

SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII

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VOLUME XI
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Social Process in Hawaii

*Published by the Sociology Club,
University of Hawaii*

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FOREWORD

MAXINNE DENNERY

"If we could see ourselves and the events of our day in the perspective of future generations, as we review the past, we might be able now to determine what is important and what is not."¹

With the above thought in mind, SOCIAL PROCESS is endeavoring to present an understandable account of research materials concerning the social processes of Hawaii, with the hope that the account may be of value to both present and future students of Hawaiiana.

We know that in Hawaii, as in all parts of the world, war wrought many changes—in some ways accelerating progress, and in other ways, retarding advancement. From the complex conditions and strong emotions of a war economy, Hawaii is just now beginning to slowly disentangle herself and to emerge into the post-war era. It is with this transition that the present volume of SOCIAL PROCESS is concerned.

Dr. Jesse F. Steiner, visiting professor from the University of Washington, develops for us a picture of present conditions in the entire Pacific area in his paper, "Recent Social Trends in the Pacific." The population of Hawaii is made up of people from most of the lands bordering the Pacific—many of our Island residents continue to draw upon the customs and attitudes of their former homes. By its scope, this study will enable the reader to better understand the "Melting Pot" that is Hawaii.

There are diverse opinions concerning the effect of the war upon race relations in Hawaii. The evidence supporting these varied opinions is often of a conflicting nature. In order to discover some of the basic trends behind these varied attitudes, periodical anonymous questionnaires have been presented to comparatively large samplings of the students attending the University. Dr. Andrew W. Lind has

¹ "Our Times Seen in Perspective," *The Argonaut*, CXXVI—No. 3617, (1947), March 7, pp. 3-4.

analyzed the findings from these questionnaires in his article, "Post-War Attitudes Regarding Race Relations in Hawaii."

It is often difficult to isolate certain economic and social events upon which we are able to base reasons for changes in race relations. However, in his paper, "Race Relations in Hawaii, 1946," Dr. John A. Rademaker has summarized under nine topics the highlights of race relations—as the resumption of activities by most Buddhist temples and missions; the significance of the sugar strike in the summer and autumn, and of the Territorial elections—describing those activities which characterize the transition of Hawaii to a peace-time economy.

In order to present the personal attitudes of a cross-section of the Island population, we are including the article, "War-time Passage," written by Dr. John F. Embree. This chronicle of a voyage from San Francisco to Hawaii was written by Dr. Embree just prior to the termination of the war. His contacts with Island residents of varied social and economic backgrounds are presented as a running commentary, rather than as a purely statistical observation.

Miss Christina Lam, Head of the Informational Section of the Department of Public Welfare presents us with a picture of the predicament in which many wartime defense workers found themselves following the war. The motivation which had brought the largest part of these men and women from the Mainland to the Territory of Hawaii to aid in accomplishing victory in the war was replaced by a desire on the part of many to return to the Mainland immediately, or to find occupations which they felt would offer more security and permanence of income. Miss Lam's paper, "Problems of Defense Workers in Post-War Hawaii," indicates the manner in which many of these people have been aided by the Department of Public Welfare in solving their difficulties.

In his article, "A Summary of the Activities of the Territory of Hawaii Employment Service," the Territorial Director, Mr. E. Leigh Stevens gives us an insight into the part the Employment Service is playing in the post-war labor situation.

The questions as to the value of the English standard school system, and as to the place of the so-called "pidgin" English in Island speech are discussed in Mr. Bernhard Hornmann's paper, "Speech, Prejudice, and the School in Hawaii." Although the 1947 legislature passed a bill abolishing the English standard schools, much controversy remains on the subject.

Mr. Millard Purdy, Governmental Reporter for the HONOLULU STAR-BULLETIN, summarizes for us the activities taking place in connection with the 1946 Territorial elections. The advent of the Political Action Committee into the local election situation resulted in much political commotion. Mr. Purdy further elucidates on this in his paper, "A Note on the 1946 Elections in the Territory of Hawaii."

Miss Yukiko Kimura, formerly a member of the staff of the International Institute of the Honolulu YWCA, and now doing graduate work at the University of Hawaii, has allowed us to include the chapter "Rumor Among the Japanese" from her thesis, *"Social Adjustment of the Alien Japanese Since the War."* Miss Kimura gives us a brief account of the various rumors which were rife among the Japanese alien population following the war, and at the same time, indicates the basic reasons for the apparent contagion of these rumors.

Immediately following the war, tension was high between civilians and service men in the Islands. Exaggerated reports of violence were heard both in the Territory and on the Mainland. Dr. Andrew W. Lind takes the sensational out of these reports and presents the facts in their true light, in his article, "Service-Civilian Tensions in Honolulu."

In her article, "Post-War Trends in the Island Attitude Toward the Negro," Mrs. Phyllis Kon Cooke describes for us the change in attitude toward the Negro. There were very few Negro people here preceding the war—and those who were here had found a place for themselves in Island Living. However, there was a great influx of Negroes during the war, — defense workers, military personnel — more or less temporary residents. An attitude, foreign to the native population, came into existence—fear and hostility were felt to-

ward the Negro. Mrs. Cooke describes the process in which prejudice toward the Negro was built up, and also the manner in which the Negroes who have elected to remain in the Territory of Hawaii have faced this problem of prejudice.

In this post-war year 1947, we feel the above topics to be of particular importance to the residents of the Territory of Hawaii. However, it is recognized that there are many problems remaining untouched in this volume of SOCIAL PROCESS. It is the desire of our staff to cover more of these topics in our future issues.

We wish to express our gratitude to Miss Peggy Kainuma, Mr. Edmond Dennery, and numerous others for their generous assistance.

Also, we wish to acknowledge the kindness of those in charge of the University of Hawaii Fortieth Anniversary Publications in permitting us the use of Dr. Jesse F. Steiner's paper, "Recent Social Trends in the Pacific."

In this, as in previous issues of SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII, we wish to state that we are not responsible for the points of view or the positions held by the writers of the articles.

RECENT SOCIAL TRENDS IN THE PACIFIC

JESSE F. STEINER

Among the many peoples of southeast Asia and Oceania, important changes are under way that are uprooting the deeply entrenched customs of earlier times. During the past 400 years, with increasing tempo, the advancing frontier of the occidental world has brought under its sphere of influence oriental peoples in widely different stages of cultural development. Trade monopoly and empire building were the chief motives for this western expansion, and the successful outcome of these far flung ventures is evident in many places.

