the communicative frame. Therefore, one can make meaningful inference only from the general to the specific, only if the salient general characteristics are seen as behavioral, not descent. This is in accord with a fact of which anthropology has been aware for some time. This fact is that genealogy is seldom treated as an incontrovertible historical fact. Genealogy is much more often used and manipulated as a symbolic representation of a current social reality.39

7.5 The Present Haole Aggregate and Group

The Haole aggregate and group in Hawaii has grown quickly and changed in character. Today a large percentage of those in the Haole aggregate are Caucasians recently immigrated from the mainland. In 1970 the U.S. Census found that the Caucasians (the figure includes all Caucasians, not just the Haoles) were the largest group in the state, with 31 percent of the population (see Appendix C). Much of this increase is due to immigration from the mainland. The 1970 census also found that 29 percent of the total resident population of the state had been born on the U.S. mainland (Schmitt 1970:90). Much of this 29 percent is made up of newly arrived mainland Haoles. The state sponsors a continuous survey of all westbound air passengers to Hawaii.40 These surveys show that over 95 percent of the mainland-born individuals who annually relocate in Hawaii are Caucasian. They are most often in their twenties, equally likely to be married or
single; 60 percent of the party heads have professional, technical, or managerial occupations. With the end of the Haole oligarchy newly arrived Haoles and even long-time resident Haoles are no longer assured of high social status. Therefore, though Haoles continue to be heavily represented in what the U.S. Department of Labor calls preferred jobs (i.e., professional, managerial, etc.), there are now individuals from the aggregate spread throughout the socio-economic spectrum. Though they are also heavily represented in what might be called preferred neighborhoods, there is scarcely a locality on Oahu without at least a few resident Haoles.

These newly arrived Caucasians from the mainland are classed as Haoles for reasons previously described in Chapter 6. The descriptive characteristics contained in the category Haole have changed to accommodate their behavior. Caucasian appearance and mainland orientation have become the defining characteristics of those in the Haole aggregate. The earlier characteristic of class has almost disappeared. Haole has become simply a cognitive aggregate with a descent charter. The point of origin from which all Haoles are assumed to trace their descent is the United States mainland. In fact, as the mainland immigrant population has grown, the word Haole has in some contexts come to be synonymous with mainland.

Haole individuals in general are assumed to have a number of behavioral characteristics. The characteristics most often mentioned from a Local perspective are: brash, cold and unfriendly, selfish, independent, and personally ambitious, as well as "from the mainland." They are also often mentioned as having a feeling of
superiority toward other groups. These characteristics are loosely associated with all Haoles. A number of cognitive subsets have arisen which describe the behavior of different kinds of Haoles more specifically. These subsets are not another kind of descent-chartered behavioral aggregate because the members of all of them trace descent from the same source. They are an entirely different type of cognitive grouping. As mentioned in Chapter 1, not all members of the aggregate share the characteristics summarized in the cognitive category equally. These subsets are a way of cognitively grouping members of the total aggregate according to the type and degree of characteristics which they evidence as individuals. It is a descriptive shorthand in which a particular array of characteristics are assumed to be present in subset members.

We have frequently referred to the fact that some social groups draw their members exclusively from a single cognitive aggregate. This was true of the Haole social group on the plantation whose members were from the Haole aggregate. There can be identified within any society smaller social groupings which are drawn from a limited segment of an aggregate. While theoretically any aggregate member can potentially be recruited into these groups, they tend to select members based on the aggregate subsets.

Originally there was only one Haole grouping, the Haoles, who maintained a unified social and cognitive front. Later there were two Haole cognitive/social subsets drawn from the single Haole aggregate, the kamasina Haoles, who were the heirs of the old Haole elite, and the Coast Haoles, who were more recent transplants. Today there seem
to be three main cognitive/social subsets and a number of even more
detailed distinctions as viewed from both the Local and Haole
perspective (Figure 7.2). As previously mentioned, a chart or listing
of this nature is not really an exact taxonomic structure. It is not
a chart with the exactness of the periodic table, where any example
fits neatly into a specific location. It does not even have the
precision of the usual taxonomic structure constructed through
componential analysis, where items are often unambiguously members of
a specific class. It is a cognitive schemata. It is used as a guide
for the structuring and interpretation of interaction and is therefore
of utility only if it is sufficiently ambiguous to provide room for
negotiation during interactions. For this reason very few examples of
individuals, items, or behaviors will fit unambiguously into a
specific cognitive class or set. The structure itself leads to
ambiguity because it contains interlocking overlapping categories. It
will be noted that at times we have referred to these cognitive
categories as aiding in the prediction and interpretation of behaviors
while at other times we have called them highly ambiguous. This is
not a contradiction because they are in fact both. Behavior is rule
guided but not rule determined. Thus, knowing that someone is a Haole
limits the potential behaviors one might expect from that individual.
There are, however, within the limits set for acceptable Haole
behavior many potential behaviors for each context. There are also
multiple sets of explanations which can be referred to in order to
justify any given behavior. Being in an aggregate does not program
one's behavior exactly but it does set limits of acceptability.
Figure 7.2

Relationship of Cognitive/Social Groups in Hawaii
(Excluding Subdivisions within the Constituent Local Groups)
7.6 Subsets of the Haole Aggregate

The three main subsets of Haole today are kamaaina Haole, Mainland Haole, and Local Haole. Kamaaina Haoles are sometimes also called Missionary Haoles or "real" Haoles. They are contemporary representatives of the old Haole elite. Though drastically diminished in proportional numbers, they live on in Hawaii. Their anticipated behavior is little changed from what was associated with the early Haoles of the plantations. The second category, Mainland Haoles, describes individuals who are thought to have a limited knowledge of Hawaii. Their underlying belief system and their behavioral repertoire is that which is appropriate to the U.S. mainland. These are individuals who one assumes might behave inappropriately in a Local (non-Haole) social context. This group is also sometimes referred to as "real" Haoles. The preference for calling either Mainland or kamaaina Haoles "real" Haoles apparently depends on whether one considers elitism or the mainland as the defining characteristic of the total aggregate Haole. It seems that younger individuals are more likely to consider the Mainland Haoles to be the real Haoles.

The Mainland Haole category itself has a number of subsets (Figure 7.2). One of these is Tourist. The tourist is the penultimate transient. They sometimes never realize that the Hawaiian waitress who serves them a tiny dab of poi at a staged luau in Waikiki actually considers herself to be Japanese. Another subcategory is Military Haole. The U.S. military is a decidedly mainland, and thus Haole, institution. Though tours of duty in Hawaii may sometimes be
long, they are usually less than four years (Table 7.1) and the generally sequestered life of the military (especially for enlisted men) means that many military people continue to live in a mainland environment. The Military Haole is generally believed to understand more about Hawaii than the Tourist. This understanding could be characterized in the following way. They can distinguish a Native Hawaiian girl from a Japanese girl, but by just looking at the girls they haven't a clue as to what their friends or mothers are probably like.

The third subcategory of mainland Haole has no common specific name, though its members are sometimes called kamaaina Haoles because of long residence. Resident Alien Caucasians might be a good name for them. These are individuals who were born and raised on the mainland but now reside in Hawaii on what appears to be a permanent basis. As more Haoles immigrate to Hawaii, the size of this group is increasing. These are individuals who often present a basically mainland style of behavior. They frequently have jobs in Haole institutions or businesses and most or all of their close contacts are with other Haoles. Though their knowledge of Hawaii may be copious, they often do not have extensive and active personal networks outside the Haole aggregate.

The third major subset of Haole is Local Haole (Figure 7.2). This is a very ambiguous category and even its name is a combination of contrasting terms. This is one of two behavioral domains where these two normally contrasting categories intersect. (The other is Haolefied Local.) It describes a group of individuals who evidence a
Table 7.1
Length of Residence in Hawaii by Military Status: 1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of Residence in Hawaii</th>
<th>All Groups</th>
<th>Armed Forces</th>
<th>Military Dependents</th>
<th>Other Civilians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All periods</td>
<td>930,271</td>
<td>35,098</td>
<td>63,309</td>
<td>831,864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 1 year</td>
<td>50,260</td>
<td>6,110</td>
<td>14,252</td>
<td>29,898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 to 4 years</td>
<td>158,722</td>
<td>21,718</td>
<td>37,109</td>
<td>99,894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 to 9 years</td>
<td>110,639</td>
<td>2,814</td>
<td>6,230</td>
<td>101,595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 to 19 years</td>
<td>186,957</td>
<td>2,010</td>
<td>3,186</td>
<td>181,760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 years or more</td>
<td>19,217</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>18,406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median (years)</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

combination of Local and Haole traits. An example would be an individual with entirely mainland Caucasian (not Portuguese) progenitors who is thus Haole but who was born in Hawaii and intends to remain in Hawaii for the rest of his life. He speaks pidgin and has many personal contacts within the Local aggregate. A more specific example would be a Haole man who moved to Hawaii in his twenties, married a woman from a Local aggregate, settled in a rural area, has a manual laborer's job, and spends much time participating in his wife's and his own social networks.

The category Local Haole is not new. There were always a few individuals who, though Haole, had all or most of their contacts among what the other Haoles considered laborers. It was, however, a subset with very few members. This is how one Portuguese man described it:

There are also people [Haoles] who are not elite but just ordinary people. But there have been so few of them until the last couple of decades that people like me never really knew about them. We might run across one but we would only know them as individuals—not as a whole group. (I-13-1-742)

Because these individuals have the personal characteristics of both Haoles and Locals, the exact mix of characteristics and the situations where they will be evident are not immediately clear simply from subset membership. It is assumed that a Local Haole is competent at some Haole behavior as well as some Local behavior. A person's potential behavior in any specific situation, and the extent of his personal network contacts, are thus not easily predictable. Each individual who says, "I am a Local Haole, judge me by those criteria," must therefore be tested during interaction extensively and repeatedly.
in order to ascertain just what the mix of Local and Haole traits are. Might they produce behavior embarrassing to a Local? Do they have a network of helpful kinsmen and friends? Might they suddenly depart for the mainland? Though this is one avenue of access for a Caucasian to the economic and political resources held by the Local social group, the ambiguity of the role makes it a difficult interactive presentation.

This subset can include all Haoles who become Local and therefore individuals who start in any of the above subsets may, through a radical change in their behavioral presentation, be assigned to this one. The following statement was made about an active member of Our Lady of the Mount in the 1930's who was a Haole born on the mainland: "Yeah, but he was a Local boy, a Local Kalihi boy" (I-10-notes).

In most conversation all members of the above groups are referred to simply as Haoles (e.g., "that Haole guy"). It is only for further contextual refinement or to heighten contrast that a person would be referred to as a Military or Local Haole.

7.7 Two Contrasting Social Matrices--Haole and Local

Hawaii has a single social system, but this social system contains two quite different interwoven social matrices. We will term these the Local matrix and the Haole matrix. Their contrast is the most obvious in Honolulu, the site of this study, because it is the location with the most obvious penetration by mainland institutions.

These matrices, and the social groupings embedded in them, draw their participants from the membership of specific cognitive
aggregates. The Local matrix draws its personnel largely from the Local aggregate and the Haole matrix from the Haole aggregate. The hallmark social characteristic of the Local matrix is the reciprocal relationship, that of the Haole matrix is the contractual relationship. It will be seen that the personal behavioral repertoires and value orientations of Local and Haole aggregate members, as described by their respective cognitive categories, are in fact behaviors appropriate to the social relationships found in the contrasting social matrices.

It is through the evaluation of any given individual's behavior during interaction that they are assigned to a specific cognitive aggregate. The constituent aggregates (e.g., Haole, Chinese, Portuguese) are part of the more general aggregates Local and Haole (see Fig. 7.2). Thus those behaviors which are assumed to be characteristics of members of the constituent aggregates are also thought to define the domains of the more general behavioral categories Local and Haole. It is therefore assumed that individuals assigned to a specific aggregate (e.g., Portuguese, Mainland Haole) can be expected to be competent at producing behaviors appropriate to the social situations found in the corresponding social matrix. Because these aggregates are all descent chartered and their behavioral repertoires assumed to be immutable an individual is not expected to be able (in fact is usually denied the opportunity) to produce behaviors appropriate to both social matrices. The relationship between the social group of and the aggregate is one of potential recruitment, not automatic membership. An individual may
evidence behaviors such that he is undisputably a member of a given cognitive aggregate but have personal qualities (such as stupidity or bad temper) which cause him to be excluded from the associated social group. We will discuss this total cognitive/social system first from the perspective of the social matrix. We will then discuss the appropriate individual behavior found in members of the corresponding cognitive aggregates. Reference to the following table (Table 7.2) will aid in clarification of the social matrices, but it must be borne in mind once again that this table is only an abstraction of a highly ambiguous cognitive system.

Table 7.2
Characteristics of Haole and Local Matrices

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local of Hawaii</th>
<th>Haole of the mainland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>network-based social matrix</td>
<td>institution-based social matrix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>personal relationships</td>
<td>professional relationships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>generalizable relationships</td>
<td>individualized relationships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>extensive (family, friend-oriented</td>
<td>intensive (self-oriented)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>implied long-term reciprocal</td>
<td>explicit immediate contractual</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The two social matrices are, at the most general level, identified with Hawaii and the American mainland. The cognitive aggregates from which they draw their participants also have these associations. Haole has been described as a descent-chartered behavioral aggregate whose members all theoretically trace their origin to the mainland. The plantation Haoles' practice of recruiting mainland Caucasians directly into their social group established this belief. Their acceptance into the aggregate of the mainland Caucasians who immigrated directly to Honolulu in the 1920's and 1930's strengthened the belief. The practice, by the entire cognitive community, of assigning all latter mainland Caucasian immigrants to the aggregate has perpetuated this descent charter. Not only individuals but also institutions which trace their origins to the mainland are considered to be Haole.

The very word Local suggests an identification with Hawaii. It has also become a descent-chartered behavioral aggregate. The members of its constituent aggregates (Japanese, Chinese, Portuguese, etc.) trace their descent not just to Hawaii but specifically to laboring positions on the Hawaiian plantations. What was originally a class distinction perpetuated by the Haoles has become a cognitive distinction between two descent-chartered behavioral aggregates. Therefore, while Haole social institutions can be traced to the mainland, Local social institutions can be traced to the social practices found among the groups who worked as plantation laborers. Thus, the individuals in the cognitive aggregates and the characteristics described by the cognitive categories which represent
the aggregate as well as the institutions of the social matrices are all associated with either Hawaii or the mainland.

The terms used in Table 7.2 represent not only contrasting types of social relationships but also the ends of various behavioral continua appropriate to these relationships. Actual behavior is to be found anywhere along the continuum, but it is thought more Local or more Haole than another behavior, based on their relative positions. Examples will clarify this, after a discussion of the contrasting social relationships themselves. This characterization of the social matrices is a summary by the author which is based on extensive questioning. It reflects in general not only the way participants view their own matrix but their impressions of the contrasting matrix.

7.8 The Local Social Matrix

The Local side of the chart says that an archetypal Local social relationship is of a personal nature and lasts for a very long time. It is a relationship between individuals who also have a network of personal ties with other like individuals, and contains an element of reciprocal exchange. Local personal networks are made up mostly of kinsmen, old friends, and co-workers.

The active kinship network of a self-ascribed Local can be very extensive. It is bilateral, including affines and may include any individual related by descent, marriage or a combination of the two with whom a personal relationship is maintained or can be easily established. Childhood instruction usually makes a very large number of kin ties explicit and thus of potential utility to an individual
when he becomes an adult. A child does not just have a sense of a vague collection of relatives but rather a detailed knowledge of a constellation of specific kinsmen. A Portuguese/Native Hawaiian man remembers this from his childhood: "My grandmother never used to say, 'This is your Uncle So-and-so.' She said, 'This is your Uncle So-and-so from So-and-so and from Cousin this and from Cousin of that sister" (I-1-3-378). A child whose parents maintain extensive and explicit kin ties is thus socialized into a huge network of people all of whom also have an explicit relationship to the child. Implicit in many of these kin ties is an obligation and a sense of responsibility.

Because many of the immigrant Portuguese had very large families (12 children was not unusual), most Portuguese have a very large number of individuals who stand in close kin relationships to them. One Portuguese woman in her seventies was able to name immediately and with ease 103 individuals with either direct descent from, or affinal ties to, her siblings. These she considered her close relatives.

There are also mechanisms within the Local social matrix for extending kinship even more widely. One of these is now loosely termed hanai. The hanai system, as originally practiced by the Native Hawaiians, had many social and cognitive implications; essentially it was the lending or sharing children. If one woman had seven children but her sister was childless, one or two of the children might be raised in the family of the sister. Adults today who were hanaied as children of ten speak as if they have two sets of parents: those they were born to and those with whom they actually lived. If the hanai was to a close friend, rather than a relative, they might grow up with
two totally different sets of kin relations, both the genetic and the hanai. This practice was followed in some form, until recently, by individuals from all immigrant groups in Hawaii. Portuguese children, for instance, might be raised by a relative so that they could attend school in a distant city or because their father had suffered a disabling accident.

There is a second practice which extends kinship even further. This is called the calabash relationship and describes kin ties which are either nonexistent or so tenuous that no formal kin role relationship exists between the two related people. This type of kin tie is usually invoked to strengthen social ties which already exist for some other reason. An example of a calabash relationship and of an extensive kin knowledge is given by a 21-year-old Portuguese woman describing a 60-year-old woman she calls Auntie and of whom she is fond. "I'm not really related to Elizabeth; I'm related to her granddaughter. Her son-in-law is my grandmother's first cousin. His mother and my greatgrandmother were brother and sister" (1-2-2-810).

Even more tenuous invocations of kinship are heard. One example is, "Your mother and my mother were milk sisters." In this case, the speaker is referring to the fact that both women had the same wet nurse.

Not only can a person's knowledge of kinship ties be extensive, but there are usually frequent occasions for interaction with kinsmen. Because Hawaii is isolated, individuals tend to remain available for constant social reintegration. As one woman said, "Here there's no place to go. If you can't afford to go the mainland, you're stuck
here. There's no place to go, so the family tends to stay together"
(I-12-1-X55).

Friendship ties are built up by an individual throughout his life. The isolation and small size of Hawaii means that there is always the chance to maintain these old friendships as current and active social relationships. One constantly meets old friends from childhood, school, and work. If they have not moved to the mainland, then they are living close at hand. If a person maintains these many close personal ties, a network forms, with the friends of one's relatives turning out to be the relatives of one's friends.

7.9 The Operation of Personal Networks

The individuals in a network of this type are tied together not only by bonds of kinship and friendship but also by those of long-term reciprocity. If a person in the network has been done a favor, he is obliged to reciprocate in the future. Information, influence, and services seem more likely to move through the networks of today than do actual goods. An anecdote which was told to me is an example of how these networks operate. A man's mother's house needed some extensive repairs. He decided to do the job himself so she would not have to pay a contractor. After borrowing six difficult, expensive, and unusual tools from six different friends and getting advice and explicit instructions from a knowledgeable neighbor, he started the job. Late in the day with the task almost complete, he looked up to discover a city building inspector standing in the yard watching him.
Since the man was neither a union member nor did he have a building permit, this was potential trouble.

The building inspector turned out to be the husband of his wife's cousin. The inspector looked over the job carefully, then said, "Looks like a good job. No worry, I'll handle this." The man completed the repairs and no legal complications developed.

A second example of this sort of network is: A man had a 1977 Chevy which had thrown a push rod. He mentioned to his friend that he needed a new engine, but that they were too expensive for him to buy. The friend some days later discovered a 1977 Chevy of the same model with a good engine but a wrecked body. The owner of the second car simply wanted it towed away. The friend mentioned this to the first man, who got the car and then, with the help of his cousin, exchanged the engines. Some time later the first man heard that a certain construction company was about to hire stonemasons. He sought out the brother of the friend who told him of the car, because the friend's brother was a stonemason looking for work. He then told his wife to mention to her sister, who was the bookkeeper for the construction company, that the sister might mention to the owner that the friend's brother was coming in to look for a job.

The above anecdotes illustrate a number of characteristics of this type of system. Exchanges are seldom immediate, but are instead delayed. One is not obliged to return the equivalent of the actual gift immediately but rather the equivalent of the benefit derived from the gift at a later time. This return need not go directly to the original giver but can be mediated by a third party, such as the
brother in the above example. The network develops into an ever more extensive and complex web of interlocking obligations. Not only does advantage or benefit flow through the system, but it also conducts disadvantage and loss in exactly the same manner. Thus, negative sanctions are generalizable. A conflict with one individual can be invoked against his brother or friend and in this way pressure can be brought on the offending individuals (Mouse 1954; Sahlins 1972).

It could be pointed out that the above examples of networks are simply cases of friends helping each other out. Similar examples might therefore be found within the Haole matrix. To some extent this is true and, as mentioned, personal networks do exist within the Haole matrix. It is not the existence of personal network relationships but the degree to which they show qualities such as generalizability and implied reciprocity which make these examples of the Local social matrix.

7.10 The Haole Social Matrix

The Haole matrix stands in contrast to this. The archetypal relationship is one in which isolated individuals acting within professional roles engage in specifically contractual exchanges within an institutional framework. In this system the exchange is dyadic and not usually mediated by a third party. An agreed equivalency is established before the exchange is made and no continuation of the relationship is implied by the exchange. People initiate exchanges on the basis of their role within the total system. This role is based on their generalized institutional affiliation rather than on their
personal characteristics. Long-term reciprocal ties often exist in this system also, such as "old boy" networks, but their importance in structuring the total system is often denied. Individuals may be criticized for favoritism or nepotism within the mainland Haole matrix for actions which would be condoned or supported within the Local matrix.

7.11 Contrast in the Definition of Behavior

The two social matrices have just been described in their archetypal form. In this form they actually represent the two ends of a continuum which extends from Local to Haole. As mentioned, cognitive/social systems must allow for negotiation during interaction. Behaviors as well as situational frames (social relationships) can seldom be undisputably assignable to a single specific cognitive category. Most actions and situations are not unambiguously either Local or Haole except as compared to another action's or situation's relative position along the continuum. An action is either more Local or Haole if it approaches either end of the continuum. The sponsoring of a first-year baby luau (common in Hawaii) will serve as an example. This is a gathering for what is often many hundreds of guests and it is given in the baby's name. It can be seen as a way of introducing the child into the reciprocal network of his parents. By attending the luau and bringing gifts, people initiate a reciprocal relationship with the baby.

It is essential to provide more than enough food for everyone who attends, such as luau. It is, however, possible for a person with
very little money to organize this food through activating network ties. One person contributes a pig, other people help dig the hole to roast it, or provide wood for the fire. Many people contribute and everyone is fed. The parent has previously invested his own time and energy in the network and therefore services, goods, and information are forthcoming when needed. It can be seen that the personal relationships of the network not only can provide resources such as goods, services and influence but in themselves are a valuable resource because they can be used to various ends. This first method of organizing a luau lies near the Local end of the continuum. Near the Haole end would be looking in the phone book for a caterer, contracting for the service, and paying the bill. The relationships in the former case are personal, in the latter case institutional. The Haole situational framing is based on professional rather than personal roles. One individual is a caterer, the other a customer with money. Any personal characteristics they may have are trivial to the event.

When a man calls a caterer who was a high school friend and contracts for everything except the pig, which his uncle will provide, and a band, which will be organized by his brother, the action falls between the other two on the continuum. It is Local in relation to the second but Haole in relation to the first. It is because the overall actions of most individuals are usually this last sort of mixture that Hawaii can be said to contain one social system which itself is made up of two quite different and contrasting matrices.

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The matrices themselves are in direct contrast, but the points of articulation are manifold.

Within this context the personal traits ascribed to Haoles by Locals are more understandable. These were harsh, cold and unfriendly, selfish, independent, and personally ambitious. These behaviors are appropriate to the Haole matrix, while contrasting with those thought appropriate to the Local. From the Local perspective, the Mainland Haole is seen as essentially without family, and friendless—not in a network. Because their actions seem usually calculated to be to their own or their nuclear families' advantage, they are thought selfish and ambitious. Within the mainland context a captain of industry might well praise his junior in different words for these very same characteristics, saying that he is aggressive, decisive, ambitious, an independent and clear thinker—in short, an excellent business manager. Thus, the behavioral characteristics which are associated with Haole individuals are the same behaviors thought to be appropriate in the Haole, or mainland, social matrix.

7.12 The Transformation of Categories

The transformation of the original laborer and Haole cognitive categories into the current Local-Haole dichotomy is understandable in the context of the developments already outlined. The metamorphosis has occasioned some changes in the categories, while some similarities to the old categories still remain. The cognitive category Local stands in the same relationship of contrast with Haole that laborer previously had. The current aggregate Local has the same constituent
subaggregates (e.g., Japanese, Chinese, Portuguese, etc.) as had the previous aggregate laborer. The members of the two groups still have many of the same assumed personal characteristics. These, though, have changed in relative importance due to the changing origins and the social and economic positions of the actual individuals ascribed to the aggregates. It can be seen that most of the changes in the categories have been dual. A change in the characteristics of one category has been matched by an inversely related change in the corresponding characteristics of the other. Class or social status has ceased to be a characteristic by which individuals of the two categories can readily be distinguished. Therefore, class is no longer a necessary or defining characteristic of either category. Some legacy of the previous class distinction does, however, remain.

Certain jobs (such as construction worker, lower level city or state employee, and "support staff") are associated with individuals in the category Local. There are certainly very many people ascribed to the category Local in higher status jobs, but as one Local man put it, "You know, when Sears delivers a refrigerator or the telephone repairman comes or a guy is driving a heavy machine—you expect to see one Local guy" (J-12-2-570X). You also just might see a Haole, and so laborer is no longer a defining characteristic of the category. As mainland orientation and standard American English have grown to be the defining characteristics of Haole individuals, Hawaiian orientation and pidgin have become the defining behavioral characteristics of Local individuals. The changes in one category have been matched by inverse changes in the other.
The two categories have metamorphized into descent-chartered behavioral aggregates which have very significant social importance. The Haole versus laborer dichotomy seems to have been enforced by the members of the Haole aggregate in order to protect their own resources from those in the Laborer aggregate. The Local versus Haole aggregate distinction is now strongly enforced by those in the Local aggregate in order to protect the resources currently controlled by the Local social matrix from the continuing immigration of mainland Caucasians.

The internal structure of the social group Local has remained much like that found among earlier laborers. The whole group was previously united primarily by interlocking personal networks and this is still true today. These networks were described for the pre-contact Native Hawaiians (section 1.14), plantation laborers (section 4.3), and those in the laborer aggregates in early Honolulu (section 5.3.2). It has been reported that the early Haoles had a parallel set of personal networks, and this can be seen as the mechanism by which their oligarchy was perpetuated. The Haoles of today often lack these extensive networks, partly because so many of them are recent immigrants or are transients. Thus, the possession of a personal network and competence at the behavior necessary to be in a Local network have become important and distinguishing characteristics and thus a defining behavioral characteristic of Local individuals. This Local characteristic stands in opposition to the Haole professional and institutional mode of behavior.

The place of the Local Haole and the Haolefied Local within the total cognitive/social system is significant. These categories
describe individuals who are apparently (usually because of physical appearance) from one aggregate but whose behavior contains elements from the category which describes the contrasting aggregate. These individuals are anomalies because they often give evidence of conformity to the descent charter of one aggregate (e.g., physical appearance) but the behavior of the other. They illustrate the relative importance of behavior over descent for classification during interaction because they are most often reacted to on the basis of their own behavior— not their parentage.

Local Haoles are characterized as Caucasians (not of Portuguese descent) who speak pidgin and have extensive local network connections. The importance of tracing your roots to Hawaii are suggested by this comment from a self-ascribed Local. "If you're a Haole who was born here, then you can be a Local Haole" (I-5-2-721X). It is significant that one "can be," but is not automatically, a Local Haole because of birth. A second comment develops this point, "a Local Haole is someone who has come here and has made their home here" (I-1-2-X655). Being born in Hawaii or long residence makes one only a local Haole (a person from Hawaii). It is the intention to stay, "make a home," which is necessary to be a local Haole (a member of the aggregate local). This permanence has been mentioned as an essential precondition for successful participation in the Local matrix personal networks because they assume long-term reciprocity. In fact, Local Haoles are in these networks and thus in the Local social group. By implication, because the Local social group draws its participants from the Local aggregate, the behavior of these individuals must be
interpreted as if they are Local aggregate members despite their nonconformity with the descent charter. Exactly the opposite case exists with Haolefied locals, who will be discussed below.

7.13 Automatic Local Status through Component Aggregate Membership

It is interesting to note that not all people who are ascribed to the Local aggregate do in fact display what is generally considered Local behavior. There are a few behaviors which are believed to be found in all Locals—such as the ability to speak Hawaiian pidgin English. These are the behavioral markers (Leach 1954) of the Local aggregate as a whole. There are also behaviors idiosyncratically associated with the constituent aggregates (e.g., Japanese, Portuguese) within the more inclusive aggregate Local. Being home at midnight on New Year's Eve to eat noodles with the family is not a pan-Local trait because it is not expected of all those in the Local aggregate. It is, however, a trait of Hawaiian Japanese. The Hawaiian Japanese are a constituent Local aggregate. This ritual can be seen as one which strengthens family ties, and is an emblematic behavior of the Hawaiian Japanese. It is therefore considered an appropriate part of or at least compatible with a generalized set of Local behaviors. It may not be a custom of all Locals, but it is a Local custom.

Even more extreme examples of idiosyncratic behavior can be evidenced in individuals who are nevertheless still ascribed to the category Local. An elderly Japanese woman who immigrated to the plantations, still speaks only Japanese, and seems to evidence an
almost wholly Japanese behavior is considered a Local woman. This is because the Hawaiian Japanese are a constituent aggregate of the larger aggregate Local. By behavior which shows her to be Hawaiian Japanese she is automatically ascribed to the aggregate Local. This is an extreme example of the previously stated fact that individuals are almost never generalized Locals. To be ascribed to the Local aggregate, individuals must first display behavior through which they are ascribed to one of the constituent aggregates of the Local category. It is, then, through this smaller aggregate, by definition a Local aggregate, that they are ascribed to the category Local.

The apparent unanimity described in the aggregate and group Local by this dissertation is to some extent an artifact of the direction of the study. Only three aggregates are being discussed in great depth. These are Haole, Local and the constituent Local aggregate Portuguese. Local is most often being spoken of here in contrast to Haole.

It is clear from the literature that cognitive/social groups of this type conform to the expectations described by fission and fusion. Thus Local as both a cognitive category and a social group is most unified when seen in opposition to the other member of its contrast set, Haole. The sociometrists have shown that at a lower level the constituent Local groups and the assumed characteristics of their members contrast strongly with each other (Kinloch 1972, 1973; Smith 1970).

The number of cognitive/social distinctions within the category Local are enormous. These include the constituent aggregates which
correspond to many of the groups originally imported as laborers (see section 4.2). These constituent aggregates share the descent charter of Local (plantation laborer) while maintaining separate descent charters of their own (i.e., origins in Portugal, China, Japan, etc.). There are also behavioral aggregates which describe commonly encountered blends such as Native Hawaiian/Portuguese and Native Hawaiian/Chinese. These do not have a descent charter separate from that of Local in general.

There are even finer distinctions. The constituent aggregates sometimes have their own descent chartered sub-aggregates. One example of these is the Japanese, where aggregate members make internal distinctions between those who trace their descent from Okinawa and those from Japan. Further distinctions based on prefecture of origin are also made for those who trace their descent from Japan itself.

Other sorts of cognitive distinctions which are not descent chartered subaggregates have also been mentioned. Examples of these are the behavioral subsets like mainland versus kamaaina Haole, and Portuguese versus "Portagee," which summarize traits within an aggregate.

The relationships between the members of these manifold cognitive sets, and between the social groupings which draw their membership from them, are a complex web. It would demand a study of a much broader scope than the present one to describe and explain these.
7.14 The Maintenance of Cognitive Distinctions Because of Social Considerations

There was always on the part of the Haoles in Hawaii what has been called an anti-Local feeling. Before World War II this was openly expressed and people from laborer aggregates were disallowed from gaining any preferred social and economic positions. There are now a set of assumptions within the Haole belief system which amount to the same disenfranchisement of Locals in the Haole social matrix on a de facto basis. It is assumed by some companies that those in top management jobs, especially those in contact with the mainland, must be proficient at standard American English and the associated behavioral repertoire. It is also assumed that preferred jobs should go to individuals with advanced education, while the education system itself selects against those with a Local behavior repertoire or with a shortage of monetary capital. Many Locals are therefore what the planners of public policy call structurally disadvantaged. They do not have the skills which are allegedly necessary to succeed within the Haole matrix.

The resources within the Local social system have grown and continue to grow. The loan officer at a bank is no longer always a Haole and may in fact be the Local boy who lived next door to a Local loan petitioner's grandmother. Because the resources within the Local matrix are growing, the advantage of being in the Local aggregate from which it recruits its members is also growing. At the same time that Local resources can be seen to be growing, the total resources of the entire social system are perceived as being finite. Examples of the
pressure on these resources are the very high cost of housing and food in Honolulu. There is a feeling that the increase of mainland immigration puts ever more pressure on the total resource base. There is, therefore, from the Local perspective, a resentment of this continued Haole immigration and the individuals who are a part of it, as well as a desire to maintain control over the resources which are under Local control. The earlier anti-laborer feelings by the Haoles which were directed against a resource-poor labor group have been countered by anti-Haole feelings on the part of some Locals, directed against socially naive recent Haole immigrants.

The resources outlined for each matrix are limited. There is, therefore, an attempt to limit access to them only to those who qualify as dependable matrix participants through evidence of the behaviors found in members of the associated aggregate. This is not a group decision, but rather the collective result of many individuals' decisions. An example of how this mechanism operates can be seen in the difficulty and possible repercussions of including a recently arrived mainland Haole in a Local social network. The Haole's inexperience with the basic underlying principles of the subculture and his unfamiliarity with the framing of Local interactions could easily lead to social embarrassment. The nature of the reciprocal functions of the network might also be completely alien to him. A socially embarrassing situation could be the refusal of (or an attempt at immediate payment for) an initial gift. A reaction such as, "Gee, thanks for helping me tow my car; here's five bucks," would be totally inappropriate. The Haole is a bad risk as a network participant for
two other reasons that are based simply on the traits associated with all Haoles. As an assumed recent arrival, he has no social network of his own and thus often cannot reciprocate even if he wants to. There is always the assumption that he may soon return to the mainland. He is not "of Hawaii" and thus a poor risk as an exchange network participant.
CHAPTER VIII
THE PORTUGUESE TODAY--THE SOCIAL GROUP,
COGNITIVE AGGREGATE AND INDIVIDUALS

This study has spoken of two types of grouping. On the cognitive level it has described aggregates, which are a collection of individuals perceived to form a class or set by virtue of certain shared characteristics. On the social level it has described social groups in which the existence and aggregate number of long-term role relationships and information pathways is the measure of groupness. The importance of this distinction will become clear in analyzing the historic changes and current situation of the Hawaiian Portuguese.

8.1 The Changing Relationship between the Portuguese Aggregate and Social Group

It has been shown that the Portuguese of the plantations and early Honolulu constituted both a social group and a cognitive aggregate. Portuguese was a universally recognized kind of person. These people were believed to have similar behaviors and a valid descent charter. Portuguese language newspapers, a large membership in official and de facto Portuguese organizations, and extensive intragroup personal networks all made them a social group. A consonance of perceived desires and problems and a willingness to act on some matters in concert was found among many of the people in the Portuguese aggregate. The social group seems to have included nearly
all aggregate members. Unified social group actions were often simply the collective manifestation of a large number of similar personal decisions by individual Portuguese. Being in similar circumstances, the Portuguese made similar decisions and coordinated these decisions to the advantage of all individuals in the social group. To a large extent, the parameters of the cognitive aggregate and the social group were the same.

Today much has changed. The aggregate Portuguese is still universally recognized and has many self-ascribed members. They are believed to have similar characteristic behaviors and a valid descent charter. The aggregate's relationship to the social group has changed dramatically. Though the aggregate has remained strong, the social group has decreased dramatically in size. The Portuguese language press is gone, the Portuguese organizations which remain are much smaller and fewer in number, and it is a very rare individual whose personal network does not extend or even have its center outside the Portuguese aggregate. The Portuguese language press disappeared because there came to be few who could read Portuguese. It has not been replaced by an English-language Portuguese press because of the heterogeneous interests and backgrounds of current Portuguese aggregate members. The earlier Portuguese organizations are disappearing because there is a diminished commonality of perceived need by aggregate members. The central focus of personal networks has shifted because most of the resources available to an individual by virtue of being in the Portuguese aggregate are no longer located within the Portuguese social group.