In this struggle for power and wealth the heavy hand of imperialism was laid upon isolated peoples unaccustomed to alien contacts and unprepared to resist outside encroachments. More recently, large areas of this Pacific region became the scene of armed conflict in which natives of widely scattered islands had to play the role of innocent but suffering bystanders. The engines of war spread devastation throughout innumerable villages. The construction of harbors, airfields, and supply bases transformed many a community into an area of feverish activity utterly destructive of native customs and way of life. However bewildered they were by the rapid turn of events, they were caught in the onrushing sweep of world affairs that, at least temporarily, made their isolation a thing of the past.

In the midst of the strains and stresses of years of alien contacts and domination both in time of peace and of war, adjustments to the ever changing situation became imperative if the people were to survive. Among the seldom foreseen but inevitable social changes brought about by this political and economic invasion of the Pacific, were population changes, interracial contacts and conflicts, educational progress, the awakening of new wants and desires, and a growing spirit of restlessness as they gained a wider knowledge of the outside world.

In the long run, these and similar social forces and movements will be the decisive factors in determining the outcome of the struggle for dominance in the Pacific. Even the power that inheres in huge financial investments and the might of military armaments can not completely guide and control the slow moving but irresistible tide of social change. The impact of the West upon the East is not merely transforming the old economic and political institutions, but is initiating social movements of far reaching significance.

Among the least spectacular but most revolutionary changes in human communities is the growth and decline in numbers of people. The attainment and maintenance of a proper balance between population on the one hand and available resources on the other are essential for human welfare. Throughout such densely populated countries as India, China, and Japan, overcrowding has long been one of their major problems. Millions live in chronic poverty and the outlook for early improvements in standards of living are not at all reassuring. Even in the countries of southeast Asia, where population density is on the whole much less, the pressure of population on the present means of subsistence is extremely heavy. In many of the islands of Oceania also, population growth is tending to go forward more rapidly than is the production of the necessities of life.

At first glance, it would seem that the extraordinarily high death rates that widely prevail would soon bring to an end this tendency toward over-population. In India, for example, the newborn child has less than an even chance of living twenty-five years; and while accurate census figures are lacking, this extreme low life expectancy is very probably characteristic of Siam, Burma, the Malay States, and the Dutch East Indies. But this excessive mortality is more than balanced by high fertility. Birth rates remain at a sufficiently high level to bring about an expanding population.

It now appears that the western invasion of the Pacific may temporarily at least make more serious this tendency toward increasing population. Improvements in sanitation and the provision of more adequate medical services have followed in the wake of western colonial ventures with a consequent decline in mortality. But no organized and widespread efforts are being made to bring about a corresponding reduction in fertility rates which would seem essential in order to prevent too rapid population increase. As a matter of fact, the control of birth rates among congested peoples living near the poverty line is almost a hopeless task. The transition from high to low fertility proceeds most rapidly when standards of living are raised to a higher level. Under the prevailing living conditions throughout vast areas of the Pacific, population trends will be determined largely by changes in the death rates which may be expected to decline more rapidly than birth rates. Therefore, we must look forward to a constantly expanding population although there are few prospects for an equally rapid advance in material resources.

Closely associated with this trend toward population increase is the evolution of new racial types growing out of the intermingling of blood of alien and native peoples. For

centuries, intermarriage between the people of different oriental countries has been accepted as a normal procedure. Malays, Indians, Chinese, and Indonesians have provided the leading elements in this melting pot of southeast Asia. Their physical differences are not widely divergent and this intermixture has its counterpart in the blending of European nationalities in both America and Europe. In Java this intermixture of Asiatic and Oceanic peoples has proceeded so far that no more than half of the population are of pure Javanese stock. Among the native peoples throughout the south Pacific region, cultural rather than racial factors operate as the chief barriers to intermarriage.

The real problem of racial intermixture arose with the coming of white men whose physical traits and culture and attitudes of superiority prevented their full assimilation into native groups. Intermarriage, nevertheless, took place, and the Eurasian offspring of these white-native unions are widely scattered through the Pacific area and constitute one of the region's social problems. In such continental centers as Calcutta, Singapore, Hongkong, and Shanghai, the Eurasians are socially acceptable to neither of their parental groups and consequently have established themselves as a race apart in communities of their own. In Java, the Dutch-Javanese hybrids are classified as *Hollanders* and for many years served as intermediaries between Europeans and Javanese. But they were denied full admission to white society and rarely were able to rise to high positions in the economic and political worlds. With the growth of nationalism during the past few decades they have turned more and more away from their white associations and have allied themselves with the native cause.

The Philippine Islands have had a long history of intermarriage with southern Europeans and any prejudice that may formerly have existed against those of Spanish-Filipino blood has largely disappeared. Many of the political leaders of the Philippine Commonwealth today are of this mixed ancestry. But the more recent hybrids of American and Filipino parentage are not welcome in select social circles of either race and frequently suffer discrimination in their search for economic opportunities.

In Australia, and more especially in tropical Queensland, the British policy of keeping the white blood pure has not been carried out with complete success. Beginning with the period of first settlement, intermixture with the Australian aborigines was a common occurrence and many hybrids were introduced into the general population. But as time went on the aborigines declined in numbers, colored races were excluded by immigration laws, and the policy of a

white Australia seems assured of successful achievement in its southern areas. But in northern, tropical Australia, the racial composition of the population as well as the climate seems to make inevitable the evolution of a dark skinned population. Intermixture is going on among the Chinese, Malays, Melanesians, Indians, and aborigines, and also among the Europeans because of the dearth of white women. Half castes and quarter castes of different racial blends are increasing in numbers. Unless existing conditions are radically changed, the preservation of Queensland as a white man's country is a policy that must eventually be abandoned.

In New Zealand, the early intermixture of the white settlers with the Maori was so extensive that only 60 per cent of the natives now claim pure Maori ancestry. Some of the Maori-English hybrids have gained a good education and have become not merely leaders among the Maori but have achieved distinction in the white world. Such persons encounter little race prejudice as is also the case with the pure blood Maori who have attained sufficient income to live in European fashion. But few persons of Maori ancestry are so fortunate, and all know that certain avenues of entrance into white associations are definitely closed. The present rate of intermarriage between whites and Maori is low, and the absorption of the natives into the white population will take place, if ever, only in the distant future. At the present time the cultural gulf that separates the mass of the Maori from the whites seems to be growing wider. Discouraged by rebuffs and discrimination, many of the Maori are turning back to their old tribal ways in segregated communities.