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8.2 The Portuguese Social Group

While outlining the current social group Portuguese, it will be useful to suggest some specific social reasons for the demise of many of the Portuguese organizations previously mentioned, as well as the current functions of those that remain. Social and psychological support by like individuals in a new and strange environment was suggested as an important function of many early clubs. Hawaii is no longer in any respect an unfamiliar environment to the Portuguese of today. The benevolent societies had as their purpose a monetary security which is now provided by other institutions such as Social Security, worker's compensation, and various pension and insurance plans. The benevolent societies themselves ended due to financial mismanagement. The great heterogeneity of those who are self-ascribed Portuguese makes unlikely any unified appeal to the makers of public policy, such as had been a function of the Uniao Portugueza. The break-up of the homogeneous neighborhoods meant the end of the de facto Portuguese organizations which had a neighborhood basis. Because personal networks now have a much wider base, the Portuguese fraternal organizations, which functioned in part to strengthen and reintegrate these networks, have a much diminished utility. In fact, with telephones and automobiles universally available, this network-strengthening utility is diminished for all organizations. The Holy Ghost Societies and Our Lady of the Mount were once not only religious institutions but also sources of entertainment and an accepted place to make friends and meet a spouse. They were also a place for public display of Catholic devotion. In Honolulu of today, with its
overtones reminiscent of Los Angeles, there are many alternative places for the first two activities. The latter, a chance to express Catholic devotion, has also lost some of its meaning. In the late 1800's the Portuguese were the foundation of the Catholic Church in Hawaii, with priests often speaking Hawaiian, English, and Portuguese. Most Catholics were Portuguese. Their numbers, however, have been diluted because of the constant immigration of non-Portuguese Catholics. What was once open support of these specifically Portuguese religious organizations by the Catholic hierarchy in Hawaii has slowly changed into a reserved, almost grudging, acceptance. It is said that the Our Lady of the Mount celebrations deteriorated rapidly after a new Kalihi Uka parish priest refused to say mass over the statue of the Blessed Virgin.

8.3 Some Portuguese Organizations

In Honolulu today there remain four types of Portuguese organizations: the nearly moribund fraternal clubs, the Holy Ghosts, the Portuguese Pioneers Civic Association, and various culture clubs. The Holy Ghost Societies were some of the first organizations that the Portuguese founded in Hawaii, and they will most likely outlast all the rest. They retain a good deal of cultural inertia today because in a number of ways they are central to both the Portuguese cognitive category and the social group. There are now three Holy Ghost Societies in Honolulu. Punchbowl Holy Ghost retains much of its original neighborhood character. It currently has approximately 350 members and the most active of these either still live on Punchbowl or...
are somehow connected to the neighborhood. Kalihi Holy Ghost has approximately 150 members. It also has retained a neighborhood character to some extent. Kalihi, however, is no longer a Portuguese neighborhood and thus its membership is small. Kewalo Holy Ghost (a.k.a. Kakaako Holy Ghost) has 750 members and its size, unlike the others, is slowly growing. Unlike the others, Kewalo Holy Ghost has no current neighborhood association at all. Its parish church, St. Agnes, was closed in the early 1950's, and Kakaako is now in the center of a large area of light industry. This very lack of neighborhood may be partly why this chapel is growing. It now has members who live throughout the island. The break-up of the homogeneous neighborhoods scattered the Portuguese far and wide. Few live in a traditionally Portuguese neighborhood and some may therefore be attracted to a Holy Ghost which also lacks a strong neighborhood identification.

The Holy Ghosts have always been thoroughly and explicitly Portuguese. As one Portuguese woman said, with a note of respect, about their members, "Even when it was the hardest, they were still Portuguese" (I-3). The core group is tightly knit with multiple bonds of kinship and friendship providing a strong sense of community control as well as psychological and social support for each individual. They are comfortingly consistent organizations to be a member of, and provide a strong feeling of continuity with the Hawaiian Portuguese past. Though they are now ill-attended, to many Portuguese they remain the very essence of what it was to be a Hawaiian Portuguese. Their earlier role in the maintenance of kin
networks has not entirely ceased. The most active members tend to be old and usually have an extensive knowledge of kinship ties. Kin relationships are usually remembered for many decades even though the actual kinsmen may not be encountered. A child can therefore be informed of its specific relationship to many other people both inside and outside the aggregate by the members of these organizations. When an unfamiliar person appears at the Holy Ghost, the possibility of a kin relationship is usually investigated. The following interchange illustrates this practice. It also provides a definitive illustration of a calabash relationship. The interrogation took place soon after introductions, when the unfamiliar person had been established as Portuguese.

Old Holy Ghost Member: What's your name? Souza?
Unfamiliar person: Yes.
U.P.: Yes, he's my uncle.
O.H.G.M.: He lives in Kailua?
U.P.: No, my uncle doesn't live in Kailua.
U.P.: No, my whole family is in the dairy business. [Aside] I thought we were the only family on the island with the name Souza.
O.H.G.M.: His father came from the Big Island and used to work as a janitor in Hilo?
U.P.: Oh, that's my uncle [the man from Hilo]. So he [the man from Kailua] must be related to me somehow through my father.
O.H.G.M.: Well, he [the Kailua Souza] is married to my niece from my sister.
U.P.: Oh?

A second Holy ghost member who has been listening in interest now makes a definitive judgment on this newly discovered kin relationship:

2nd H.G.M.: That's calabash! That's only calabash!
This conversation also illustrates another belief commonly held by older self-ascribed Portuguese. This belief is that there is inevitably a kin or friendship tie between any two Portuguese in Hawaii. This relationship can be revealed, it is believed, through persistent and detailed questioning of the kind the Holy Ghost member was doing.

The membership of the Portuguese Pioneer Civil Association includes people who are also members of the Holy ghosts, of Our Lady of the Mount (which is still functioning, but on a very much reduced scale), and of the remaining fraternal organizations. Additionally, it has members at a slightly higher socio-economic level who may not be active in these other organizations. Like the Holy Ghosts, it is a thoroughly Portuguese organization. It has, in contrast to them, no religious content. It is also thoroughly Hawaiian, since its inception was not with the original immigrants but rather with their descendants.

A type of club with recent origins are the Portuguese Culture clubs. There are now four of these on Oahu and their primary activities are playing, singing, and dancing to Portuguese music. The first such club was organized in the early 1970's. They seem to be an outgrowth of the earlier chamarita clubs. These earlier clubs were often quite informal collections of people who got together to play the Portuguese music and dance the Portuguese dances they had learned when growing up. A major difference between these two types of club is the relatively greater emphasis placed on public performance by the culture clubs. The members of the earlier clubs got together because
they wanted to dance and would occasionally do these dances at a public function, such as a Portuguese festival. The culture clubs usually meet for what are framed as "practice sessions" in preparation for public performance. Another major difference is in the presentation and explanation of the origins of the dances. The chamarita clubs did dances they had learned from older Hawaiian Portuguese and which were therefore assumed to be Portuguese. The Portugueseness of these dances was validated by local acceptance. The culture clubs have introduced some new material directly from Portugal. The irony of this is that most of the immigrants to Hawaii were not from mainland Portugal but rather from Madeira or the Azores. The presentation of the dress and dances of mainland Portugal is to some extent, therefore, a manufactured history for the Hawaiian Portuguese. It is a symbolic representation of their single identity through manipulation of shared descent. There are other expressions of this contrived history. There is a publication used by the Hawaiian school system called Things Portuguese. This study kit was written in Hawaii and purports to teach about the cultural origins of Hawaii's Portuguese. It includes, however, costumes modeled after "those worn in the fishing village of Nazare on the northwest coast of Portugal" (Aranjo 1975), rather than those of Madeira or St. Michael. The Hawaiian Portuguese have an absolutely real shared history centered on their common experiences in Hawaii as well as the symbolic mythic history just described.

The culture clubs are the only current Portuguese organizations which include a large number of children and teenagers. They are
doing a great service to the social group by being a mechanism for
socializing these children as Hawaiian Portuguese through the contact
the youths receive with older members of the Portuguese
cognitive/social group. The children are making a public declaration
during their performances of membership in the Portuguese aggregate.
Their attendance at other Portuguese social events, like the Holy
Ghost Festival, shows an active participation in the social group.

All of the organizations mentioned have many members in common. Most people belong to at least two organizations and some may be active members of three or four. The investigator estimates that, because of these interlocking memberships, the total number of individuals who belong to some Portuguese organization on Oahu is no more than 1,500 to 2,000. The number of very active members who consistently attend meetings is only a few hundred. These figures for membership in the structured social group are much lower than those for membership in the aggregate. A survey in 1975 found there to be 17,653 self-ascribed Portuguese individuals on Oahu (Honolulu Community Action Program 1976).

8.4 The Cognitive Aggregate

Though the organized expression of the social group Portuguese is very much diminished in Hawaii today, the cognitive aggregate Portuguese from which it draws its potential members has remained large. The cognitive category Portuguese has retained a great deal of strength. It is a category which is universally recognized in Hawaii and is believed to describe aggregate members who share a distinct and
coherent set of attributes. Some of the attributes or characteristics thought generally to be evidenced in individuals ascribed to the aggregate Portuguese are, on closer scrutiny, ambiguous and sometimes even self-contradictory. The following summary of generally accepted Portuguese characteristics was gathered from many interviews. The interviewees included individuals who are self-ascribed Portuguese, Haolefied Portuguese, members of other Local subaggregates, and Haoles. The construction of a concise taxonomic structure of all characteristics is not possible because the relative importance of the various characteristics and even their inclusion or exclusion depends greatly on the social and cognitive position of the respondent. The following, therefore, is a summary. It is a list of characteristics thought generally to be possessed by Portuguese individuals from the perspective of both Locals and Haoles. These are the two primary reference groups for the Portuguese. The characteristics will be considered in three categories: (1) generalized Local characteristics, (2) idiosyncratic Portuguese characteristics, (3) counter-Haole characteristics. These heuristic categories are suggested by the previous discussion of the Hawaiian cognitive system.

It is assumed that the members of all Local constituent aggregates have some common shared traits which assure compatibility during interaction and efficacy in Local-type personal networks. They also have idiosyncratic behaviors, some of them emblematic, which are evidence of their ascription to a constituent Local group and therefore to inclusion in the larger domain, Local. Curiously, the ascription of an individual to the larger class, Local, is most easily validated
during interaction not by evidence of the generalized shared Local traits but by the idiosyncratic ones. In order to be immediately and unquestionably a Local one must first be a type of Local (e.g., Chinese, Portuguese). By displaying detailed knowledge of and competence at the idiosyncratic behaviors of a Local constituent aggregate, an individual is automatically assigned to the larger class, Local. In fact, Localness is much less germane during most interactions than is constituent group membership because it is the idiosyncratic behaviors associated with the constituent groups which greatly increases the predictability of an interactant's behavior.

The Portuguese, because of their ambiguous position as the only Caucasian constituent aggregate of Local, also have traits which seem primarily to highlight their distinctness from the Caucasian Haoles. These last traits seem less an actual description of individual Portuguese than a validation of the contrast between Portuguese and Haole.

This analysis of Portuguese characteristics is centered on interaction. It is an attempt to describe and explain reality as perceived by participants during everyday Hawaiian interactions. Therefore, in a statement such as, "It is generally believed," the reader should assume that it is an average participant in the Hawaiian cognitive/social system who has this belief. In a number of cases a generally held belief, though it is associated with an aggregate, does not actually on a statistical basis describe that members of the aggregate.
8.5 **Idiosyncratic Characteristics**

The characteristics which are idiosyncratic to the Portuguese and not thought to be shared generally with other Local groups are: a "Portuguese name"; Caucasian; Catholic; and exhibiting "loud talk."

As mentioned, a name is neither a sufficient nor a necessary characteristic for ascription of a person to any aggregate. There are self-ascribed Portuguese with Haole names.

Being Caucasian, or at least not obviously Oriental in appearance, is a necessary characteristic for ascription to the category Portuguese. This is definitely idiosyncratic, because none of the other constituent Local aggregates have Caucasian appearance as a characteristic. The question of skin color in Hawaii is a complex one. It appears that the aesthetic preference of the Hawaiian population as a whole is for a skin color which is a light chocolate brown. Though the Japanese are not noted internationally for dark skin, Japanese college girls in Hawaii manage this color through spending time at the beach. This same color preference seems to be found among the Hawaiian Portuguese. One self-ascribed Portuguese woman was heard to complain that her grandson was becoming "all pasty white and Haole looking." This color preference in the Local community as a whole may partly be a reaction against the extreme whiteness associated with mainland Haoles. For the Portuguese, brown skin contrasts not only with the negative "pasty white" on the one hand but also with the negative black on the other.44

From an intragroup Portuguese perspective, dark skin contrasts with the idea of *baraba*—extreme blackness. *Baraba* literally
translates as wild or savage (barbarian), and for reasons arising before the Portuguese came to Hawaii it was the term used to name the Portuguese from Cape du Verde, many of whom were Negroes. Extreme whiteness is not thought attractive by the Portuguese, but neither is blackness, because it is associated with baraba descent. Some Portuguese today think that this color-consciousness was not originally a Portuguese trait but was adopted because of Haole discrimination (see section 4.8 and note 44). Illustrative of this is the following comment by a Portuguese:

> Color consciousness was developed in Hawaii, not brought over. They learned that color was very important. If you could pass for a white folk here you got ahead, recognizing that they called the shots. (1-3-2-890)

Not only the consciousness of blackness but the very idea of a Negro background for the Hawaiian Portuguese can probably be traced to the Haoles. The individuals from Cape du Verde numbered less than 400 out of a total Portuguese population of 15,000 to 20,000. Most alleged Negro physical characteristics in the Portuguese (e.g., dark complexion, curly black hair, broadened nose) are more likely traceable to intermarriage with Native Hawaiians (Polynesians). One can speculate that the early Haoles, who also intermarried with Native Hawaiians, tried to achieve cognitive distance from the Portuguese by attributing their own characteristics to Native Hawaiian ancestry but similar characteristics in the Portuguese to "Negro blood." In actual fact, the strongest physical deviation from the classic concept of a Mediterranean type for the Hawaiian Portuguese is in the direction of Northern Europe, not Africa. Because of European political history
there were many Flemish settlers in Madeira during its early history. It is not at all unusual to find a Hawaiian Portuguese of pure Portuguese descent with grey or blue eyes and sometimes light-colored hair.

The third characteristic in this idiosyncratic category is "loud talk." Coloquially this is sometimes referred to as having a "Portuguese mouth." This actually represents a constellation of more specific behavioral characteristics. The Portuguese are thought to talk more loudly, with more animation, and more often than the members of other Local constituent aggregates. As part of this same constellation of traits, which might also be called movimento, the Portuguese are thought to be fun to be around, friendly, and open—as well as opinionated and argumentative—but, again, without holding a grudge. A statement by a Portuguese man suggests that this group of characteristics is recognized and accepted by the Portuguese. "We going to have a discussion at the meeting tonight. You know Portuguese—when they discuss, you can hear them two blocks away" (1-4-3-301). Also, another Portuguese man says, somewhat facetiously, "The Portuguese have strong families because there's nothing else to talk about. If we talk about politics we get into an argument" (1-12-1-231X). Catholicism, another idiosyncratic characteristic, is neutral from the perspective of most Locals and Haoles today. It is generally believed that all Portuguese are Catholic, or at least do not practice any religion other than Catholicism.
8.6 Generalized Local Characteristics

The Portuguese are also thought to have some traits which make their behavior compatible with that of other Locals. These are their generalized Local traits. This is indicated by the fact that they are universally classed as a kind of Local. Portuguese individuals are thought to have a thorough knowledge of contemporary Hawaii and the Hawaiian social history. They are assumed to have a knowledge of appropriate behavior in most Local settings. They share the descent charter of other members of the local aggregate—immigrant labor on the plantations. The Portuguese can speak Hawaiian pidgin English. This speech ability is the most important emblematic behavior of being a Local, since all Locals can speak pidgin and it is an easily recognized but difficult to learn trait. Hawaiian pidgin as it is spoken today is a local dialect of English. Its grammatical structure, intonation, cadence, and a large number of foreign loan words distinguish it from standard American English. Members of the different cognitive/social groups in Hawaii are thought to speak pidgin with minor but noticeable variations. The Portuguese are therefore thought to speak Portuguese pidgin.

Pidgin speaking ability is usually mentioned as the first characteristic through which a Portuguese individual can be distinguished from a Haole. A Portuguese man comments on how to identify a Portuguese. "You can tell a Portuguese by the way they look, or the way they talk—mostly the way they talk" (I-15-1-685). These verbal clues are of paramount importance in the framing of short-term interactions with unknown individuals. A Portuguese
teenager makes this comment about a close friend's interactions with Locals. "She is a blue-eyed blond-haired Portagee, and she has a hell of a time because she is Haole until she opens her mouth. When she opens her mouth she will make anybody feel comfortable—but only then" (I-2-2-125).

A Portuguese is thought to speak Portuguese pidgin. To a fluent pidgin speaker, this is an idiosyncratic trait and a type of speech which is easily distinguished from other types of pidgin. This type of speech ability strengthens an individual's claim to be Portuguese. A Portuguese woman makes this comment: "The Hawaiians have their own inflections and the Portuguese do, too. They [the Portuguese] draw things out more and they use weird tones, and you use them. You use them to be identified with" (I-17-2-133).

Three other characteristics generally associated with the Portuguese highlight their acceptability as participants in the Local social matrix which is based on personal networks. The Portuguese are thought to be "family oriented," "very loyal to their friends and family," and "dependable, conscientious, and hard workers." It can be seen that the characteristics "family oriented" and "very loyal to family and friends" contrast with characteristics generally associated with mainland Haoles. As a recent immigrant, the mainland Haole is seen as an individual devoid of extended family ties and not yet possessed of an extensive friendship circle. Because mainland Haoles are seen as "of the mainland" and therefore always to some degree transients, it is assumed that they seldom establish Local-style extensive family and friendship ties of long duration. Further,
because the Haole matrix is seen as intensive, emphasizing the solely personal, rather than extensive and directed toward the group, it is assumed that most Haoles feel no need to establish Local-style kin and friendship networks.

8.7 Counter-Haole Characteristics

There are, finally, a number of characteristics generally associated with the Portuguese that do not describe all those of Portuguese descent nor do they seem to be attributes of all those who are self-ascribed to the aggregate Portuguese. These we will call the counter-Haole characteristics. It will be argued that these traits are associated with the Portuguese for two reasons. The first of these is due to the permeability of the Portuguese-Haole social and cognitive boundaries. This permeability has meant that individuals who might prove exceptions to the counter-Haole characteristics and thus force the modification of the total category are often instead reclassified as members of the Haole aggregate. The second reason is due to the ambiguous position of the Portuguese cognitive category versus both the Haole and Local categories in the total Hawaiian cognitive/social system. The Portuguese have the physical characteristics of Haoles but the behavioral characteristics of Locals. It is only through behavioral distinctions, therefore, that cognitive distance between the Haole and Portuguese categories can be maintained. It is suggested that some behaviors are emphasized as being Portuguese characteristics not because they necessarily describe the members of the Portuguese aggregate but because they are quite
obviously the opposite of generally accepted Haole characteristics. The general Hawaiian belief in the applicability of these characteristics is maintained today by the Portuguese as well as the Haoles. Their maintenance perpetuates the cognitive distance between Haole and Portuguese which was first imposed by the Haoles. The reasons that certain Portuguese should want to maintain this distinction will be discussed later.