In both American and Western Samoa, racial intermixture has gone forward with considerable rapidity so that the part-Samoan hybrids outnumber the whites five or six to one. Until recently the halfcastes presented no serious problem for they were able to adjust themselves to existing conditions and encountered little prejudice. Especially was this true of those whose connection with prominent white families gave them assurance of a good education and satisfactory employment. But during the past decade the white community has looked upon their increasing numbers with disapproval and alarm. They are regarded as inefficient and untrustworthy and little employment is open to them except in the lower grades of unskilled labor. Rarely do they find means of entrance into white social circles and they generally tend to intermarry with the native Samoans. They prefer status and security among the natives than to struggle to succeed among whites who discriminate against them. But there is a growing number of people of mixed blood, and the white population is growing fewer. If these population

trends continue, the status of the halfcastes will improve and they may ultimately displace the whites as planters and traders.

There has been less intermixture in modern times in Melanesia than in Polynesia especially between the white settlers and the dark skinned natives. One reason for these fewer social contacts may be the wide differences in color. At any rate, in the islands dominated by the British, intermarriages are illegal, and illicit unions are looked upon with disfavor by the natives. In some Melanesian villages prejudice against white-native hybrids is so strong that such children are not permitted to live. In spite of this opposition to intermixture, the hybrids in Fiji in 1938 slightly outnumbered the whites and comprised a little less than five per cent of the total population.

Throughout the whole Pacific area, the Hawaiian islands lead in the process of amalgamation. The pattern of race equality was built up during the early years of outside contacts, and as a consequence the free intermingling of the various racial groups proceeded with a minimum of social disapproval. A century ago there were three times as many white men with native wives as with wives of their own race. Marriage across race lines went forward chiefly at first between Caucasians and Hawaiians and later extended its scope to include members of oriental and other races. During recent decades this trend toward intermarriage has continued with accelerating rate. The proportion of out-marriages approximately doubled during the twenty year period, 1924-1944. That the intermingling of white blood with other racial groups still plays a significant role is shown by the fact that two fifths of the Caucasian grooms in 1944 married outside their own race. Between 1931-1935, twenty-five per cent of the children born in the Hawaiian Islands were of mixed parentage. A decade later the proportion had increased to approximately thirty-five per cent. If these trends continue, it will be only a few decades until the birth of hybrids will constitute half of all births, and in the not distant future at least half of the population of the Hawaiian islands may be persons of mixed racial ancestry.

However great may be the social ostracism of those who lead the van in race amalgamation, the process of race intermixture in at least some parts of the Pacific seems to constitute an important first step in the struggle for freedom from alien domination. Through this door of intermarriage, however narrowly it may be opened, the aspirations of the natives for wider opportunities find their first expression in the achievements of their hybrid children. The first indigenous leaders are frequently persons of mixed blood who have

had greater opportunities for education than the mass of the people. And of equal, if not greater significance, the alien's loyalties have been divided by this intermingling of blood, and his exclusive position as a member of a race apart can no longer be so easily maintained. Race amalgamation, which is nature's method of resolving race differences, seems destined to play an important role in the coming Pacific era.

Before the outbreak of World War II, there seemed to be a growing recognition that the era of arbitrary white domination in the south seas was approaching its end. It was noticeable that many white residents were becoming less extravagant in their expenditures, less ostentatious in their manner of living, and less prone to waste their energies in dissipation. This may have been brought about by the policy of carefully choosing high types of personnel for colonial positions in order to protect foreign investments. Another factor was the arrival of greater numbers of white women who changed the tone of social life and brought about greater emphasis upon community welfare. Their influence was thrown in the direction of improved schools, the enforcement of sanitary measures, and the establishment of medical facilities. They helped to make it clear that a healthful white community could not safely exist in the midst of native districts reeking with filth and disease.

But this growing interest in the natives' welfare has not necessarily meant a decline in snobbery and race prejudice. In general, social stratification following race lines still rigidly excludes natives and halfcastes from the more select social circles. This social discrimination is of course nothing new for it has always come to the front whenever the white and colored peoples have intermingled. What makes it a matter of greater significance in recent years is the increasing race consciousness on the part of native peoples. Instead of accepting without protest the subordinate role assigned them, there is a growing resentment against discrimination. The rising tide of nationalism throughout the world is no doubt partly responsible for this changed attitude. The long pent-up aspirations for freedom from outside domination are being given wider expression. The doctrine of the inequality of races is being seriously questioned. In many places organized efforts are being made to limit the scope of racial discrimination if it cannot be entirely abolished.

Another factor that points in the direction of more satisfactory inter-racial contacts is the growing emphasis especially in America upon a study of native languages, customs, and ways of life. In the years immediately preceding the outbreak of World War II, young men starting their business careers in eastern or southeastern Asia were expect-

ted to get a working knowledge of the language and not rely upon interpreters as was frequently done in earlier years. The extraordinary efforts made during the recent war years to round up interpreters for the armed forces and to train language experts in army and navy schools brought forcibly to public attention the handicaps we faced because of our lack of knowledge of foreign peoples. The anthropological studies of remote islands became one of our important war assets. The appointment of cultural attaches by our State Department represents an increasing recognition of the value of more thorough knowledge of foreign peoples. There is now going on a great expansion of oriental study departments in American universities. In this field, the University of Hawaii has long held a place of leadership and has become one of the important centers of Pacific studies.

This more cosmopolitan interest on the part of Americans and their willingness to gain a more intimate acquaintance with the people of the Pacific point unmistakably in the direction of improved race relations. There is much less emphasis than formerly upon the fiction that the whites constitute a preferred social and economic class with an inherent right to profit by the cheap labor of natives. Whatever prestige and status the white man may possess in these distant outposts will in the future grow more out of his ability and competence in the position he fills, and less because of the assumption that he is the representative of a superior race. This does not mean, however, that the white man is becoming a declining factor in the development of the Pacific region. On the contrary, his experience and special abilities and above all his capital investments will be greatly needed for many years to come.

This trend toward racial equality is seen also in the decline of the old myth that manual labor is beneath the dignity of the white man residing in the tropical areas of the Pacific. The building of airfields and harbors and military installations in many distant outposts has amply demonstrated the practicability of using white labor in enervating climates. Dutch people in the East Indies, Jewish refugees in southern Asiatic ports, and Americans in islands of the Pacific are serving as mechanics and craftsmen of many different kinds. Moreover, many of them are living modestly, as must people of small incomes. The dual wage system for whites and natives that was once so common is not now universally prevalent. A beginning has been made in collective bargaining in the more industrially advanced regions. While progress along these lines has been slow, the doors of economic opportunity are gradually opening more widely for natives who through

training and education have made themselves capable of occupational advancement.

This trend toward a higher status on the part of native peoples has been made possible by the opportunities given them for educational attainments. Throughout the Pacific, schools have been widely established and a considerable proportion of the native children are given sufficient schooling to make them literate in their own language. It has been fully demonstrated that the people in the most backward and isolated countries are capable of being educated. Already sufficient progress has been made in many places to make strong inroads upon illiteracy. The Tongans are said to be 100 per cent literate in their own language and the Samoans 96 per cent. The Maori in New Zealand are literate in both English and their native tongue. Hawaii has demonstrated how a compulsory school system not only can reach all the people but can bring together in the same schools diverse racial stocks and build a common culture. In less than a half century the American-established school system in the Philippines has become so widespread that it enrolls two thirds of the children of primary school age.

Less satisfactory progress has been made in educating the mass of the people in the Dutch East Indies. Only forty per cent of the children of elementary school age attend the primary school which has a curriculum limited to three years. Those who receive no further schooling tend to forget what they have learned, and consequently little progress is made in overcoming the widespread illiteracy in the rural areas. In New Guinea, elementary village education is left in the hands of missionaries with a minimum of government supervision. The few government schools in Rabaul follow western patterns and benefit mostly the European and half-caste children. Education is not reaching the majority of the people of Melanesia and little progress is being made in building an educational system adjusted to the needs of native life.

In many of the more isolated places in the Pacific the question is still being asked whether it is not better to permit the natives to continue in their state of ignorance and make no attempt to open the doors of their minds and give them a vision of the wider world. The old idea among colonial administrators that education of the native develops his worst qualities and makes him disinclined to work dies slowly among those who wish to keep the native subservient. They realize that the traditional gulf between upper and lower classes becomes a less formidable barrier as educational facilities become more widespread. The ever present dilemma of the ruling class is how to train the mass of the people

in matters that will make them more efficient in doing the tasks assigned them without arousing discontent with their lowly place in the economic and political world. If the mass of the people become educated, will not the supremacy of the upper classes be threatened?

In general, an attempt has been made to meet this difficulty by keeping educational facilities at an elementary level for the majority of the people, and extending educational opportunities for wider training only to those needed to fill clerical and other minor positions. But there are indications that this traditional policy is being more and more outmoded. Many of the isolated peoples of the Pacific now find themselves in the path of western expansion. The tidal waves of the recent war engulfed many islanders who previously had little contact with the outside world. The airplane has brought within easy and rapid communication widely separated places far distant from the ocean lanes of commerce. Forces now at work are stimulating changes, creating new needs and desires, and making inevitable the adjustment of the natives to modern ways of living.

What makes this trend toward wider educational facilities more inevitable is the need of skilled workers to handle the complicated machinery now used on plantations as well as in industrial establishments. Modern business can be transacted only by a trained and intelligent staff. In the long run it has been found desirable to utilize as far as possible native workers even in the more responsible positions. Vocational opportunities for natives are widening, and as a consequence there is increased emphasis upon secondary and technical schools. The racial discrimination that has long restricted the natives to the least skilled jobs is becoming less apparent. Those who aspire to leadership can with greater confidence in their future equip themselves for the higher positions.

This emphasis upon the vocational aspects of education has brought about the assumption in some quarters that educational facilities must be sharply limited so as to avoid training more natives than there are skilled jobs to be filled. It would be unfortunate if this tendency to measure the value of education by economic standards were permitted to determine educational policies in the Pacific. Education that will broaden the outlook on life, make available the intellectual achievements of the outside world, and stimulate the mind to develop all its capacities, is a heritage that cannot be given in too abundant measure. In the Hawaiian islands, such an educational objective has led to the establishment of a comprehensive school system extending from primary grades through the university. The island youth of all racial backgrounds are encouraged to avail themselves of the privi-

lege of higher education, and constant efforts are being made to broaden the field of university training. Such an educational policy is justified on the ground that it will build an educated constituency capable of dealing with any problems that may arise in future years. This notable experiment marks a new era in island education and has set up a pattern which will exert a wide influence in other Pacific areas.

The educational progress that has been made throughout the Pacific, however slow moving and inadequate it may be in some places, points the way to the eventual disappearance of the gulf that separates the so-called backward peoples from those that are more highly civilized. Already, in various parts of Oceania and southeastern Asia, there are signs of impending change, the awakening of new ambitions and the vision of a better way of life. Mental lethargy and inefficiency tend to disappear when stimulating contacts and educational methods adjusted to local needs are made available. We are only beginning to realize how great is the transforming power of public health measures and medical facilities upon people whose lot is cast in enervating physical environments.

There is evidence in many places throughout the Pacific that native leaders are becoming fully aware of the possibility of attaining a more satisfactory way of life. Especially are they impatient under the system of outside domination which rightly or wrongly is blamed for many of their ills. No doubt, this desire for greater control of their own affairs has in some instances gone too far in advance of the training of native leaders for positions of great responsibility. But long continued deprivation of opportunities to gain the necessary training and experience has increased their restlessness and impatience. The attitude of some of their leaders can be summed up in a statement attributed to the first president of the Philippine Commonwealth during their long struggle for independence: "Better a Philippines run like hell by Filipinos than made a heaven by outsiders."

This nationalistic trend throughout the Orient has been interpreted as a movement designed eventually to unite the colored peoples of Asia and the Pacific against white domination. Whether or not this has been true, the dreams of accomplishing this purpose under Japanese leadership have been destroyed by the outcome of the recent war. But the insularity of the various nations and peoples of Asia and the Pacific, which has in the past retarded the growth of feelings of kinship with neighboring countries, is tending to disappear as means of communication and transportation improve. The old distrust and suspicion, which were products of isolation, are giving way to a realization that freedom

from outside control can be best achieved by uniting their forces. It is true that consciousness of similar racial origin and the possession of similar physical traits and characteristics have never been an adequate bond of union among nations either East or West. Nevertheless, there are indications that the colored peoples of Asia and the Pacific are being drawn closer together by their dislike of long continued subservience to western interests, and may eventually join forces in an effort to achieve freedom to manage their own affairs.

Perhaps the solution of this difficult problem of self-determination may be hastened by the rising tide of liberal opinion in the West which insists on more just treatment of backward peoples. In his speech at Monterey, California in 1943, President Roosevelt said: "We know that the day of exploitation of the resources and the people of one country for the benefit of any group in another country is definitely over." The President may have been too optimistic in his statement, for with the coming of peace there is in many places a strong attempt to re-establish former colonial practices. But as far as the United States is concerned, we have assurance that at least one effort is to be made to put into practice the above principle proclaimed by our late President.