The first two counter-Haole characteristics of Portuguese, "laborer" and "lacking education," are the opposite of generally accepted characteristics of Haole individuals. They therefore emphasize the distinction between Haoles and Portuguese. These were central characteristics of the old category laborer, and thus not only distinguish Portuguese individuals from Haole individuals but also validate, through a cognitive behavioral pedigree, the rightful position of the Portuguese aggregate in the more inclusive aggregate Local. Individuals who have violated these characteristics by entering top management or receiving advanced degrees have moved from the Local matrix into the Haole one. Until very recently these individuals seem also to have been reclassified as Haoles (or as not "real" Portuguese) for the purposes of interaction, and thus they did not cause a reevaluation of the correctness of these characteristics for describing the total aggregate. This has not been the case with other Local groups. A Japanese man with a top management job cannot be reclassified as a Haole because of physical differences. They remain Japanese while participating in the Haole social matrix. They thus are examples which force a modification of the criteria for the total
category Japanese. These individuals therefore bring additional resources into the Japanese social group.

A number of other Portuguese characteristics (such as thick-headed, complacent, and clumsy) seem to be almost entirely emblematic, taking cognitive strength from their opposition to what are usually considered positive traits within the Haole matrix. They seem exactly the opposite of the terms the captain of industry would use to describe his favored prodigy. After working with the Portuguese for some years, the investigator certainly did not find them any more thick-headed, complacent, or clumsy than any other cross-section of the population. Clumsiness would in fact seem to be a direct contradiction of another generally accepted characteristic, "laborer." Clumsiness is hardly a trait expected in people doing physical jobs. These assumed counter-Haole traits have done much to spur some people out of the category Portuguese and seem to be viewed as a cross to bear by most individuals who remain Portuguese. The cognitive strength of these counter-Haole characteristics is given support by the ubiquitous "Portuguese joke," a form of social comment which corresponds to the "Polish joke" found on the U.S. mainland.45

The implications of these last characteristics is important. Some traits associated with the category Portuguese may have their basis not in an actual description of Portuguese individuals but rather in what are the implied characteristics of counter-Haole individuals. Thus, some of the attributes associated with the cognitive aggregate Portuguese are not actually attributes of the majority of its members. They are a logical extension of the
category's placement in the total cognitive system. Portuguese is the only aggregate of non-Haole Caucasian individuals in the total system. It is therefore reasonable to expect non-Haole or counter-Haole traits in its members. This lack of congruence between the cognitive construction and real examples would seem to decrease interactive predictability. Two strategies were observed in non-Portuguese for dealing with this. People sometimes either conform to the general belief in the counter-Haole traits as descriptive of the Portuguese while in public but state privately that they don't really believe them. Other people say they believe the traits but that most of the Portuguese they know are exceptions.

8.8 The Mythic Point of Origin

Because Portuguese is a descent-chartered aggregate, one characteristic which all its members are believed to share is descent from a common point of origin. This myth of common descent has great cognitive importance but should not be confused with historical fact nor with the actual descent of individual aggregate members. "Portugal"—their point of origin—seems to exist as an arbitrary common ground for all aggregate members rather than to actually refer to the country in Europe. Most of the immigrants did not in fact come from Portugal but from one of its island colonies, Madeira or San Miguel in the Azores. When the Portuguese describe older relatives in detail they may be referred to as being either Madeiran or from San Miguel, but aggregate members in general are often said to have "come from Portugal." Even specific relatives when referred to casually are
spoken of as coming from Portugal. "My grandmother, she came all the way from Portugal, she walk in here today, she never believe this stuff we got" (interview).

There has been very little social contact between the Portuguese of Hawaii and those of Portugal since 1914. After that date, all further immigration to Hawaii stopped. In 1970 there were only 411 people residing in Hawaii who had been born in Portugal (Schmitt 1977). The Portuguese immigrant aliens admitted to the United States who gave Hawaii as their final destination numbered only 30 individuals from 1914 to 1930 and 23 individuals from 1968 to 1975 (Schmitt 1977). Today it is rare to find a Hawaiian Portuguese who can speak Portuguese fluently or has any personal tie to Europe.

Aggregate members are "Portuguese" and they feel affinity with that country of today, but they usually have little actual knowledge of life there.

I was in Portugal last year and it was hard. You cannot eat the food. It was so poor, you see these little kids begging. Not like here. (I-17-190)

I was there [Portugal] in June and July. I went this year and I'm telling—it's not Portuguese people. (Ethnic Studies 1979:187)

There also seems to be little affinity between the Portuguese of Hawaii and immigrant Portuguese in other parts of the world. Individuals from these other immigrant populations are definitely not viewed as Hawaiian Portuguese aggregate members. A poignant anecdote will illustrate this. There was a large picnic in a Honolulu city park organized in celebration of ethnicity. Many groups were represented and they each had a flag designating their particular
Two tourists from the mainland approached those in the Portuguese area. The tourists were Portuguese Americans from Massachusetts. They spoke Portuguese and wanted someone at the picnic to speak it with them. The man who related this anecdote ended it with this comment, "It was real strange, here were these two Haoles could speak Portuguese" (B-7-92-720).

This story says much about the nature of a descent-chartered behavioral aggregate. If the actual basis for inclusion in the aggregate were simply common descent, then the two tourists would have qualified as members. They clearly traced their descent from Portugal and validated this fact by speaking Portuguese. The actual basis for inclusion, however, is behavioral. The two tourists acted as if they were from the mainland, despite being able to speak Portuguese, and were therefore classed as Haoles.

8.9 A Portuguese Demographic Profile

A description of the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the Honolulu Portuguese today is problematic. This characterization could be made on any of four bases. The Portuguese population could be defined in the traditional manner as: all those who are genetically tied to Portuguese ancestry. It could be defined as: all those who are part of the Portuguese social group. It might also be defined in a way which more closely reflects the social/cognitive reality, as: all those who are ascribed during interaction to the Portuguese cognitive aggregate, or as: those who ascribe themselves to the aggregate. One would probably discover that
the membership in these classes is quite different. Using any
definition, the characterization of the group is greatly hampered by a
lack of statistical data. Recent samples rarely identify the
Portuguese on any basis within the Hawaiian population.

The U.S. decennial census discontinued use of the category
Portuguese in 1930. It is reported that those people who marked
Portuguese under the category "other" in the 1970 census were treated
as "forms filled out in error" and reclassed under Caucasian during
tabulation. The State of Hawaii has no official policy on the
existence of the Portuguese or the use of the category for demographic
profiles. Some agencies enumerate Portuguese, some do not. There is
insufficient consistency on the state level for any coherent picture
to emerge. An accurate description of the Portuguese as classed by
descent is therefore extremely difficult. These individuals are often
enumerated as part of another group during surveys. An accurate
picture of Portuguese by ascription is made difficult because the
surveys that are most likely to provide this picture are often treated
as if they are descriptions of the class as based on descent.

The Portuguese, until 1940, were always shown to have an out-
marrige rate higher than the Hawaiian average. It can be assumed,
therefore, that there are many part-Portuguese in the segment of the
population usually called by the statisticians those of "mixed
descent." Individuals in what is statistically termed the "mixed"
category rarely remain "mixed" during interaction. They take on a
primary aggregate persona which is supported by physical appearance,
long-term behavioral tendencies, and the nature of their long-term
social affiliations. Some of the part-Portuguese by descent are therefore classed during interaction as part of another cognitive/social aggregate. So the children of a Portuguese parent can be lost to the statistical, social, and cognitive groupings. This is no small problem in gaining an accurate overall picture of Portuguese. As one Portuguese man said, "There are no statistics, but, boy, there are such a heck of a lot of part-Portuguese" (I-1-2-X358).

There are in fact some statistical samples which enumerate the Portuguese separately, but they are seriously flawed. The 1964-1966 Hawaii Department of Health Survey (Schmitt 1967) attempted to enumerate Portuguese as distinct from other Caucasians. (The following statistics are for the island of Oahu only.) The survey found that families headed by a Portuguese individual had the lowest incomes of all civilian families, averaging approximately 25 percent below those of all groups, and 40 percent below those of "other Caucasians" [Haoles]. This seemed partly due to a female labor participation rate of 32.7 percent for the Portuguese, compared to an average for all groups of 46.4 percent. Male and female unemployment was 5.3 percent and 6.3 percent, compared to the overall rates of 2.4 percent and 3.9 percent. Educational attainment was low. Among Portuguese aged 45 and over, only 11 percent had completed at least one year of college, compared to a rate of 16.9 percent for all others over 45. Among 25 through 44 year-old Portuguese, 19 percent had completed one year of college, compared to an overall rate of 27.3 percent. This survey also found that 35 percent of Portuguese lived
on the Outer Islands (i.e., on islands other than Oahu). This last is a remarkably high figure, when one considers that the same figure was 50 percent in 1930, and that there has been a general population shift toward Oahu in the meantime (see Appendix C). It can be seen that nearly all these statistics support the popular picture of the Portuguese. It is unlikely, though, that they are based on either all individuals of Portuguese descent or on all individuals ascribed to the Portuguese aggregate during interaction. The reasons for this will be discussed shortly.

In 1975 another survey was made which also enumerated the Portuguese separately from "other Caucasians." Once again the Oahu Portuguese fared poorly in income, preferred job status, and education vis-a-vis the rest of the population (Honolulu Community Action Program 1976). It was also discovered that the Portuguese were more heavily represented in rural census tracts than in urban ones.

I suggest that these two surveys do not represent a picture of all those who could claim Portuguese descent, nor even all those who are ascribed as Portuguese during interaction. Instead, they provide us with a picture of all those individuals who strongly emphasize their Portuguese aggregate ascription and thus the survey provides insights into the category itself.

It was never the intention of the 1975 census to enumerate group membership based on descent, though the study is often quoted as if this had been its goal. The final report states, "ethnicity as used herein does not necessarily depend upon the race or ethnicity of
ancestors; it depends upon the subjective identity of the person" (Honolulu Community Action Program 1976:21).

The methods for enumeration of ethnicity were largely the same in both these surveys. The enumerator was given a list of possible cognitive/social aggregates to mark, and then asked the respondent, "Which ethnic group do you belong to?" If the informant was unsure, examples of ethnic groups were given that the enumerator felt certain did not fit the respondent. The enumerator was instructed to simply mark the respondent's answer unless it obviously didn't seem right. That is, unless there was in the enumerator's opinion obvious dissonance between the attributes of the category claimed and the attributes of the claimant. This is similar to the interpretive method of ascription used by people during daily interaction, and thus people usually have been enumerated as part of the aggregate to which they would naturally have been ascribed during interaction. However, as has been shown, a person's ascription is not necessarily the same during all interactions. Ascription can change depending on the framing of the interaction. Therefore, people were not enumerated according to their ascription during a generalized average interaction but according to their ascription in the specific interactive frame of census-taking. This interactive frame could also be described as "previously unknown government employee arrives at door and starts asking personal questions." The unusual framing of this interaction (census) could lead to some very atypical examples of self-ascription.

This particular frame might also induce many people who are normally Portuguese to claim Haole ascription. The category
Portuguese was discontinued in the 1940 census. Just before that census, a campaign was started to make all Portuguese aware of this fact. All Portuguese were instructed to mark Caucasian on the 1940 census instead of Portuguese. This campaign, which included notes sent home from school and passed out by employers, was continued in later years. It is likely, then, that inertia could bring all but the most forthrightly Portuguese individuals into the "other Caucasian" category on these state surveys simply because its situational framing was clearly "Census."46

This study takes the position that there has in fact been a continual shift of individuals out of self-ascription to the aggregate Portuguese and into the aggregate Haole. The possible advantages to some people in making this shift are suggested by the descriptions of the contrasting Haole and Local social matrices as well as by the social oppression felt by some individuals because of their ascription to the Portuguese aggregate. The enumeration approach of these surveys would classify those individuals who were "passing" as Haoles in the Haole category. There is little chance that these people would suddenly decide to say they were Portuguese to an unknown enumerator. It seems likely also that those who were unsure of their Haole versus Portuguese position as well as those who employed both identities during interactions would also say Haole. Only those who were forthrightly Portuguese would say Portuguese. Thus, these surveys are of more cognitive than social importance. They are not a characterization of those people with Portuguese ancestry but rather a distillation of the cognitive category itself.
One can see by examining the 1975 statistics why certain specific individuals might prefer a self-ascription of Portuguese to one of Haole. The Portuguese were found by these surveys to reside more often on the Outer Islands and in rural areas of Oahu. Both these are areas with the fewest numbers of Haoles and areas where the Haole social matrix is weakest. They are areas, therefore, where most interactions are between Locals and where membership in the Local aggregate is important for participation in the dominant social matrix. In fact, in many of these areas Haole behavior is a great social liability. A lack of advanced education, also found among those responding Portuguese on the survey, can itself be a bar to participation in the Haole matrix. Thus, those with a high school diploma or less often find themselves excluded from this matrix. In the Local matrix having Haole characteristics or ascription to the Haole aggregate is again a social liability.

A closer look at the occupational data from the 1975 survey (OEO 1979) will illustrate this more clearly. It has been stated that an extensive personal network can be of utility in finding jobs. The construction trades, where a person's job site and employer can change often, would tend to foster networks and are, in fact, usually considered Local jobs (jobs within the Local social matrix). Twenty-nine percent of the Portuguese men enumerated on Oahu in 1975 were in the construction trades; 34 percent of the Portuguese in the 25-39 year age group were in these trades. This contrasted with 18 percent of 25 through 39 year-old men in the population as a whole. More remarkably, 6.9 percent of the Portuguese men found in these trades
were earning more than $40,000 per year, contrasting with 1.1 percent for men in construction for the population as a whole. A Local identity and the access it provides to personal networks is an asset in the construction trades. It therefore behooves a Caucasian man in these trades, especially a man earning in excess of $40,000, to validate his Localness through emphasizing his ascription to the aggregate Portuguese. What we discover is not that most Portuguese are construction workers, but that it is of advantage for a Caucasian construction worker to be forthrightly Portuguese.

One conclusion that we might reach from this data concerns the alleged social disadvantages of the Portuguese. The professional social planner, working within the Haole social matrix, usually assumes that there is only one social structure, or at least only one important one, his own. The characteristics generally associated with the Portuguese are seen as a distinct disadvantage in this structure. It is generally believed that Portuguese individuals are unable to speak acceptable standard American English, they lack certain behavior skills necessary for success. It is never stated that these very same characteristics, when viewed differently, might be a great advantage in some parallel social structure. We could reverse the social planner's perspective and point out that Haoles are structurally disadvantaged in the parallel Local social matrix. Their socialization process has never given them the opportunity to develop valuable skills. They cannot speak adequate Hawaiian pidgin, they have never had the chance to learn the basic understandings necessary for participation in an extended personal reciprocal network, nor have
they been able to inherit from their older relatives valuable contacts within an extensive kin and friendship network. A mainland Haole, whatever the level of his professional skills, is at a distinct disadvantage in the construction trades.
Thus far we have discussed Portuguese, Haoles, and Locals. We have described the place of the cognitive category for each of these in the total Hawaiian cognitive system. We have described the characteristics of the members of the aggregates which these cognitive categories summarize. We have also described the social groupings which draw their memberships from the associated aggregates. The development and interrelationships of these nine entities have been traced historically. Within this framework it is now possible to describe the present Portuguese of Honolulu as well as to explain why and in which contexts these people are Portuguese.

Descent will enter into our analysis. The aggregates being discussed are not descent based, but they are descent chartered. An ancestral tie to other members of a cognitive aggregate is neither a sufficient nor a necessary criterion for actual membership in the aggregate, or in the associated social group, but ancestral ties can indicate a potential member for two reasons. There may because of parentage be a chance for an individual to be educated into behavioral competence at displaying the characteristics associated with the members of a cognitive aggregate. There is also the potential for the individual to inherit social group ties from his progenitors.
9.1 Permeability of Aggregate and Social Group Boundaries

In this study a social group has been defined by the existence of long-lasting structured role relationships. It will be seen that many potential Portuguese social group members (individuals with kinsmen who were or are social group members) no longer maintain these ties. Some of these individuals, though still self-ascribed Portuguese, have most of their primary personal ties with people who are not ascribed as Portuguese. Therefore, though still ascribed to the aggregate Portuguese, they are not part of the Portuguese social group. Other potential members have not only shifted their primary social relationships away from individuals who are ascribed Portuguese but have left the aggregate entirely. These people, though potential Portuguese group and aggregate members, because of descent, are in practice part of neither. They have often joined the Haole aggregate, and sometimes the Haole social group as well. It will also be seen that some other individuals, though they have few or even no Portuguese ancestors, have become part of the Portuguese aggregate on either a situational or a long-term basis.

The ascription of an individual to a cognitive aggregate during interaction is usually based on his personal claim and on a necessary behavioral validation of the claim. The transition of individuals between aggregates is therefore based on a behavior change. With any change in aggregate membership can come a transition into the new social group which draws its participants from that aggregate.

Behavior is also an interactive validation which can demonstrate and give proof to other interactants of a person's particular
constellation of social relationships. Knowledge that an individual has a certain constellation of social relationships is in turn a validation of the person's ability to produce a behavioral repertoire appropriate to that constellation. To be included in a social group one must have some competence at behaving appropriately within the interactive context it dictates. As one of these two elements (social contacts or behavior) changes, the other must also change in order to remain appropriate. Thus, if a Portuguese marries a member of another social group (e.g., Haole, Chinese, Native Hawaiian), their newly created affinal tie can create a new configuration of social ties for both members of the couple. Elements of this configuration may in turn be inherited by their children. If the potential ties to a new social group are to be activated and maintained, then the individual must in some way change his behavior. The elements of his original behavioral repertoire which are inappropriate to the new social context must be modified. With this behavioral change (if it is sufficiently extensive) may come a change in aggregate ascription. Thus, through intermarriage between social groups the actual membership of the social groups and their associated cognitive aggregates may change. It is in part through this mechanism that individuals have both become and ceased to be Portuguese.