It has been announced that in those islands of Micronesia, which have been placed under control of the United States by the United Nations Security Council, the post-war policy of the United States government is to assist the natives to rebuild their war-destroyed villages and to give them full freedom to preserve or modify their traditional way of life. Exploitation of their limited resources by foreign interests is to be discouraged. Their participation in world trade is to be supported in such ways as will enable them to purchase necessities that cannot locally be produced. Far more than during recent decades they will be arbiters of their own destiny. But they can never isolate themselves to the extent that was possible in the past, for they have become a part of the world economy. Even if they so desired, they could never rebuild their traditional world of former centuries. They now face toward the future with the hope that the new administration will place first the islanders' welfare. If the United States is able to carry out successfully this good neighbor policy in the Micronesian islands, one more important step will have been taken in establishing a new Pacific era.

POST-WAR ATTITUDES REGARDING RACE RELATIONS IN HAWAII

ANDREW W. LIND

Qualified observers differ in their judgments as to the effects of the war upon race relations in Hawaii. "The Islands will never be the same again," is the doleful refrain of one school of responsible reporters, who see numerous evidences of a significant breakdown in the pre-war interracial solidarity of Hawaii. The wholesale introduction of mainland servicemen and defense workers, most of them unsympathetic with Hawaii's tradition of race relations, is cited as the basis of an inevitable deterioration in the human and social values of Island society. Attention is called to the instances of overt conflict between "local boys" and mainland service personnel and to the more vocal expressions of feeling between the various racial groups within the Territory. Other observers, equally responsible and intelligent, are impressed by the absence of racial feeling during and since the war. "Where else but in Hawaii could you find people of such varied racial ancestries living together so intimately and with so little difficulty?" they say.

The truth probably lies somewhere between these two sharply contrasted viewpoints and cannot be so simply and categorically stated. The average resident, when he stops to consider the total situation, is likely to be impressed by the conflicting character of the evidence. The situation has improved in certain respects and deteriorated in other respects. Certainly, Island residents are not wholly agreed in their judgments of the Island scene.

In an attempt to discover some of the basic trends in the attitudes of Islanders toward this problem, the War Research Laboratory has periodically experimented in the use of anonymous questionnaires with fairly large samplings of the student body of the University. One test occurred in June, 1946, with a group of 350 underclassmen, fairly representative of the entire university population. Previous experiments along similar lines had been conducted in April, 1943, 1944, and in October 1945, the results of which were partially reported and in Volume VIII of *Social Process in Hawaii*. These studies have been conducted on the assumption that the student responses, although not representative of the entire population of the Territory, would reflect the significant feelings, particularly among the middle and upper classes of the Islands. The lower classes generally, but especially of the Hawaiian, Filipino, and Puerto-Rican groups, were in-

adequately represented in the student samples. A significant number of returned veterans were included in the 1946 sampling.

I. Distribution by Sex and Ancestry of Student Sample.

Ancestry	Men		Women	Total
	Veterans	Non Veterans		
Hawaiians and Part Hawaiians	7	1	13	21
Caucasians	17	10	21	48
Chinese	4	4	30	38
Japanese	52	30	146	228
Koreans	1	2	8	11
Filipinos	---	---	5	5
	81	47	223	351

The following report summarizes only a few of the findings gleaned from the 1946 questionnaires and relates chiefly to the interracial attitudes expressed by the students. The responses to the specific questions listed below throw light upon the prevailing feelings of the different ethnic groups toward themselves and toward each other:

1. Do you believe that race relations in Hawaii are generally:improving?getting worse?
What are your reasons for believing as you do?
2. Do you think the members of your particular racial group are discriminated against? Yes..... No.....
No opinion..... Cite evidence for your answer:
3. Which ethnic group do you believe has benefitted most economically from the war?.....
What makes you think so?

General Impressions of Hawaii's Race Relations

The first two questions listed were designed to uncover some of the more general feelings which exist in the community, and the students were encouraged to give the reasons and some of the evidence for their judgments. The great majority (72.4 per cent) felt that race relations generally were improving, offering as evidence the increasing numbers of interracial marriages, the fraternizing between mainland servicemen and local girls during the war, the decline in wartime hysteria, the passing of the first generation immigrants with their strong prejudices, and the greater readiness to disregard race in the matter of employment. The more favorable attitudes toward interracial marriage during the war were mentioned frequently, particularly by the women, as indicating improvement of race relations. Comments such as the following are typical:

I believe that race relations are improving: (a) More interracial marriages. (b) Employment of all nationalities in several concerns where employees were formerly only of certain nationalities. J-F.¹

Ca—Caucasian
Ch—Chinese
J—Japanese
K—Korean
PH—Part Hawaiian

M—Male
F—Female
(C)—Civilian
(V)—Veteran

Thus a veteran of Chinese ancestry would be designated by: Ch-M(V).

Members of races other than Caucasian are being more and more widely accepted in business and social positions than formerly; also the growing importance of our geographical position forces Caucasians to concede that other races are able. Ca-F.

The war helped things along and people don't look down upon you for talking or being friendly with one outside your group. Ca-M(V).

I have done a lot of traveling and have never seen so many mixtures of different races living happily together as here. Ca-M(V).

It is improving because I have a lot of Japanese friends and it is much easier to go over to visit them than formerly. Ch-M(V).

Table II. *Attitudes of 351 College Students Regarding Race Relations in Hawaii, 1946.*

Ancestry of Informants	ATTITUDES EXPRESSED						
	Total	Trends in Race Relations			Racial Discrimination		
		Improving	Deteriorating	Same	Yes	No	Unsure
Japanese	228	171	46	11	142	11	75
Haole	46	31	11	4	16	19	11
Chinese	38	26	9	3	22	7	9
Hawaiian & Pt Hawaiian...	21	12	8	1	5	3	13
All Others	18	14	3	1	4	4	10
TOTAL:	351	254	77	20	189	44	118

The students of Japanese ancestry were particularly impressed by the change for the better in their relations to other groups, as a consequence of developments during the war. Very frequently there was evident a tendency to define Hawaii's racial problems exclusively in terms of their own experience and to judge the total situation by what had happened to their own group. This, of course, is a perfectly natural reaction and one observed among the other groups as well.

I feel that with the disappearing of the first generation immigrants, the tendency for prejudice declines. The second and following generations have so much in common (education, clothes) that relations are improving. J-F.

The recent war has tended to break down family ties which kept the girls confined at home and as a consequence better cooperation is possible. J-F.

Thanks to the 100th and the 442nd. J-M(C).

The AJA veterans were generally confident that race relations in Hawaii were better than when they left for the

¹The following symbols will be used to designate the racial ancestry, sex, and status of the informants:

service, and that their own actions had somewhat contributed to this change.

The main problem was the Japanese-Americans. Since they have proved themselves, they are more readily accepted. J-M(V).

I have noticed the marked improvements since my return, especially in the relations between the Japanese and the others as compared to the situation before the war. J-M(V).

The change in the attitudes of the morning newspaper which "till then was anti-Japanese for no apparent reason" was mentioned by one woman student of Japanese ancestry.

A significant minority (27.6 per cent) of the students answering the questionnaire were either convinced that race relations were getting worse (21.9 per cent) or were in doubt about the situation (5.7 per cent). The Hawaiians of both sexes and the Caucasian men were somewhat more pessimistic than the rest with regard to the trends in Island race relations. In general the students who felt that things were getting worse had their conceptions a little more precisely defined than their more optimistic fellows. The influx of Mainlanders, with their deviant attitudes toward Island people, was mentioned most frequently as indicating a decline of interracial amity in Hawaii.

They were improving until the almighty white man in uniform moved in. There are more race riots than I can remember from before. Ca-F.

Large influx of Negro and haole groups with preconceived notions on race prejudice, that tendency of these groups to look down upon natives, and failing to learn and appreciate life in the islands. Ca-M(V).

The increasing number of haoles who come from the mainland hold the old attitude of *white supremacy*, especially those that come from the South. J-M(V).

Increased economic competition, growing out of these shifts in population, was reflected in mounting racial tensions. The non-Haole groups especially, expressed concern because mainlanders were "getting the better jobs" and were "introducing foreign conceptions of race relations." Some of the Haoles, on the other hand, were becoming equally concerned because the Orientals, in particular were rising too rapidly in the economic scale and were thus disturbing the old order.

They are getting to buy land in haole districts and do not know how to adapt themselves. They bring their old ways. Ca-F.

I don't feel that the races in Hawaii should mix or get out of line. It was so much better when each group lived in his own section. Ca-F.

A combination of several factors has made the Haole group stand out in the minds of a considerable number of residents as a special source of difficulty. There has doubtless been an actual increase of race consciousness in certain areas; and this, together with the sharper prejudices im-

ported by Haoles from the Mainland and the growing competition across racial lines at the higher economic levels, has brought added elements of tension in the relations of the Haoles to the other groups. Attitudes of hostility toward the Haoles, which previously had appeared only sporadically in the well known cases of "Haole-hating," appear actually to have become somewhat more intense than before, especially among the Part Hawaiian groups.

I've heard and witnessed and even feel myself a growing resentment for the Haoles, who seem to be taking all that the Hawaiian has ever owned. PH-F.

Now that the war is over, the native is against the serviceman. PH-F.

The mainland Haoles brought with them the race prejudice feelings and the island Haoles, rather than being looked down upon or trying to spread good-will, blindly follow the mainland Haoles. Ch-F.

The loss in prestige of the Haoles in the eyes of the non-Haoles was mentioned several times as a disorganizing factor, and this impression is substantiated by other evidence.

I don't know whether I'm becoming more conscious of the people around me, but I have lost much of any respect and admiration for many of the so-called "big shot" Haoles and Hawaiians. Many of them "take advantage" of "us" common people. This also has been noted by many of my friends. J-F.

I do not esteem the haole group too much now because of the many servicemen coming here. J-F.

There are occasional expressions of resentment toward the servicemen who "leave the Island girls carrying the bag" after promising to marry them. On the other hand, some of the Haole veterans are appalled at the frequency of marriage here between "far different races, e.g., Negro and whites and Filipinos and whites." Several Oriental girls mentioned the presence of Negroes as a disturbing factor "because of the immoral acts they perform." College students are obviously not immune to the current myths and rumors.

Sense of Racial Discrimination

Despite the generally optimistic tone of the comments by students on trends in race relations in Hawaii, it is apparent that they well aware of problems which still exist in the community. Slightly more than half of the students (53.8 per cent) returned a positive answer to the question, "Do you think the members of your particular racial group are discriminated against?"; and only one in every eight categorically denied the existence of prejudice against their group. The Chinese and the Japanese were the two groups which felt the discrimination most keenly, with 62.3 per cent of the Japanese and 57.9 per cent of the Chinese answering question two in the affirmative. In the Japanese group, it was the women who reported unfair treatment most frequently, whereas in all the other ethnic groups it was the

men. Obviously, however, a simple answer of "yes" or "no" did not indicate the depth of feeling and frequently the comments reveal marked differences in the attitudes among those who recognized the existence of race prejudice.

The large number of those who registered "no opinion" on this question (33.6 per cent) strongly suggests that the feelings of prejudice were frequently not too sharply defined. Comments such as the following were made by students in all the different ethnic groups:

There are instances of petty discriminations in any society (storekeepers saving special items for their friends, etc.). However, I believe there is no cause for excitement over my situation or that of my race. Ca-M(C).

It is natural that there should be minor discriminations involving each race. I don't believe in taking trivial discriminations seriously. Ch-F.

It is hard to give a clean cut answer because on the whole there has been little discrimination, but there has been some. K-F.

I can't give a definite answer. The situation in Hawaii has improved greatly . . . but prejudice against the Japanese is not wholly absent. J-M(V).

Even the small proportion of those who answered the question in the negative (12.5 per cent) frequently qualified their statements by recognizing that minor distinctions might occur.

It was to be expected that the groups with the highest economic and social position in the community would be least aware of racial prejudice. Actually, the Part Hawaiian students, of the various groups represented in the sample, were least conscious of suffering discrimination (23.8 per cent) although the rate among the Haoles was only slightly higher (34.8 per cent). Comments such as the following were made by the Hawaiians:

I am Part Hawaiian and after all Hawaii is my home. If there is discrimination against my particular racial group, I have never felt it. PH-F.

I haven't felt it in Hawaii, by the people who live here anyway. PH-M(V).

Because I think discrimination is up to the individual and you won't be bothered if you conduct yourself properly. H-M(V).

The more sophisticated Haoles were ready to recognize that they were in a favored position "to do the discriminating" and that, in general, they were less the victims of discrimination than its source.

In my brief term of employment between discharge and entering school, I found I was given privileges in the firm which I didn't deserve and which were embarrassing because these privileges were denied the AJA's who worked with me. (A clerical-administrative job.) Ca-M(V).

We are discriminated against as we discriminate against other groups. It is natural—we seem to have a feeling of superiority and this is held against us naturally. Ca-M(V).

Many people of all races hate our family who are strong politically and economically in these islands. However, we are discriminating, too. Ca-M(C).

A number of the Haoles recognized also that the advantages they enjoyed were less secure than formerly.