In the following discussion we will describe in greater detail how people, through changing their behavior and their social ties, have ceased being, as well as how they have become, Hawaiian Portuguese. Of primary interest to this study are the transitions from Portuguese to Haole and Haole to Portuguese. In order to
describe the mechanism which makes this permeability of aggregate boundaries possible, examples will be given of stages along a continuum in the change from Portuguese to Haole. Examples of actual individuals will not be used because absolute confidentiality was promised all informants; instead, the generalized cognitive and social elements of each stage itself will be described. In each case the aggregate membership, personal characteristics, socio-economic position, matrix participation (social relationships), and the personal advantages and disadvantages of a particular cognitive aggregate ascription will be given. The stages which will be discussed will be termed: full-time Portuguese, functional Locals, functional Haoles, and quasi-Portuguese. (It should be noted that in this context the term "functional" is being used to mean "for purposes of interactions."

It must be borne in mind that the personal decisions which lead to a change in an individual's aggregate self-ascription are not simple ones. They often appear to be far removed from the issue of self-ascription itself. It is frequent that only in summary do they lead to what is seen as significant behavioral change and thus a change of ascription. These decisions are often subconscious. It frequently appears to the individual that no real decision about aggregate membership was made at all, and that his identity has been thrust upon him by outside forces.

It must also be borne in mind that the four categories to be discussed on the Portuguese-Haole continuum are an heuristic artifact of this study. They are produced by the intersection of two
considerations—cognitive aggregate ascription and social group participation (Table 9.1). They are not directly a part of the working cognitive structure of Hawaii's social participants. They will, however, give insight into cognitive aggregate and social group permeability.

9.2 Full-Time Portuguese

The first stage on the continuum to be discussed will be called the full-time Portuguese. These are people whose cognitive self-ascription and ascription by others is always to the Portuguese aggregate and whose social ties are primarily with other self-ascribed Portuguese. In Honolulu this stage is best represented by the members of the various Portuguese organizations. Full-time Portuguese most often satisfy all of the criteria generally attributed to those in the aggregate Portuguese, save the criteria which are strictly counter-Haole. They are very often either skilled laborers, craftsmen, in service positions, or are retired from one of these occupations. They are almost always homeowners and are what would be called law-abiding and solid citizens. Most of their social ties are to other Portuguese, primarily their own families or very old friends. They tend to have very few close social ties to Haoles.

For most of them the concept Haole has a different meaning than that which has been described for the Honolulu cognitive community as a whole today. As was seen in the historical section, the Hawaiian cognitive/social system has metamorphosed a number of times. It seems generally true that an individual maintains the cognitive system
Table 9.1
Stages in Group Participation and Category Self-Ascription

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Group/Matrix Participation</th>
<th>Cognitive Aggregate Ascription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>Full-time Portuguese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ambicultural individuals*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Portuguese Local</td>
<td>Functional Locals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Quasi-Portuguese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ambicultural individuals*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haole</td>
<td>Ambicultural individuals*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A very few spouses of full-time Haoles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Ambicultural individuals: the same person may function in all four stages.
NOTE: The continuum discussed in the text goes from the upper left (Portuguese ascription and Portuguese group participation) to the lower right (Haole ascription and Haole group participation).
learned in his youth unless forced to change it. Very many of the Portuguese organization members are over the age of 50. For many of them the Haole versus Local matrix distinction, while recognized, is not a significant part of their cognitive world. Their participation in the Haole matrix is limited. In the three years that I maintained close ties with the Holy Ghost chapels, I did not hear the word Local in daily discourse more than five times. The cognitive/social system used by these older individuals is often close to that described for early Honolulu (before 1940 and the huge influx of mainland Haoles). Very nearly all their social contacts are within the Local social group. The existence of the Haole matrix and its contrast with Local at the most general cognitive level is therefore of diminished importance. Haole is usually thought of by them on the next cognitive level, as simply a cognitive behavioral aggregate in equal and independent contrast with all other behavioral aggregates⁴⁷ (see Table 2.1 in section 2.6).

Why are these people self-ascribed Portuguese? When this was asked of a younger club member, he replied, "Well, all my relatives are Portuguese, and that's what they told me I was when I was growing up" (II-6-1-730). For them being Portuguese has sometimes been difficult, but there have always been advantages also. The advantage of being a Portuguese in some occupations has been described. These tend to be the occupations of the full-time Portuguese. One Holy Ghost Society had so many members retired from Honolulu Construction and Dreying, a company known for its large number of Portuguese employees, that its weekly meeting was cancelled on the night that it
coincided with the annual H.C. & D. retirees' party. To the 60-year-old bus driver there is a distinct advantage, though perhaps unconsidered, to being Portuguese when employed by a municipal service which was always known for not employing Haoles. It is also a comfort for these people to be considered Portuguese and therefore to be judged by the standards they feel are important. They evaluate each other on characteristics central to the category Portuguese: These are loyalty, hard work, compassion, friendship, and devotion, rather than bank holdings or social standing.

They are the most publicly and forthrightly Portuguese people on Oahu and as such are a reservoir of Hawaiian Portuguese culture. This role falls to members of some of the Portuguese organizations (e.g., Holy Ghost Societies and Our Lady of the Mount) because they alone maintain religious and social traditions which would otherwise be forgotten. These individuals are in a position to make judgments on correct Portuguese behavior, and they do judge each other's behavior constantly. They evaluate behaviors based on what are considered the correct Portuguese standards (e.g., sufficient loyalty to family) and are constantly sensitive to evidence that an individual is slipping toward the behavior of another aggregate (e.g., acting Haolefied—like a Haole).

The second stage to be considered is functional Haole. Functional Haoles are individuals who, if being Portuguese were simply a matter of descent, could be considered Portuguese. They are not, however, members of the Portuguese social group nor frequently are they members of the aggregate. Their self-ascription and ascription
by others is either situationally or sometimes permanently that of Haole. For these people, Portuguese social ties have been broken off. Enough of their personal characteristics are at variance with those described by the category Portuguese that they are no longer ascribed to the Portuguese aggregate. It is this dissonance between their observed behavioral characteristics and those associated with the category Portuguese which causes non-Portuguese to ascribe them to an aggregate other than Portuguese, and causes self-ascribed Portuguese to exclude them from the Portuguese social group. Before the 1950's these people often ended up in a sort of cognitive/social limbo, being neither "real" Portuguese nor "real" Haoles (the only alternative aggregate open to a person with a Caucasian appearance). Today, with the increased interactive acceptance of self-ascription and the growing number of mainland Haoles who are not cognizant of the intricacies of the previous system, they increasingly function as "real" Haoles.

9.3 Being Haolefied

Before describing this group, functional Haoles, it is necessary to investigate the concept of Haolefied—acting like a Haole. This term is one heard often in Honolulu today. This concept is based on the existence of the two primary social matrices in Hawaii. Each of these draws its participants from the corresponding aggregate—Haole or Local. Those behavioral characteristics attributed to Haoles are thought appropriate only within the Haole matrix. A Haolefied individual is a member of a Local social group or constituent
aggregate who displays behaviors associated with Haoles. One Local man explains Haolefied in this way: It has to do with your way of speaking. When you try to come out with near-perfect English but still have pidgin accents associated with it. It also has to do with how you carry yourself and how you dress. If all the time you see someone in a muumuu and then you see her in a mink stole--that's considered acting Haolefied" (III-1-3-160).

The interpretive paradigm (discussed in section 1.14) says much about the implications of being Haolefied. It states that interactants infer underlying meaning from observable behavior. A person's behavior and underlying value orientation are linked together (section 1.11). This explains why there is a belief in Hawaii that a person who displays some Haole characteristics may also subscribe to some of the basic value orientations thought to be held by Haoles. He may, for instance, consider his own personal advancement, such as the acquisition of money or personal power, to be more important than the maintenance of reciprocal relationships. The maintenance of reciprocal ties demands that an individual reinvest the benefits realized from network participation back into the network. The individual who is reaping benefit from the network and simply amassing it, rather than reinvesting it through reciprocal gifts, is a threat to the continuation of the resource base of the entire network. As one self-ascribed Portuguese man put it, "a guy who takes and never gives—that's a bitch" (interview). Therefore, a Haolefied individual, one who may have this Haole value orientation, is seen as a potential liability by all network participants. As a result, a
person who gives increasing evidence of being Haolefied is also increasingly shut off from network participation. There seems to be an implication in their behavior that these people are not to be trusted. There is certainly less chance of being able to predict the future behavior of Haolefied individuals, because they are less explicit about their aggregate ascription and thus about the standards by which they expect to be judged. The following statement by a self-ascribed Portuguese man illustrates the way in which Haolefied individuals are ostracized: "Haolefied is applied to any Portuguese who tries not to sound Local, and once you're branded as Haolefied you're dead among Locals in general" (I-9-3-135).

Examples of Haolefied behavior are part of two overlapping domains. The first is centered on superficial behavioral markers which are identified with Haole aggregate members. Examples of these are speech and dress. The second is centered on behaviors which directly indicate a belief in the value system described by the category Haole. These latter are behaviors which, though appropriate within the Haole social matrix, may not be specifically characteristics used to identify individuals as Haoles. The reason that the domains overlap is that many behaviors thought characteristics of Haoles are also behaviors believed to be appropriate for interaction in the Haole matrix. An example of a Haolefied piece of behavior from a point near the center of the first domain, characteristics associated with Haole individuals, is the use of standard American English. This is a Haole characteristic, but is appropriate to the Haole matrix only because it is a behavioral marker
of those in the Haole aggregate. It is not, for instance, a direct indication that a person is self- rather than group-oriented. The following statement illustrates the importance of standard American English as an emblematic marker. It also illustrates that people are continually warned when their emblematic behavior deviates from group expectations. (It must be noted that Hawaiian pidgin de-emphasizes the non-initial /r/.)

In Waianae [a local area] if you pronounce the word "car" as "car" and "far" as "far," they will razz you till you. . . . You gotta say "caa" and "faa." They look at you, say, "Whatsa matta--you Haole today?" or "Look at him, he trying to act Haolefied." (I-4-3-111)

The following comments illustrate a behavior which lies in both domains, cutting off family ties. This is a behavior which is both associated with Haole individuals and, because it implies the breaking off of network ties, with the Haole social matrix. The statement also illustrates that not all Haolefied behavior is sufficient for exclusion from the social group. It is possible to have some Haole behavioral characteristics and still remain a part of the Local aggregate and an asset to the Local social group because of other, countervailing behaviors. A Hawaiian man speaks of Locals: "They saw the Americans who divorced themselves from their parents and became independent from their family--that was a thing associated with Haoles" (I-1-3-260). A Portuguese speaks of Haolefied individuals:

If you make a complete switch to Haole style and still show respect to the old folks, honor family ties--then you can be a "smart boy" and still be Haolefied--but if you ignore your family, then you are "no good." (I-2-3-640)
Examples from the second domain are more subtle. They are those which, while not directly characteristic of Haole individuals, do suggest a belief in the values of the Haole cognitive category such as self-aggrandizement. An example of this type of behavior comes from an interaction at a Holy Ghost chapel. There had been a luncheon of approximately 40 people. With the lunch plates had come plastic forks. One man came late, arriving after the plates and forks had been put away. He took his food and a metal fork from the kitchen. When he started eating, one of his friends said to him in a joking manner, "Eh! You getting Haolefied or what? We all used plastic forks."

Metal forks are not specifically associated with Haole individuals, nor with the Haole matrix. In this context, however, use of a metal fork could be viewed, though only by a stretch of the imagination and thus jokingly, as an indication of a person separating himself from the group and trying to gain a higher status level.

To understand this and other examples of Haolefied behavior from both domains they must be seen as lying along a continuum from Haole to Local. One behavior is more or less Haolefied on this continuum in relation to any other behavior. Thus, metal utensils, though not specifically Haole, are more Haole than plastic utensils in the above situation. The metal fork could have been an example of a person trying to put himself above everyone else. In this way a new Mercedes can be more Haole than a new Chevrolet and a new Chevrolet more Haole than a Chevrolet which is five years old.
9.4 Contrast as the Definition of Behavior

Thus, all behaviors can be seen as lying along these continua between Haole and Local and thus between Haole and Portuguese (which is a type of Local). Personal characteristics are described by cognitive categories, but actual behaviors must be interpreted and evaluated to determine which category they most clearly represent. Speaking Hawaiian pidgin is a Portuguese trait, while speaking standard American English is a Haole one. Contemporary pidgin is a highly variable dialect and compatible with standard American English. Most utterances in Hawaii fall somewhere between pure pidgin and absolutely correct standard American English. Many are thus more or less Haole only when contrasted with another sample of speech.

9.5 Interrelationship of Aggregate Membership and Social Group Participation

The model proposed suggests that as a growing number of Haolefied behaviors are observed in an individual, (as a person becomes comparatively too Haole in certain configurations of characteristics), they will finally be excluded from ascription to one of the Local cognitive subaggregates. They are no longer "real" Locals. Exclusion from the aggregate Local leads to exclusion from the Local social matrix as well. This accounts for the fact that some individuals whose characteristics have changed say that they have felt themselves being pushed out of the Portuguese and Local social groups. This mechanism, which is much like shunning, is the only method available to the members of a social group that has no corporate structure, of
enforcing negative sanctions against other members. It is also a method of protecting the group resource base which is itself contained in the manifold personal relationships of the social group. A statement by a 20-year-old Portuguese woman gives a personal insight into this process:

There's no rule that says, "You will do this or that"—but if you don't do things then you're neglected, you're rejected, you're not given attention by your family. (I-2-2-40)

No single change of an accepted group characteristic seems sufficient today to disqualify an individual from Portuguese ascription by the general Local community. (The one exception to this is the discontinuation of network ties, which itself can be seen as made up of a host of other characteristics, like loyalty and respecting senior relatives.) As with the horse in Chapter 2 (section 2.5), however, if enough minor characteristics are modified in certain combinations, ascription to the aggregate is no longer possible. The exclusion of an individual from the Portuguese aggregate and social group can sometimes lead either to a limbo status of no "real" inclusion in any aggregate or group. They are not "real" Portuguese nor are they "real" Haoles. It can also sometimes lead to Haole aggregate ascription and social group inclusion. This ascriptive change by an individual entails both a pull and a push. The individual intentionally changes his behavior, or is drawn to an activity, such as getting a Ph.D. in anthropology, which causes a change in behavior and thus in personal characteristics. As his behaviors start to change, the individual begins to feel a push out of
his original social group. Personal ties are broken off or weakened by other social group members whose behavior has not changed.

It is a widely held belief among self-ascribed Portuguese that there are a great many individuals who are by descent either Portuguese or part-Portuguese but who function during daily interaction as Haoles. Functioning as a Haole means that the person may be at least peripherally part of the Haole social group. It also means that these individuals are ascribed in some or all situations to the Haole aggregate. Statements by three Portuguese illustrate this. "A lot of Portuguese today consider themselves Haole. They feel they are" (I-1-2-X890). "So I think there's a lot of Portuguese who claim to be Caucasian because the Caucasian group is more affluent--more powerful" (I-12-1-70). "They felt that the only way for you to advance was for you to match the people in power, who were the Haoles. So you had to learn how to speak correctly in order to better yourself" (I-15-1-970).

9.6 Functional Haoles

Before the 1950's, when Hawaii was still a relatively small and closed community with most people known to each other, the Haolefied Portuguese were often in a cognitive and social limbo. They were frequently known to have started life as Portuguese and therefore not be "real" Haoles even though they may have been admitted into the Haole social matrix. Now, however, the number of such people who are being accepted as "real" members of the Haole aggregate during interaction is growing. This is due to the increased reliance on
self-ascription during interaction as well as the increasing number of mainland Haoles and the growth of the Haole matrix (see Appendices A and B). A person who started life ascribed to the Portuguese aggregate can today become a full-time functioning Haole. These comments by individuals who have made this transition illustrate the point.

They [mainland Haoles] know that Portuguese are treated different than Haoles. But to use that distinction—most people don't. (I-13-1-670)

I think most mainland Haoles wouldn't be able to tell a person who was Portuguese unless they told them. They wouldn't know. If I went looking for a job—they don't know. (II-3-1-205)

It's easy to get away with [being Haole]. All you've got to do is speak good English and say that's what you are, and by golly, that's what you are. (I-27-1-87)

The personal characteristics evidenced in functional Haoles are usually those associated with Haoles. These in turn represent the behaviors appropriate to the professional and managerial positions these people often occupy within the Haole matrix. Their social ties are often much more limited than those found in a Local network participant, being usually limited to a few close friends or fellow workers. Their kin ties are also more truncated, and those kin ties which are still maintained are more attenuated than for the Local matrix participant. Few of these people will absolutely deny being Portuguese when asked directly, but many of them, through their public behavior, are taken during interaction as Haoles.

There seem to be two main causes for individuals changing from Portuguese into functional Haoles. Changes in social matrix
participation, behavioral characteristics and aggregate ascription often go hand in hand. The main distinction in these changes would seem to be whether a person's shift started in the cognitive or social domain. Some Portuguese were drawn to a specific goal, like an advanced education or a specific career. This participation in the Haole matrix caused changes in their behavior which in turn caused them to be cut off from their old Local ties. Thus they were forced to function as Haoles within the Haole matrix in order to maintain any social ties at all. Because of the marked contrast the cognitive system draws between Haoles and Portuguese, it is almost impossible to present oneself as both in a single situation. Thus it is very difficult to function effectively as a Haole and still be an ascribed Portuguese.

Other individuals seem to have been primarily concerned with ascription to the aggregates themselves, and with avoiding the stereotypes and mild ridicule which is sometimes the lot of those identified as being in the Hawaiian Portuguese aggregate. One man of entirely Portuguese ancestry who is a participant in the Haole matrix had this answer when asked why people might try to pass as Haoles. "Probably because they'd rather not be Portuguese; in the sense of all the bad connotations of being Portuguese, and there are a lot of them. It's getting less now than it used to be. It used to be bad in terms of jobs, status, prestige" (1-12-1-440). The constraints of the cognitive/social system have again often forced these people who simply wanted a new aggregate ascription into the Haole social matrix. The systemic constraint is that there are only two widely recognized
cognitive/social categories open to Caucasians in Hawaii—Portuguese and Haole. Since everyone must be something during interaction in Hawaii, if these individuals are not Portuguese they become Haole.

9.7 Changes of Ascription and the Decision-Making Model

The process of changing aggregate ascription has thus far been spoken of as if it were a conscious decision. The process through which a person develops behavioral characteristics which lead to ascription to another aggregate is, however, a long, complex, and subtle one. It is therefore not open to easy analysis using the classic decision-making model.