At least in Hawaii the Haoles are the upper class socially, but losing fast economically. Ca-M(V).

On the other hand, some Haoles were apparently unaware of the bases for the counter-prejudice encountered or they chose to disregard it.

All racial groups are obviously discriminated against. Bus drivers pass me up; non-Haole shopkeepers are rude to me; local youths look for a chance to beat me up; kamaaina Haoles regard me as an interloper and would probably refuse to give me a manual labor job if I should want one. Ca-M(V).

The non-Haole groups were most conscious of discrimination in the field of employment where the preferred positions were made available to the favored race regardless of skill, training, or experience and wage differentials were commonly thought to exist.

If a Chinese and a White man are both applying for the same job at one of the larger "Haole" firms in town, 9 times out of 10 and sometimes with no questioning as to his ability, intellect, etc., the White man is employed. Ch-F.

Coming from a plantation, this has been true to some degree. Plantations tend to limit the "advancement" of any laborer, field worker, or office clerk. J-F.

My uncle, who was employed at HSPA as chemist, was the virtual "brains," knowing everything. He was told, when applying for the job, that he was starting on \$150, but when the employer saw that he was Japanese, he was worth only \$125. J-F.

The Haoles were also frequently accused of obstructing the legitimate claims and hopes of Orientals for advancement.

To a certain degree in jobs. Certain jobs are open only to Haoles and Orientals, whether they are qualified or not, cannot get those jobs. J-F.

A certain man, although capable and "next in line," couldn't become the manager of a warehouse department in a plantation because he was a Japanese. J-F.

The Haoles who have shown that they are incompetent and who have not worked as long are always given raises and promotions. Ch-F.

The injustice of expecting an experienced Oriental to teach a *malihini* Haole so that he can take over a preferred job was mentioned repeatedly by students from plantation areas.

Wartime discrimination was cited in the case of both the Chinese and the Japanese groups, although the instances mentioned frequently involved irritations of long duration.

Why were Japanese boys trusted on the front-lines of combat and are not trusted to work in jobs, such as Pearl Harbor, is beyond me. The same goes for parents of sons in the U. S. Army who were interned. J-M(V).

All the big companies in town show reluctance in hiring Japanese. Even during the war, Japanese were not permitted to work in Pearl Harbor; also, I see no reason why they require Japanese to show proof of their citizenship at the immigration station. J-F.

We are criticized for our religions, our language, anything "Japanese." Yet other ethnic groups carry on their traditions without any hot air blasts. J-F.

Several students of Japanese or Chinese ancestry mentioned the residential restrictions in certain districts such as Kahala

and the resentment evident in other areas when Orientals invaded them during the war. Answers to one of the other questions indicate that the Chinese community is fairly well aware of the resentment directed toward them during the war because of their sudden rise on the economic ladder.

Since the war the Chinese have gotten the superiority complex. They began to think that they were too "good" and the "Haoles" began to look down upon them. Ch-F.

One or more representatives of each of the racial groups wrote of differential treatment in stores, clubs, or other public institutions, supposedly on the basis of race.

When at a counter with a White person, if the salesman is also White, the White person I am with invariably is waited upon before I am. Ch-F.

Clubs barring membership to Orientals; Haoles' attitude on street or in shops. Ch-F.

The Part-Hawaiian is looked down upon by certain Haoles—in school, sororities, fraternities, etc. PH-F.

When old women of my racial group enter a bus, haole civilians and servicemen seldom give them seats, whereas when young Haole girls enter the same bus, the men readily give the girls seats. J-F.

I could fill a whole page of these evidences, but here's a particularly good one: I had gotten priority to travel by plane through "big shot" Haole superiors. I was required to fill in a questionnaire, and when I filled in "American" to the question: "What nationality?" I was ordered to change it to "Japanese" although the airways agent himself was no more than a Portuguese. Priority travel is easy for those who are non-Japanese. J-M(C).

Well, one finds it still while being waited on in a drug store or a department store where a damn Haole is a clerk; one usually waits around the place for service. Ch-M(V).

Economic Rivalry

Still another aspect of the problem of inter-group feeling in Hawaii grows out of the fact that the recent war and the peace have brought greater economic advantages to some groups than to others. It is not the purpose of this paper to examine precisely what these differences have been. It is quite obvious, however, that the conceptions that people have of each other are governed to a considerable degree by their relative success or failure in the economic struggle.

The group which outstrips all others in the race for economic position is likely to be regarded with mixed feelings of envy and respect by those less fortunate. In a world where prestige is so largely measured in economic terms each group tends to be rated according to its assumed ability to acquire property and the rise or fall of a given group on the economic scale is likely to be quickly reflected in the stereotyped conceptions toward them. This does not mean, however, that the upward movement of a group necessarily increases the good will or respect it enjoys in the eyes of the other groups. In fact, the sudden rise in the relative economic position of a given ethnic group is almost certain to

evoke strong resentment not only among those whose preferred positions have been invaded but also by those who have been left behind in the struggle for higher status.

The question "which ethnic group do you believe has benefitted most economically from the war?" was designed to test the foregoing theory and brought results roughly parallel to those in an earlier study with a more representative sample of the population.² In both studies there was a tendency to mention some group other than the informant's as having profited most from the war. In both studies the Chinese were most frequently specified as the group which had advanced economically the most as a consequence of the war. Over half (61.0 per cent) of all the students who gave a positive answer to the question mentioned the Chinese and even the Chinese students referred more commonly to their own group than to any other.

Table III. *Ethnic Groups Specified by Student Informants as Having Benefitted Most Economically from the War.*

Ethnic Groups Mentioned as Profiting Most									
Ancestry of In- formants	H. & P. H. ³	P.	Ca.	Ch.	J.	F.	Other	No Ans.	Total
Japanese	2	4	25	122	9	13	5	48	228
Haole .....	....	....	3	18	7	1	4	14	47
Chinese .....	....	....	2	11	7	3	3	12	38
Hawaiian & Part-Haw. ....	....	....	3	7	2	1	2	6	21
All others .....	....	....	6	5	1	....	1	5	18
TOTAL	2	4	39	163	26	18	15	85	352

It should be noted that nearly one fourth of all the students had no answer to this question and it is probable that relatively few of the informants were as deeply moved about this issue as those interviewed in 1944. At that time the responses were characterized by a considerable amount of bitterness at not being included in the "big money." References were made to the "money-mad Pakes" to "Filipinos lining their pockets with easy defense money," and to the Haoles who "being on top, get the cream first." By 1946 the peak of the defense boom had passed and with it some of the rancor and envy toward those who were assumed to have derived more money from the war.