A decision-making model, as it is customarily used in anthropology, is applicable to this situation only when the model is stated in its most general sense. This statement would be: an individual who is in possession of a given set of recognized resources and perceives another set of potential resources will make decisions which maximize his return. The model is difficult to apply in specific instances of ascription, however, because in these specific cases the considerations are subtle and the decisions themselves may have been made subconsciously in many small stages, and over many years. It is also very difficult to generalize about the relative importance of such considerations as affection, a feeling of comfort, and faith. Conversions to Protestantism by Portuguese are an instance of a decision about which it is very difficult to make a general statement or an analysis through a decision-making model.
In the late 1800's a number of Catholic Portuguese joined what was first called the Egreja Portugueza Evangelica (Portuguese Evangelical Church) and was then renamed the Pilgrim Church. This church was sponsored by a Protestant sect and joining it had many repercussions for an individual. The converts were totally ostracized by the Catholic Portuguese. They were ejected from both the social group and cognitive aggregate. They were called bagas (which literally means "garbage"). They were called this so consistently and so often that some Hawaiian Portuguese today think that bagasaita is literally translated as Protestant. The minister of the Portuguese Protestant church in Honolulu was a Protestant from the mainland. The church was organized and given support by the Hawaii Board of Missions of the Congregational Church. It was closely associated with the Haole Congregational churches in Hawaii. Walter F. Dillingham, a member of a very prominent Haole family, would sometimes play his violin at the services and his father was director of the Sunday School (Honolulu Advertiser 1971). By joining the church an individual could form social ties within the Haole community. The church ran a day school which offered, free of charge, instruction in English to the children of its members. This school had six trained teachers in 1890, a time when public education was very difficult to obtain. It is said that an unusually high percentage of Portuguese Protestant children went to high school—some even to the Haole school, Punahou Academy.

When a Portuguese became a Protestant, he was cut off socially from family and old friends and entered a quasi-Haole limbo.
Rejecting Catholicism was a modification of what was then considered a necessary characteristic for inclusion in the aggregate Portuguese. Because these individuals were cognitively excluded by other Portuguese from the Portuguese aggregate, they were no longer considered potential members of the Portuguese social group. They entered a sort of cognitive and social limbo. The Protestant individual was no longer considered a real Portuguese by other Portuguese. These Protestant Portuguese often made no claim to being Haole and were not considered as such by the Haoles.

With conversion could come material, educational, and social benefits through marginal participation in the Haole social group. This, though, is not the same as saying that conversion came because of these benefits. The decision-making model tells us the decision maker maximizes his return but, as with all these cases where the situation is complex and the decision has subconscious elements, it is impossible to determine just what return the decision maker was attempting to maximize. An example of this is the following recollection by a Portuguese man in his seventies. Depending on one's perspective, this could be interpreted either as a decision based on faith and a desire to more fully understand the Gospel, or as an attempt to allow his children to attend school.

My father was a very devout Catholic and I used to go to Church with him—I was the oldest. Then he heard Rev. Suarez preach and teaching the children. So he went to the priest, the priest was very friendly with my father, and my father told the priest, "Unless you preach and teach our children the way the Rev. Suarez does I'm going to leave your church." He said, "I'm sorry but I can't do anything, the Pope has to give those orders." Because they were preaching in Latin [Rev. Suarez preached in
Portuguese], and the teaching was another thing they didn't do. (I-9-1-215)

It might be an attempt to maximize the material or the social, but in many cases the decision to convert was probably a simple act of spiritual faith, with the other benefits following incidentally after it.48

The sweeping changes which could take place in the lives of these converts is described in this comment by a Catholic Portuguese woman.

I generally think that people converted out of genuine faith. But it is generally true that all of the Portuguese Protestants, by their affiliation with the Haoles, got ahead. Their kids went to school, got medical care. So the Portuguese who became Protestant did gain materially. Their whole value system was enhanced by the Protestant work ethic. (I-3-2-522)

The Haolefication of the Portuguese is a progressive trend. The children of people who have become classed as Haoles are themselves usually classed as Haole. They are structurally disadvantaged in the Local matrix. They lack network ties established by their parents which they can inherit. They do not have the training at home which makes them easy participants in long-term reciprocal networks. They may have a name or religion which is not characteristic of those in the aggregate Portuguese. They lack basic social skills, and so whatever their personal desires, they are often forced by circumstances to remain Haoles.

9.8 Functional Locals

The next stage to be discussed is that of functional Locals. This includes individuals who are consistently ascribed to the aggregate Portuguese during interaction but who are not members, or
are only peripherally members, of the Portuguese social group. Though they are ascribed Portuguese, their primary social ties are usually within the generalized Local social matrix, but outside the Portuguese social group.

The immediate questions one might ask are: Why are these individuals self-ascribed Portuguese if they do not actively participate in the Portuguese social group? If their social ties are to the Local group in general, why are they not simply self-ascribed Locals? As stated, it is much more difficult to be ascribed to the generalized Local aggregate during interaction than to one of the component aggregates such as Portuguese. The characteristics of a generalized Local are very ambiguous and an interactant making this claim is investigated to determine just how Local he is and in which situations. The characteristics of Portuguese are much less ambiguous and thus the claim is more easily established. Through being Portuguese, an individual is automatically included in the Local aggregate. Through being Portuguese, therefore, the social resources of the Local group and the frame of behavioral evaluation of the Local cognitive category are readily accessible.

The Functional Local grouping is a heterogeneous one. There is no clear line which divides its members from those of full-time Portuguese. It is difficult to quantify exactly when a person's primary social relationships stop being with other Portuguese and start being with Locals in general. (This issue will be ignored since any arbitrary measure would not advance the total thesis.) It is possible that an individual's personal networks may be divided evenly
between Portuguese and other Locals, may be centered on a Local group other than Portuguese, or may extend throughout the Local community. This variation seems to depend on a host of personal considerations which include socio-economic position, living location, and age. We will discuss each of these three forms of social constellation separately.

The first of these three social constellations, social ties divided between Portuguese and non-Portuguese Locals, seems to be most common in individuals over the age of 40. It appears that most self-ascribed Portuguese in this social situation have some kinsmen who are also self-ascribed Portuguese. Loyalty to family, an assumed Portuguese characteristic and thus a trait of most of these self-ascribed Portuguese, means these kin ties are often strong. Therefore, most self-ascribed Portuguese have social ties to other self-ascribed Portuguese. Friendships, however, are often heterogeneous for those with this first social constellation, with little consideration being given to whether the friend is Portuguese or some other type of Local. An example of this type of individual is found in a Portuguese man's comments on his cousins:

People just don't think of themselves as Portuguese. My cousins who [live] in Waianae [considered to be a Local area], they never think of themselves as Portuguese. You ask them what they are, and they're likely to say Local. (I-4-4-4)

Special circumstances can give rise to the second form of social constellation found in Functional Locals. In this second form social ties are mostly with a particular Local non-Portuguese group. There was a time in Hawaii when the produce business was almost entirely
controlled by Okinawans. If a Portuguese man married into an Okinawan family, for instance, and worked in the produce delivery business, most of his interactions and social ties would very likely have been with Okinawans. He would have been likely to retain his self-ascription of Portuguese, but have primarily non-Portuguese social contacts.

The effects of out-marriage on membership in the Portuguese group and category have not been small. The year 1970 is the only year since 1939 during which the State of Hawaii has kept separate vital statistics for the Portuguese. During that year, 169 individuals claiming Portuguese ascription were married. Only 14 (8.3 percent) of those individuals married another Portuguese; the rest married out of the aggregate (Hawaii Department of Planning and Development 1976).

The third form of social constellation for Functional Locals is Portuguese ascription but largely generalized Local non-Portuguese social contacts. This seems to be found mostly in people under the age of 40. These people are ascribed to the Portuguese aggregate but, if ascription to the Portuguese category were based entirely on descent, they would usually have only a peripheral or an almost nonexistent claim to that ascription. They are individuals with a Caucasian appearance who, often, with a different behavioral presentation, could also gain ascription to the Haole category. They are, however, self-ascribed Portuguese. Their social ties extend throughout the Local matrix and sometimes into the Haole matrix as well. They are of significance because most often these individuals have deliberately chosen to be Portuguese. They therefore highlight
the advantages some people see in ascription to the aggregate Portuguese.

These advantages appear to be in both the social and cognitive realms. They are: access to the Local social group and its resources, and/or the standards of judgment inherent in ascription to the aggregate Local. The reasons that people with this third constellation of social ties opt for Portuguese ascription are found in the configuration of the cognitive/social system as a whole. It has been shown that there are advantages to being classed as Local. It has also been shown that to be Local one should first be classed as a type of Local (e.g., a member of a constituent Local aggregate). This is especially true for people of Caucasian appearance who, in order to be classed as Local, must first avoid being classed as Haole. To be Local, they must be either Portuguese or Local Haole. During interaction, especially short-term casual interaction, entry to the aggregate Local by way of Portuguese is much the easier of the two presentations. This is due to the total characterization of individuals in these two aggregates (see section 7.6 for a fuller discussion of Local Haole). Portuguese is the less ambiguous of the two categories and when one validates one’s ascription to this aggregate many other implications follow automatically. Local Haole is, in contrast, a highly ambiguous category and ascription implies almost no further implications about behavior. People in this third social situation, therefore, are often individuals who desire to establish or maintain Local network contacts and who make a claim to Portuguese ascription in order to facilitate these contacts.
9.9 Being Portuguese versus Being Local Haole

A review of the two categories will demonstrate why they might seek Portuguese rather than Local Haole ascription. There is an implied descent basis in ascription to cognitive/social aggregates of the type we are discussing. Therefore, it is assumed that a person ascribed to the aggregate Portuguese has Portuguese ancestors. Because the last Portuguese immigrants arrived in Hawaii in 1914, it can be assumed that anyone with Portuguese ancestors has a deep Hawaiian genealogy and therefore at least a potential kin network to call upon. The Local Haole may or may not have ancestors in Hawaii, so the degree of genealogical depth must be tested on an individual basis after verification of Local Haole status. This example suggests one importance of the assumed descent basis of these aggregates, though in actual fact they function as behavioral categories and not as descent-based groups.

Being born in Hawaii is often mentioned as an important characteristic of those in the Local aggregate. A Portuguese, again because of the implied descent basis, can be assumed to have been born in Hawaii. The Local Haole may or may not have been born in Hawaii, and therefore this must also be tested. In actual fact, the 1975 O.E.O. survey shows that 13.6 percent of those claiming Portuguese ascription on Oahu were born in the continental United States. This figure is 20 percent for individuals under 35 years who live within the Honolulu city boundaries. So the widely held belief that a person in the aggregate Hawaiian Portuguese has Hawaiian Portuguese antecedents and was born in Hawaii is not necessarily true. The
assumption remains, however, and is one of the primary reasons for the efficiency during interaction of claiming Portuguese ascription to gain entry into the Local aggregate.

It is assumed, because of descent, that the Portuguese individual grew up in Hawaii and thus was socialized as a Local. He therefore understands and can produce behavior deemed appropriate within the Local matrix. The Local Haole, to validate his self-ascription, must be competent at some Local behaviors. But once again, for the Local Haole the extent of this behavioral competence and the situations in which it can be predicted must be tested on an individual basis.

It is the assumed descent basis of the category which suggests that the Portuguese individual has the following Local attributes: (1) an extensive or potentially extensive personal kin and friendship network through which access to resources is possible and through which sanctions against the individual can be applied; (2) the behavioral skills and deeper understandings and commitments necessary to function effectively in any Local personal network. It is also the descent charter which suggests that the Local Haole may not have either of these. In fact, many Local Haoles do have these qualities. It behooves these Local Haoles who can support the presentation to utilize the descent-based *imprimatur* of Portuguese ascription in order to most quickly validate the legitimacy of their social connections. In other words, if a person wants to be part of the Local aggregate and his attributes make him ascribable to either the aggregate Local Haole or Portuguese, it is much more efficient during interaction to seek ascription to the Portuguese aggregate.
A number of statements by people in this group will serve to illustrate and personalize the above points. The first statement is by a man with both Haole and Portuguese ancestors and therefore a legitimate claim to membership in either aggregate. He lived in areas where the Local social matrix was predominant and his presentation was entirely Portuguese.

There were no Haoles in the neighborhoods I lived in [as a youth in the 1950's]. I don't recall knowing any Haoles on an equal social basis. . . . Being Haole meant Punahou and Kahala [an exclusive neighborhood]. . . . Haole was not a good thing to be. . . . In high school I was a Portuguese, but there were enough Haoles here and there in the family that it seems to me I could have played it either way. I don't recall ever sitting down and thinking, "Let's see. Which way am I going to do it?" . . . I don't recall it ever being an issue. I was Portuguese—that's all. . . . What I think I had at the time was a basic Local attitude. (I-23-1-435)

A woman who by descent describes herself as 1/16 Portuguese, 1/8 Native Hawaiian, and the remainder Haole is a self-ascribed Portuguese: "I always make sure that I'm not considered a Local Haole" (I-15-1-X81).

The following is a statement of a woman who is by descent 1/2 Portuguese (her mother) and 1/2 Haole (her father):

Because I am Portuguese I've felt accepted by other nationalities. Rather than being Haole, I was Portuguese—which was totally different. All of a sudden I was close. "Well, she's a Portagee!" I never told anyone that I was Haole. No way. I denied ever. I am not Haole. I'm a Portagee. My last name is Haole, but that's it. I'm a Portagee through and through, as far as my relationships with people here.

I don't think I could handle being Haole. There's too much pressure from the Local people—too much "Ugh, Haole. Dumb Haole. You come here and rob the land and then you complain and bitch and grumble." (I-27-2-94)
There are also a number of people in this category of functional Portuguese who are ambicultural. That is, they present themselves both as Haole and as Portuguese. Because the categories are mutually exclusive, the switch must be made on a situational basis. These cases are of particular importance because they suggest the degree to which ascription to these aggregates is behavioral. The following statement was made by a man who is, by descent, entirely Portuguese. His education, however, gave him a total command of standard American English and the associated behaviors.

That's what I found very early on, that I could switch and identify with either side of the fence. I used that a lot to my advantage. I never really had any problems getting along with people because I could identify either way. I could identify myself as a Local at times or identify myself as a Caucasian at other times. I found that very useful to me. (I-12-1-890)

In the same way that those with entirely Portuguese descent can present themselves successfully as Haoles, it is the behavioral nature of these cognitive/social aggregates which allow people with no Portuguese descent whatever to become self-ascribed Portuguese. A woman who does genealogical research for the State of Hawaii has reported that a number of self-ascribed Portuguese have turned out, while being helped with research on family history, to be largely or entirely Puerto Rican in ancestry. Puerto Ricans were imported as laborers for the plantations, but their numbers were relatively small. Puerto Rican, because of the origin myth, is potentially a constituent subaggregate of Local. Because of their small numbers, however, it is not as generally recognized as is Portuguese. Additional Puerto Ricans have immigrated to Hawaii in recent years. This leads to
cognitive ambiguity because there are members of the aggregate who do not share the descent charter (plantation laborer) of the aggregate Local (see note 35). Like Local Haole, Puerto Rican is thus a very ambiguous label in the Hawaiian cognitive/social system. A Puerto Rican whose main social ties are Local may, with no intention of denying his family or cultural heritage, find it advantageous during interaction to be a self-ascribed Portuguese.

9.10 The Quasi-Portuguese

Finally, situations have been witnessed by, and reported to, the researcher in which individuals with no descent basis and a less than compelling behavioral basis for Portuguese ascription have become Portuguese. These people we will term quasi-Portuguese. Because their claim to Portuguese ascription is unsupported by descent and often very poorly supported by their behavior, the claim is made only on a situational basis. The situations in which the claims are made are usually those of extreme pressure. People attempt this sort of situational Portuguese self-ascription because their success or failure is based not on an examination of their pedigree but rather on an evaluation of their immediate behavior. If they can act Portuguese, then they are Portuguese.

The fact that these people will attempt an ascription of Portuguese supports many of the earlier arguments. It suggests first that ascription is based during interaction on behavior, not descent. It suggests that Portuguese is a subcategory of Local and contrasts with Haole. It suggests that Caucasian appearance is a major
characteristic of the Portuguese aggregate as well as a cause for exclusion from the Local aggregate in general. It also suggests the interactive efficiency of claiming Portuguese rather than Local Haole ascription. To be accepted as Portuguese leads to instant inclusion in the Local aggregate; to be accepted as Local Haole still leaves one's exact cognitive characteristics and social ties in doubt.

A single poignant example of quasi-Portuguese behavior will be given. This example takes place on a high school playground. It is often socially very difficult to be a Haole in Hawaii's public schools. One young Portuguese jokingly said, "If you made it through school here--you're Local" (I-8-1-527). The quasi-Portuguese in this situation is a Caucasian-looking boy who, though from the mainland, was living in a neighborhood identified as Local. The boy was accosted on the school playing field by a group of Local boys with whom he had some previous disagreements. He was backed into a corner and as the group of Local boys advanced on him with mayhem in their eyes, he was heard to call, "I'm a Portagee! I'm a Portagee!"
CHAPTER X
CONCLUSIONS

One fundamental conclusion of this study has already been stated and illustrated, that "ethnic" type aggregates have a descent charter, not a descent basis. Ascription to such an aggregate, especially in urban situations such as Honolulu, is based primarily on behavior. The descent charter gains its importance from the sense of immutability it lends to the associated behavioral characteristics which are believed to be found in aggregate members.

The case of the Portuguese of Honolulu demonstrates the necessity of conceptually distinguishing between cognitive aggregates and social groupings. The aggregate Portuguese today has a very attenuated relationship with the social groupings of the same name. Very many individuals known to be Portuguese are not a part of a Portuguese social group. Also though the groups known to be Portuguese usually draw their membership from the Portuguese aggregate, social groupings with other names (e.g., Local and those which correspond to the various component aggregates of Local such as Native Hawaiian or Chinese) also draw members from the Portuguese aggregate. In fact, facilitation of entry into Local social groupings seems to be one of the primary benefits of Portuguese ascription in Honolulu today.

Social groupings do tend to draw their members from an associated cognitive aggregate which bears the same name (i.e., most people in
Portuguese clubs are ascribed to the Portuguese aggregate; most people in Local groups are ascribed to the aggregate Local). The relationship between a social group and an aggregate is, however, a complex one. It is strongly effected by synergistic relationships involving all the groups and aggregates in a cognitive/social system. The configuration of groupings which make up the total social setting has an effect on the relative strengths of various cognitive categories. The cognitive relationships between various categories (e.g., inclusion, exclusion, contrast) has an effect on the particular characteristics generally associated with members of any one cognitive aggregate. The content of a category, including the characteristics historically associated with its aggregate members, affect its particular place in the process of social organization.

The effect of the total social setting (i.e., configuration of groups, access of groups to resources, size of groups) on the cognitive strength of a single category can be seen in the current relationship between Haole and Portuguese. The almost universal recognition of, and knowledge about, the category Portuguese would seem to be out of proportion to the number of individuals actively claiming membership in the aggregate and most certainly to the size and degree of internal organization of Portuguese social groupings. It becomes understandable, however, when viewed systemically within the context of the total cognitive/social system. The category Portuguese has great social significance because of its cognitive placement. It is the only non-Haole Caucasian aggregate and thus is the most efficient means of entry for Caucasians into the Local social
matrix. As such, its cognitive strength (i.e., people's awareness of the category) must be high to maintain its contrast with Haole and insure its interactive utility. One way this contrast is heightened is by assuming certain behavioral characteristics for Portuguese individuals which are not necessarily descriptive of aggregate members in general but are simply the reverse of commonly accepted Haole characteristics.

The importance of descent-chartered behavioral aggregates as raw material for social organization is also clearly illustrated by the Portuguese. The Portuguese aggregate has been used through the years as the basis for membership in economic, political, religious, and cultural social groupings, all of which were organized in response to perceived social needs. It can also be seen that the characteristics associated with aggregate members make it an appropriate basis for each of these social groupings.

The Portuguese benevolent societies were primarily economic in nature. They were organized to accumulate, husband, and redistribute cash when no other social institutions served this function. The very fact that "Portuguese" was a descent-chartered behavioral aggregate made it an appropriate basis for membership in such societies. The purpose of the societies was specifically the manipulation of an easily dissipated resource—cash. Therefore, the commitment of the benevolent societies' members to a basic value orientation and behavioral regime had to be insured so that social sanctions could be effectively applied to them.
The domination and control of early trades such as masonry, printing, and draying by members of the Portuguese aggregate was used as a means of protecting the economic resource embodied in these occupations. The general acceptance of some Portuguese traits on the cognitive level, (such as "good stoneworker" from their previous experience in Europe, and "good with animals") would bolster this control on the social level. The social control would in turn strengthen the cognitive through a more general recognition of the behavioral characteristics. Reliance on social networks to find employment was a common early practice. This also would serve to restrict access to and thus husband an economic resource. As with the benevolent societies, the descent charter of the aggregate makes it an appropriate basis for selecting members for such social networks. The Uniao Portugueza was a strictly political social grouping. Its membership was also based on Portuguese aggregate ascription. Its social function was the coordinated influencing of public policy in a political system seen to be dominated by members of another aggregate, the Haoles. The particular arena of public policy being influenced, laws relating to the condition of laborers, made Portuguese aggregate membership a reasonable basis for membership in this political organization. The obvious need for discipline and coordination in such a social grouping made a descent-chartered aggregate an appropriate pool from which to draw members.

The Holy Ghost Societies and Our Lady of the Mount maintain to this day religious practices which were brought to Hawaii from Europe. These religious societies also serve the function of maintaining
certain cultural practices. In ethnic studies a people's culture most often refers to high culture (e.g., music, dance, formal dress, art), but for anthropology it includes all shared aspects of a cognitive category, the behavioral as well as those called value orientations. For the Portuguese, "high culture" is currently maintained by the culture clubs. The religious societies and various social clubs serve as a reservoir for the other more mundane but no less significant cultural items.

Most recently (1980) two new social groupings have emerged. One of these, the Portuguese Chamber of Commerce, is primarily economic. In the words of one member, it "offers an opportunity to be associated with ranks of people who are in the professional and business areas of Hawaii" (I-1-3-870). The second, the Hawaiian Council on Portuguese Heritage, grew out of a State commission formed to coordinate the Centennial celebration of the arrival of the first Portuguese contract laborers. One of its aims is to increase public awareness of the importance that Portuguese high culture has had in the history of Hawaii.

As has been described, the aggregate Portuguese has much wider social significance in Hawaii today than simply forming the basis of membership for these strictly Portuguese groups. The Portuguese social groupings of today control relatively few resources. This is presumably because those individuals who were most likely to augment these resources have often been reclassified as Haoles. Portuguese aggregate membership, however, can provide entry into the Local social matrix and thus access to the growing resource base which it controls.
Thus one of the most significant social functions of the aggregate Portuguese is due primarily to its placement in the total configuration of Hawaiian cognitive categories and to their relative relationships to all the social groupings.

The form of analysis used in this dissertation was made possible by conceptually separating the social group and cognitive aggregate. One advantage of this form of analysis is that the articulation between the social and the cognitive can be made explicit. Often in the social science literature these two realms are combined into a single argument by simply ignoring their distinctiveness. This seamless transition which many investigators make between the social and the cognitive when discussing "ethnicity" must be abandoned. It is possible to maintain the distinction within a single analysis if one uses Barth's generative model as the point of articulation. Through this means a description and analysis is made possible which more closely reflects the wide heterogeneity of actual human behavior.

By using this method it can also be seen that what has previously been called "ethnicity" and "ethnic group" formation is not a special social process. It is but one expression of a much more general social organizational mechanism—the selection of social group members on the basis of cognitive distinctions.
CHAPTER I

1. A social group so defined is similar to a social network as it has often been used in the anthropology literature (Barnes 1954; Epstein 1961; Mitchell 1969). This special definition has great utility for the study of urban centers in complex societies. There is no suggestion that this is the only definition of social group. Social groups include all those collectives created by structured social interaction. Put on a continuum of corporativeness, they would extend from what Boissevian (1968) has termed "quasi-groups" through such groups as the Basseri (Barth 1961) to the modern nation state. Boissevian's quasi-groups differ from social group as the term is used in this study because quasi-groups are oriented toward a specific outcome and centered on a single individual. Nation states differ from the present use of the term because interaction between individuals is mediated not only by other individuals (as is the case with information pathways) but also by institutions such as jural systems. Whenever "social group" is used in a general sense in this dissertation during theoretical discussions, it should be considered as referring to any social group whatever its degree of incorporation.
2. These distinctions are in some respects similar to those drawn by Kunstadter (1978) in his work on the Karen of Northern Thailand. He distinguishes in that study between "ethnic group . . . a set of individuals with similar consciousness and mutual interests"; "ethnic identification . . . the process of assigning an individual (including oneself) to a group or category"; and "ethnic category . . . a class or people or groups, based on real or presumed cultural characteristics . . . with the implication that a categorization is a more or less systematic application of some kinds of rules to the variety of known individuals or groups."

Kunstadter's theoretical framework blurs the differences between the cognitive and the social domains. In his analysis he notes the existence of what are here called the social group and the cognitive aggregate. His reference to them both as a kind of "ethnic group" and suggestion that the formation of both is due to the process of "ethnic identification" are unfortunate. By these references he implies that ethnic group formation is a specific type of social process rather than an example of two quite different processes—social group and cognitive aggregate formation—which are, nevertheless, universal to all social organization.

3. He was unfortunately not completely off the mark in characterizing it as a dispute. This argument does exist between individuals who are deeply committed to the interactionist and social structuralist schools.
CHAPTER II

4. The fact that the name "Hawaii" is used both for the whole island group and for one of its member islands leads to possible confusion. There can also be confusion because all people living in the island group as well as one specific cognitive/social aggregate are referred to as Hawaiians. In this dissertation when Hawaii is used alone, as it is in this sentence, it will refer to the Kingdom, Republic, Territory or State of Hawaii. The individual island named Hawaii will always be referred to as the island of Hawaii. In like manner Hawaiian or Hawaiians will be used to refer to any and all people who make Hawaii their home. The original Polynesian inhabitants and their descendants will always be referred to as Native Hawaiians.

5. Reports of this figure vary wildly. They range from a high of 25,000 (Felix and Senecal 1978) to a low of 14,000 (Wright 1979). There is no single set of records which provides an undeniable total for the entire 35 years of immigration. There are various original sources but none of them were kept for the purpose of counting every Portuguese who entered Hawaii. Schmitt (1977) suggests an approximate total of 16,200 based on data from the Bureau of Immigration. This does not, however, include Portuguese immigrants who paid their own passage. A listing of the manifests of all ships bearing Portuguese from the Harbor Masters' Records yields the number 24,990 (Felix and Senecal 1978:29). Some of these ships, however, like the Heliopolis, carried other people in addition to Portuguese. It seems that a
no more specific estimate is possible than between 16,000 and 22,000 individuals.

6. Though genealogy is usually assumed to be a characteristic used for evaluating membership in a cognitive aggregate of the type discussed, it is in fact only symbolic of an assumed interactive reality. Individuals are accorded functioning membership in the associated social group if it can be assumed that they are willing to enter into a long-term covenant to protect and augment the group's resources and conform to the other group members' behavioral expectations during interaction.

7. In nearly all cases direct quotes used in this dissertation are transcribed from tape-recorded interviews. Those few quotes which are not from tape are from notes taken during or directly after an interaction. In all quotations people's names have been changed, but the original wording of the statements has been maintained.

8. As mentioned, the word "Haole" is often blithely translated as "Caucasian" by Mainland investigators. This is not only inaccurate but more importantly the Mainland term Caucasian is a Mainland cognitive category which has no specific referent aggregate in the popular Hawaiian taxonomy. It thus has no specific meaning in everyday Hawaiian discourse. Caucasian and White in Hawaii seem sometimes to be used in place of the term Haole, perhaps because this was their use historically at the Hawaiian official level. Examples of the vague meaning of the term Caucasian abound. A Portuguese man says, "I am Caucasian--
but that's not used here" (I-23-1-562). Many people are quite unfamiliar with the term. This conversation was heard while watching a television news program with a 78-year-old Portuguese man and his wife.

TV Voice: The suspect is a Caucasian man. . . .
Wife: What's a Caucasian? What race is that? Is that White and, and, and mixed?
Husband: Ya, means mixed.

The difficulties which using the category Caucasian can bring are seen clearly in an attitudinal dimension study by the mainland investigator L. Howell (1977). What is an otherwise craftsman-like study is marred and his results obscured by assuming that Haole is simply the word used for Caucasian in Hawaii. Howell says, "The focus of attention will be a subsample (N=139) of students of Japanese ancestry with comparison made to a Caucasian (or 'Haole') group of students (N=36)" (p. 3). Also, "This then is a comparative case study where the cases are Japanese and Caucasian (Haole)" (p. 10). He recognizes the existence of what he believes are subgroups of Caucasian in Hawaii and makes use of these in testing. "Referent groups were established as any type which could be readily identified as a characteristic of individuals encountered in the environment of Hawaii's college students." This approach to "perceived" groups resulted, for example, in the inclusion as test variables of the groups "mainland Haoles" (Caucasians) as well as "Hawaii Haoles" and "Portuguese," all of which he believed could be subsumed under "Caucasian." He seems, however, to ignore this discovery
of extreme heterogeneity during his analysis. (This is perhaps because if he recognized it, he would have an insufficient sample size.) He speaks instead of inconsistencies in his results.

"... several inconsistencies appear in attempts to classify the dimensions for the Caucasians. For example, 'Catholics' load heavily in a dimension which otherwise is an 'oriental factor' (p. 8). "The Caucasian respondents have indicated an 'oriental' dimension (which also includes Catholics and Hawaiians) but which lies within a multi-dimensional self on the affect scale" (p. 11). This inconsistency can be explained easily if one assumes that his "oriental dimension" actually represents the category called Local in Hawaii. This group has as its hallmark characteristic orientalness since the preponderance of its members are Japanese and Chinese, but it also includes Portuguese, who are presumed to be Catholic as well as Native Hawaiians. Even his final conclusion, while it is supported by this dissertation on other grounds, is questionable. "The Caucasian respondents even further cloud the issue of the importance of ethnicity as a primary group determination. ... Even a second-order factor analysis of the data results in separate dimensions for 'mainland Haole' and 'self-image' criteria which subsumed the 'Hawaii Haole' referent group. It cannot be shown in these data and analysis that a 'Haole' or 'Japanese' group exists. This result casts some doubt on the validity of 'ethnic groups' as a basis for attitudinal study" (p. 12). Though he seems to have clearly discovered that what he
terms "Caucasian" is actually more than one group in Hawaii, he continues to use the terms Caucasian and Haole interchangeably. He also doggedly includes the mainland Haoles (60 percent of his Caucasian group) with the local Haoles (some of whom are presumably Portuguese and thus not Haoles at all) for the purposes of testing and analysis.

9. Please see note 11.

CHAPTER III

10. The total census figure of 86 Portuguese individuals also included people from Spain, Spanish America and Brazil, as well as the "Western [Azores and Madeira] and Cape Verde Islands" (Schmitt 1977:90).

11. These 1878 numbers include Hawaiian-born children who were enumerated during the census but not assigned to a group. R. Adams and A. Lind assigned them statistically to various groups at a later time (Adams et al. 1925:25). The actual number of foreign-born Portuguese in 1878 was 436 (Schmitt 1977).

12. There was a great deal of room for business expansion. A number of today's multi-national corporations are the direct descendants of business started in Hawaii as small retail and wholesale shops during that period.

13. These included 19 men from the Azores; three from Madeira; two from Cape Verde; and four from various other locations.
CHAPTER IV

14. The fact that there were separate "camps" on the plantation (e.g., Japanese camp, Portuguese camp) in which groups were segregated is a common belief in Hawaii today. Though having a mixture of groups was clearly a policy of the planters, segregating them probably was not. The Hawaii Labor Commission stated: "Keep a variety of laborers... and thus prevent any concerted action in case of strikes, for there are few, if any, cases of Japs, Chinese and Portuguese entering into a strike as a unit" (Reinecke 1967). The plantation manager's primary concern, however, was to use his buildings as efficiently as possible. Actual house allotment was usually determined by an overseer. This man was easily influenced so the segregation which existed was most likely due primarily to self-selection. After cane railroads came into use, field camps were discontinued almost entirely and everyone lived close to the mill.

15. The population in 1878 was: Native Hawaiian, 44,088; Chinese, 3,262; and Caucasian (including Portuguese), 3,748 (Schmitt 1977).

16. Coman (1903) describes this result of the Norwegian importation. "They were readily placed on plantations but hardly were they domiciled than furious protests were sent in to the Board and to the home government against the rations and quarters provided. The complaints showed a complete ignorance of the new living conditions. For example, the lack of butter and potatoes was regarded as a hardship. Butter and Irish potatoes were imported
into the islands from San Francisco and were luxuries reserved to
the tables of the rich. Further, the cottages were thought
uninhabitable because between the roof and the sidings was an
interval of several inches. This means of ventilation is
necessary to health in a plantation camp in Hawaii." (Coman
1903:34)

17. Labor contract of 1885: "This agreement, entered into between
Augustoda Silva Moreira and Hoffnung, agent of the Board of
Immigration, Witnesseth:—That whereas the party of the second
part is desirous of emigrating to the Hawaiian Islands, there to
be employed as an agricultural laborer, under the direction of the
Board of Immigration: Now, therefore, in consideration of a
passage to the Hawaiian Islands on board the steamship Hansa and
a further undertaking by the party of the first part that the
said board of Immigration will pay or cause to be paid, to the
party of the second part, wages at the rate of $9 per month, with
board and lodging for himself and children under twelve years of
age, for each and every month of 26 days' service faithfully
performed during the existence of this agreement (a day's service
to be ten hours in the field and twelve hours in the sugar-
house); such wages to be paid at the end of each calendar month,
reckoning from the date of the commencement of such service after
arrival at Honolulu,—and in consideration of a further
undertaking on the part of the party of the first part to secure
the party of the second part full protection under the Hawaiian
law, as fully as the same is enjoyed by the native born subjects
of the kingdom, and likewise in cases of sickness that he shall be supplied with proper medical attendance and that the said children shall be properly instructed in the native schools, the said party of the second part will duly and faithfully perform such lawful and proper labor as he may be directed to perform under the auspices of the said Board of Immigration for the term of three years, counting from the day on which he shall commence such service after arrival in the kingdom of Hawaii, it being always understood that the contracted party shall not work on Sundays or on any holiday recognized by the government, and that his services shall not be transferred without his consent."

(Coman 1903)

18. Part of a letter written in 1907 by a Sugar Factoring Company in Honolulu to a plantation manager.


20. The Portuguese expressed this intention of not returning to Europe as part of a public declaration in 1896 (see section 5.5). Proof that the intention was carried out is the complete lack of evidence that any more than a handful did return to Europe. The Portuguese exodus from Hawaii was in the direction of the United States mainland—not Europe.

21. See Lind (1960) for the reactions of a young man from a laborer aggregate who, though he held a B.A. degree, continued to be addressed in pidgin English.
CHAPTER V

22. For a truly excellent and detailed description of Kakaako, see Ethnic Studies (1977).

23. Oh no, you're not finding that information here. There have to be some secrets. Ask a Hawaiian Portuguese.

24. The following is a partial list of the early societies on Oahu which were either officially Portuguese or were generally considered to have had memberships largely from the Portuguese aggregate:

1) Benevolent associations
   St. Antonio
   Lucitana
   St. Martin
   Michelanense

2) Religious
   The Holy Ghost Associations
   Brotherhood of the Holy Ghost of the Holy Trinity (Punchbowl Holy Ghost)
   Kewalo Holy Ghost (Kakaako)
   Kalihi Holy Ghost
   Fort Street Cathedral Holy Ghost

   Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Monte (Our Lady of the Mount)

   Various parish organizations

   Men's "Holy Name" societies and women's "Altar and Rosary" societies which in a Portuguese parish were de facto Portuguese organizations

3) Fraternal

   Brotherhood of Improved Redmen
   Ancient Order of Foresters
   Eagles
4) Occupational (controlled by Portuguese in the early 1900's)
   - Printers' Union
   - Masons' Union

5) Cultural
   - Patria Society

6) Civic
   - Pioneer Civil Association
   - The Ladies' Portuguese Charitable Association
     (Fuchs 1961:47)

7) Political
   - Uniao Portugueza

CHAPTER VI

25. Many of these emerging demographic trends, and others which will be discussed later, can be best demonstrated through the table in Appendix B.

26. *Kamaaina,* originally a Native Hawaiian word, in this usage seems best translated as "old timer" or "initiated long-term resident." It contrasts with *malihini,* which means "newcomer."

27. The investigator, who is a mainland Haole and grew up in the American Midwest, never ceased to be amazed by this behavioral ability in plantation management personnel who had sometimes lived in Hawaii for 40 or 50 years. They were able to produce behavior which was not only totally appropriate to the American mainland in a generalized way but even appropriate to the current American mainland.
28. The following figures show the impact that the Portuguese had on public instruction in the late 1800's.

Public School Attendance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1880</th>
<th>1893</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Native Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians</td>
<td>6,591</td>
<td>7,351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haoles</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>2,253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Wist 1940.

29. If an original immigrant arrived at the age of 2 in 1878 and she, as well as each of her succeeding female descendants, had a child at age 17 (not at all unusual), the fourth-generation child would have been born in 1927.
30. The Portuguese were moving to town. The following chart shows that they had already left the plantations.

Number and Percent of Employees of Sugar Plantations on All Islands and Percent Qualifying for Bonus, May 1929, by Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Percent qualifying for bonus*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>34,681</td>
<td>69.5</td>
<td>82.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>9,208</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>84.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>1,654</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>91.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td>1,265</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>70.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>968</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>74.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>807</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>77.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian</td>
<td>548</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>79.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>517</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>82.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All others</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>80.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>49,890</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>83.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Does not include employees on monthly basis.


31. See Castro (1912) for an example of this sort of article.
32. Direct Income from Major Export Industries, 1940-1975.

(in Millions of Dollars)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Sugar</th>
<th>Pineapple</th>
<th>Both</th>
<th>Defense</th>
<th>Tourism</th>
<th>Tourist Arrivals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Values adjusted in terms of real 1960 dollars)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>118.3</td>
<td>97.4</td>
<td>211.7</td>
<td>85.9</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>25,373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>151.5</td>
<td>149.6</td>
<td>301.1</td>
<td>188.9</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>46,593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>161.9</td>
<td>132.6</td>
<td>294.5</td>
<td>300.2</td>
<td>62.9</td>
<td>109,798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>118.4</td>
<td>119.4</td>
<td>237.8</td>
<td>351.4</td>
<td>131.0</td>
<td>296,517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Values adjusted in terms of real 1975 dollars)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>212.6</td>
<td>214.4</td>
<td>427.0</td>
<td>630.9</td>
<td>235.1</td>
<td>296,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>270.3</td>
<td>206.6</td>
<td>476.9</td>
<td>701.8</td>
<td>367.0</td>
<td>689,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>254.9</td>
<td>188.1</td>
<td>443.0</td>
<td>867.6</td>
<td>807.3</td>
<td>1,514,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>365.8*</td>
<td>146.7</td>
<td>502.5</td>
<td>982.8</td>
<td>1,270.0</td>
<td>2,830,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1975 was characterized by exceptionally high sugar prices.

CHAPTER VII

33. Changes in the Hawaii, Oahu and Outer Islands Populations, 1930-1975

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Oahu</th>
<th>Outer Islands</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>368,336</td>
<td>202,923</td>
<td>165,413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>423,330</td>
<td>258,256</td>
<td>165,074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>449,794</td>
<td>353,409</td>
<td>146,774</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>632,772</td>
<td>500,409</td>
<td>132,363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>709,913</td>
<td>630,528</td>
<td>139,385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975 (est)</td>
<td>864,900</td>
<td>704,500</td>
<td>160,400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


34. The idea of rural versus urban as a behavioral rather than simply geographic distinction will be touched on again later.

35. The basis of the cognitive ambiguity of the category Filipino will be discussed later. In brief, the descent charter of the Local aggregate has become "origins as plantation labor." Though Filipinos have been the predominant plantation labor group for a number of years, the aggregate itself is not usually considered to be unambiguously a constituent subaggregate of Local. This is probably caused by the large number of people within the Filipino aggregate who are exceptions to the Local descent charter. There are many Filipinos in Hawaii today who have immigrated recently
and have never served on the plantations. Thus, though an individual is ascribed to the aggregate Filipino, he may have a short history in Hawaii with no ties to the plantation.

Another interesting demographic change is the more recent immigration of two additional cognitive/social groups, the Samoans and Southeast Asians. They are not directly germane to this study and their role will not be discussed in depth. It is interesting, however, to consider whether and in what way these aggregates will gain Local status. Because Local is, in fact, a transformation of the earlier category laborer, and has as its descent charter "origins on the Hawaiian plantations," their entrance into the aggregate Local may be very difficult. In physical appearance they fulfill a major characteristic of the category Local—the Samoans being Polynesian and the Southeast Asians being Oriental. Neither group, though, has any ties to the plantation and its laboring class. Neither, of course, would like to pay their dues by remaining menial laborers for a generation in Hawaii today. Because of the reduced importance of the plantations today, all aggregate members could not find jobs on them even if they so chose.

These groups and the individuals from them are not yet automatically accorded Local status as is the case with the Japanese, Chinese, Native Hawaiians, and Portuguese. Individuals must prove their own personal ascription to the Local aggregate through behavioral competence at generalized Local behavioral characteristics. The individuals from these two groups currently
fall into the loose cognitive category often called "people from somewhere else," i.e., not from Hawaii (Locals) nor from the U.S. mainland (Haoles). The true test, I believe, will be whether a large number of these individuals will remain in Hawaii and attempt to join Local networks, thus forcing a recognition of their membership in the Local aggregate or whether they will leave Hawaii. If a critical number of individuals remain, the groups themselves may enter the Local aggregate. This would force a change in the descent charter of Local. It is also possible that individuals will remain but not attempt to join Local networks and thus they may form a new cognitive category class which contrasts with both Local and Haole.

36. This emerging category is often due to an unwieldy number of genealogical group ties and social affiliations as well as other factors. Presumably the other factors would be extremely interesting to investigate. Unfortunately that investigation and the implications of the new cognitive category "Mix" are beyond the province of this study.

37. A mixed Caucasian/Oriental is put in the group "hapa Haole" or "hapa" (literally, "half"). This interesting category, which seems to describe phenotype rather than behavior, will also not be dealt with.

38. Further steps in this logical progression may be traced—his aggregate membership in turn implies, but does not establish, a membership in the associated social group. Deduction in the opposite direction also takes place during interaction. A known
member of a social group should be assumed to be a member of the aggregate from which that group draws its members, and his behavior evaluated in the context provided by the associated cognitive category. This assumption usually stands until proven otherwise during interactive negotiation. My attendance at Holy Ghost functions clearly illustrates this. Though my speech and age showed me to be atypical, totally unknown individuals, such as delivery people, treated me as a member of the Portuguese aggregate until proven otherwise.

39. It might be suggested here that the importance of descent and therefore the degree to which genealogy is manipulated in the cognitive domain is directly related to the degree to which personal social relations outweigh institutional relations in the social system. This assertion will be explained and supported in the following chapters.

40. The Hawaii Department of Planning and Economic Development publishes these statistics on an annual basis.

40. The behavioral basis for these assumed characteristics will be discussed from the Haole perspective after further background is given (see section 7.11).

42. A term suggested to me by Dr. Steven Boggs, Department of Anthropology, University of Hawaii.

43. Because the Local Haole does not belong to a recognized constituent aggregate, his entry into the larger aggregate Local is difficult. Like that of the Local Samoan and to some extent
the Local Filipino, his entry is based solely on the negotiation of personal characteristics during interaction.

CHAPTER VIII

44. The question of American Blacks in Hawaii is an interesting one. Clearly the three concepts—Haole, all things of the mainland and Caucasian—have become closely associated cognitively in Hawaii. The influx of a large number of mainland individuals who are Black and not Haole would force a shift in this cognitive association. All things of the mainland could no longer be closely associated with Haole and Caucasian. Though there are many U.S. military Blacks stationed in Hawaii, the number of resident civilian Blacks is infinitesimal. (The 1970 U.S. Census found only 8,500, about 1 percent of the total population.) This is perhaps because Blacks are said to meet opposition and discrimination from nearly every resident group. The sociometrists, though it is somewhat difficult to understand why, have included Negro as a category in most of their statistical studies of Hawaii. Kinloch (1972:197) found them to be the most strongly and universally rejected group. This was also supported by Smith's (1970) sociometric study. This dissertation will not hazard a speculation on why a group which is so minimally represented should be so universally rejected.

For the Portuguese this rejection may be a public protest of their own alleged Negro background (see section 4.8). If the Portuguese do not like Blacks, how can they possibly be Blacks
would be the logic of this protest. Another insight is gained by this story of a man concerning his father who spent his whole life on the plantation. "My father talks real bad about Blacks. He's never met one but he learned it when he worked with Haole people during the war. He thought it was fashionable. If you want to be a Haole, you have to hate Negroes" (I-1-851). This seems a contradiction to the generally held belief that the Portuguese will accept on an individual basis a person from any group. It is easy, however, to maintain a total prejudice if Negroes remain a mythic category with no evident representatives.

45. An analysis of the Hawaiian "Portuguese joke" and its exact role in the maintenance of the counter-Haole characteristics of the category Portuguese is beyond the scope of this dissertation. An accurate investigation would demand detailed situational and content analysis of an extensive array of these jokes. Therefore, only a single example will be given by way of illustration.

Q: How many Portuguese does it take to eat a mongoose?
   
   ["Squirrel" could be employed in a mainland "Polish joke."]

A: Three . . . two to watch for cars.

46. Because of the reasons stated above, it is very difficult to determine for the Portuguese exactly who was enumerated in which category during the 1965 and 1975 surveys. It is best nevertheless to report the number of individuals who were classed
as Portuguese. In 1965 the total Portuguese population reported in the state of pure descent was 15,913; 1/2 Portuguese descent was 16,421. These were 2.8 percent and 2.6 percent of the total population (Honolulu Community Action Program 1976).

CHAPTER IX

47. At least in Honolulu people above the age of fifty can often represent what is called in ecology a "relic community." This term is usually used in ecology to describe an assemblage of individuals or species which survives a general ecological change through mutual support and the creation of a micro-biome. Transposed to a societal setting, this would then describe a small population of individuals who perpetuate and customarily employ an earlier cognitive framework despite an apparent change in the cognitive framework of the total population. The validity of this concept depends on two basic assumptions. The first is that any shared cognitive framework has its primary utility in the organization and interpretation of interaction. If individuals who share a particular cognitive framework are available and a person's primary interactions are limited to these other individuals, the efficacy and utility of the cognitive framework will remain intact. The framework itself will therefore be maintained. The second assumption is that the general cognitive framework of a social setting as heterogeneous as Honolulu actually represents the points of articulation and congruence between a multitude of these micro-frameworks. This
second assumption has a further implication. It suggests that an extensive investigation, such as a questionnaire which is so often found in sociology, does not lead one in the direction of describing the actual cognitive world of a given individual. In fact, the more extensive a survey becomes, the further it is from describing the cognitive micro-frameworks actually employed during interaction. The opposite, an intensive study, must be undertaken to elucidate these cognitive micro-frameworks.

This study has depended heavily on the reports of these relic cognitive community members in reconstructing the cognitive historical changes for Hawaii. Older individuals who interact primarily with each other have been treated not just as repositories of enlightening historical minutiae but as living examples of an earlier cognitive perspective. This technique could perhaps best be termed cognitive archeology.

48. For additional information on the Protestant Hawaiian Portuguese, see: The Friend (1928, 1932, 1935, 1940) and Giltner (1952).

49. This and other data on the Portuguese from the 1975 U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity census was gathered by the author from a new computer analysis done specifically for this study. This work was done at the Population Institute, East-West Center, Honolulu, using the original survey data tapes.
APPENDIX A

(A.1) Immigrant Arrivals, 1852 to 1899
(Data for Europeans limited to those who came to Hawaii under the auspices of the Bureau of Immigration, and as a part of some organized scheme of immigration)

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(A.1) (Continued). Immigrant Arrivals, 1852-1899

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*Norwegians (615 in 1881), Galicians (372 in 1898), and Americans (14 in 1898). The source also reports 223 Norwegians for 1881.

SOURCE: Report of the President of the Bureau of Immigration to the Legislative Assembly of 1886, pp. 267-268, 273, and 278; Labor Problems in Hawaii (Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, House of Representatives, 67th Congress, 1st Session, June 21 to June 30 and July 7, 1921), p. 542. (From Schmitt 1977)
(A.2) Immigrant Aliens Admitted, Emigrant Aliens Departed, and Persons Naturalized, 1900 to 1975

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(A.2) (Continued) Immigrant Aliens Admitted, Emigrant Aliens Departed, and Persons Naturalized, 1900 to 1975

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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>471</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>451</td>
<td>97</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>451</td>
<td>97</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>451</td>
<td>97</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>451</td>
<td>97</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### APPENDIX B

#### Historical Demography of Hawaii

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1930</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1980</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total civilian population of Hawaii</td>
<td>191,300</td>
<td>348,972</td>
<td>582,337</td>
<td>964,691</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban population of Hawaii</td>
<td>58,928</td>
<td>198,000</td>
<td>484,000</td>
<td>834,901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural population of Hawaii</td>
<td>132,946</td>
<td>170,000</td>
<td>149,000</td>
<td>130,099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban population (% of total)</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>53.7</td>
<td>76.5</td>
<td>86.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Island of Oahu (% of total)</td>
<td>42.5</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>85.0</td>
<td>79.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military population of Hawaii (active)</td>
<td>1,925</td>
<td>18,908</td>
<td>59,183</td>
<td>61,019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% population born in Hawaii</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>58.2</td>
<td>66.0</td>
<td>62.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% population born outside U.S.A.*</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>33.0</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% population born on mainland</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>21.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of workers in agriculture</td>
<td>54.1</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of marriages interracial</td>
<td>11.5**</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>37.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Includes the Philippine Islands.

**For year 1914.

**SOURCES:** Schmitt (1977); Hawaii Department of Planning and Economic Development (1962, 1981); Hawaii State Department of Health (1980).
APPENDIX C
Ethnic Stock, 1853 to 1970

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Stock</th>
<th>1853</th>
<th>1860</th>
<th>1866</th>
<th>1872</th>
<th>1878</th>
<th>1884</th>
<th>1890</th>
<th>1896</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Groups</td>
<td>73,137</td>
<td>69,800</td>
<td>62,959</td>
<td>56,897</td>
<td>57,985</td>
<td>80,589</td>
<td>89,990</td>
<td>109,020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian</td>
<td>70,036</td>
<td>65,647</td>
<td>57,125</td>
<td>49,044</td>
<td>44,088</td>
<td>40,014</td>
<td>34,436</td>
<td>31,019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-Hawaiian</td>
<td>983</td>
<td>1,337</td>
<td>1,640</td>
<td>2,487</td>
<td>3,420</td>
<td>4,218</td>
<td>6,186</td>
<td>8,485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>1,687</td>
<td>1,900</td>
<td>2,400</td>
<td>2,944</td>
<td>3,748</td>
<td>16,579</td>
<td>18,939</td>
<td>22,438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>486</td>
<td>9,967</td>
<td>12,719</td>
<td>15,191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Caucasian</td>
<td>1,600</td>
<td>1,815</td>
<td>2,310</td>
<td>2,520</td>
<td>3,262</td>
<td>6,612</td>
<td>6,220</td>
<td>7,247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>364</td>
<td>816</td>
<td>1,306</td>
<td>2,038</td>
<td>6,045</td>
<td>18,254</td>
<td>16,752</td>
<td>21,616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>12,610</td>
<td>24,407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All others</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>384</td>
<td>684</td>
<td>1,397</td>
<td>1,067</td>
<td>1,055</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


NOTE: It is a very difficult task to establish any of the various local groups as an accurate percentage of the total population. This is because of the high number of intergroup marriages, and thus the possibility of a person's being assigned to one aggregate in the census but acting in the course of a day as if he is a member of another. It is also made difficult by the U.S. Census Bureau's practice of changing its category definitions with each decennial census. It is also true that some U.S. Census categories are not germane to the Hawaiian situation. For a detailed discussion of the matter, see Hormann (1948).
Appendix C. (Continued) Ethnic Stock, 1853 to 1970

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Groups</td>
<td>154,001</td>
<td>191,909</td>
<td>255,912</td>
<td>368,336</td>
<td>423,330</td>
<td>499,769</td>
<td>632,772</td>
<td>768,559</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian</td>
<td>29,799</td>
<td>26,041</td>
<td>23,723</td>
<td>22,636</td>
<td>14,375</td>
<td>12,245</td>
<td>11,294</td>
<td>71,274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-Hawaiian</td>
<td>9,857</td>
<td>12,506</td>
<td>18,027</td>
<td>28,224</td>
<td>49,935</td>
<td>73,845</td>
<td>91,109</td>
<td>89,109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>26,819</td>
<td>44,048</td>
<td>54,742</td>
<td>80,373</td>
<td>112,087</td>
<td>124,344</td>
<td>202,230</td>
<td>301,429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>4,890</td>
<td>5,602</td>
<td>6,671</td>
<td>8,296</td>
<td>9,551</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>18,272</td>
<td>22,301</td>
<td>27,002</td>
<td>27,588</td>
<td>103,791</td>
<td>114,793</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>2,361</td>
<td>2,201</td>
<td>2,430</td>
<td>1,219</td>
<td>103,791</td>
<td>114,793</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Caucasian</td>
<td>8,547</td>
<td>14,867</td>
<td>19,708</td>
<td>44,895</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>25,767</td>
<td>21,674</td>
<td>23,507</td>
<td>27,179</td>
<td>28,774</td>
<td>32,376</td>
<td>38,197</td>
<td>52,375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>2,361</td>
<td>21,031</td>
<td>63,052</td>
<td>52,569</td>
<td>61,062</td>
<td>69,070</td>
<td>95,354</td>
<td>95,354</td>
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<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>61,111</td>
<td>79,675</td>
<td>109,274</td>
<td>139,621</td>
<td>157,905</td>
<td>184,598</td>
<td>203,455</td>
<td>217,669</td>
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<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>1,533</td>
<td>4,950</td>
<td>6,461</td>
<td>6,851</td>
<td>7,030</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>9,625</td>
<td>7,517</td>
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<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>695</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>563</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>2,651</td>
<td>4,943</td>
<td>7,517</td>
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<tr>
<td>American Indian</td>
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<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>472</td>
<td>1,216</td>
<td>1,216</td>
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<tr>
<td>All others</td>
<td>415</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>579</td>
<td>1,618</td>
<td>12,002</td>
<td>12,100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Persons of mixed stock, other than part-Hawaiian, are classified by race of non-White parent if part-Caucasian or by race of father if non-Caucasian. The 1853-1900 data are in some cases estimates, made by Romanzo Adams and Andrew Lind, from census tabulations on country of birth.

**Persons of mixed stock, including part-Hawaiian, are classified either on the basis of self-identification or race of father. Many persons who would have been counted as part-Hawaiians under the former definition were classified as Caucasian, Chinese, Filipino, or some other race in 1970.
APPENDIX D

Population, Total and Portuguese: 1853 to 1967

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Portuguese*</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>73,137</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>69,800</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>62,959</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>56,897</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>57,985</td>
<td>486</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>80,578</td>
<td>9,967</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>89,990</td>
<td>12,719</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>109,020</td>
<td>15,191</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>154,001</td>
<td>18,272</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>191,909</td>
<td>22,301</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>255,912</td>
<td>27,002</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>368,337</td>
<td>27,588</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>414,991</td>
<td>30,708</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964-67*</td>
<td>652,160</td>
<td>21,720</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Excludes persons in barracks and institutions.

Adams, Romanzo


Adams, Romanzo, et al.


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Barth, F.


Boissevain, Jeremy

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