Statements regarding the Chinese were usually phrased in fairly objective and restrained language. It was commonly asserted, for example, that the Chinese were already established in defense industries and in business enterprises which could profit most from the war time boom. Even Chinese students freely admitted, sometimes with a measure of pride,

²What People in Hawaii are Saying, University of Hawaii, March 1, 1944.

³The same abbreviations of names of ethnic groups are used here as in footnote¹.

that their ethnic group had been so situated as to derive maximum benefit from the war.

Most businessmen in this group, or rather the ratio of businessmen to other workers is greatest in this group. C-F.

Some have become office managers or partner in a Haole corporation or with other nationalities. They have been accepted by other ethnic groups readily. C-F.

—Entered freely into business enterprises. Were not discriminated against as the Japanese were because Japan was an enemy. The Chinese seemed more enterprising and manage to get the necessary capital. C-F.

Signs of definite irritation and resentment toward the Chinese for their alleged war time gains were somewhat more prominent among the Haoles and the Japanese than any other groups. The Haole veterans especially charged the Chinese with being "Oriental Jews," "draft dodgers," and "racketeers."

I think they had more people in defense or war jobs and less in actual fighting than any other group. Among Orientals, they are the group most closely united and in business they adopt the policies of the Jew even more so than the Jew. Ca-(V).

They all stayed home and made a lot of money while the rest went to war. There are very few Chinese who volunteered. This is proven by the large amount of Chinese being drafted now. Ca-(V).

Few in the service, many in well-paid defense jobs, many involved in black market and other rackets, ostentatious display of jewelry, purchases of high-priced real estate. Ca-(V).

They are oriental Jew. Ca-(V).

The Japanese repeated many of the same stereotypes regarding the Chinese but the charges were commonly made with less intensity of feeling.

They were allowed to work in Pearl Harbor and also were deferred from draft. When the war ended they began to be drafted. Chinese merchants had all the breaks during the war. Opened amusement concessions and made more money than any other group I can think of. J-(V).

It does not matter for present purposes that many of the statements regarding the Chinese were inaccurate and biased. Even among those who admitted that they had inadequate grounds for judgment, there was a readiness to attribute "this questionable distinction" to the Chinese.

The nearest competitors to the Chinese as the reputed beneficiaries of the war were the Haoles although they were mentioned only 39 times or about one fourth as frequently as the Chinese. The traditional advantages enjoyed by the Haoles were mentioned as enabling them to profit all the more during the war time on the theory that "to him that hath shall be given."

They own or control the biggest business and this war has increased their wealth even more. Being Haoles, they could get the best jobs. J-F.

Because of their favored status—they were in a position to command the better jobs. J-(V).

During the war, the people with capital tend to accumulate more capital. J-(V).

The other groups were mentioned less frequently, the Japanese 26 times or by one out of every ten of the students who had definite opinions in the matter, the Filipinos 18 times, the Portuguese 4 times and scattered groups such as the Jews and Negroes, a total of 15 times. The comments reflect the varied experiences and attitudes derived from many different and changing situations. The sudden rise in economic position of certain Filipinos, a group which was commonly identified with unskilled plantation labor, impressed some observers most profoundly. The dramatic appearance of a Korean furniture dealer in a residential area previously held exclusively by Hāoles may suggest a mass movement to another observer. The irresponsible talk about the Jews in a particular circle of friends may cause the group to be mentioned even though most of the group have had no direct contact with the Jews.

The Filipinos, from the plantation to taxi-driving is a big jump. C-(V).

The wages that the Filipinos earned enables them to move out of areas of transition and settle in more respectable residential areas. C-F.

The Filipinos never made much before the war. As laborers in PH, they make twice as much as white collar workers. The Hāoles do pretty well, tho. H-F.

I come in contact with them and they are always carrying great amounts of money. Their manner of dress has changed previous to the war. They wear expensive clothes, boast about the houses and cars they've bought. J-M (C).

They have gone up on the economic ladder because of the war. Prior, they were just considered as unskilled laborers. J-F.

Despite the varied and sometimes conflicting evidence revealed in this study, it is quite apparent that Islanders are generally hopeful about the basic trends in race relations without being completely satisfied with conditions as they exist. It is highly probable that many of the instances of discrimination attributed to race were actually the consequence of other factors entirely and that in some cases the discrimination itself was largely imaginary. The fact, however, that a significant number of persons of all ethnic groups believed themselves to be the victims of discrimination means that the problem cannot be disregarded. On the other hand, the comments generally gave the impression of a situation which was definitely improving and in which there had been no serious crystallization of caste attitudes. Certainly the citizenry of Hawaii, as reflected in this sample, while recognizing that racial distinctions play an important part in the life of the people, are also assured that personal merit and integrity count much more. Neither despair nor self pity are prominent elements in what the young people of Hawaii have to say about race relations.

RACE RELATIONS IN HAWAII, 1946

JOHN A. RADEMAKER

The highlights of race relations in Hawaii during the year 1946 can be summarized under nine topics. First in time though not in importance are the activities of the new Hawaii Association for Civic Unity. Second, or perhaps concurrently, the transition to the peace-time economy, involving also the third phenomenon, namely, the disappearance from Hawaiian shores of the thousands of servicemen and women who had flooded the streets and homes of Hawaii during the war, and the later and more gradual departure of war workers. Fourth, the controversy over the reopening of the Buddhist temples and the Chinese and Japanese language schools, and the accompanying development of evangelical sects and cults, such as Seicho-no-Iye, and religious associations of even less orthodox nature. The fifth topic is closely associated with the first, and includes patterns of racial treatment at several different military installations, including Hickam Field, Civilian Housing Area No. 3, of Pearl Harbor Navy Yard, and Schofield Barracks. The immigration of nearly 9,000 additional Filipino workers and their dependents is sixth in line. The celebration of the entire population on the return of the final major contingent of the 442nd Combat Team and the Military Intelligence Service Language School unit on Veterans' Day followed in seventh place in chronological sequence. The sugar strike in the summer and autumn was of outstanding significance in race relations. The fall elections bring up the end of the list. Brief considerations of eight of these developments follow.

I

During late 1945 and early 1946 a good many liberals and progressives in the community felt that more should and could be done to build constructive race relations in Hawaii. In Honolulu, this feeling was converted into action by the organization of the Hawaii Association for Civic Unity. This Association was designed to provide a popular program for the participation of people of all races and ethnic backgrounds, whereby specific cases of discrimination on racial or ethnic grounds might be combatted, and in the activities of which people of various backgrounds might establish firmer and deeper ties of friendship and of common interests with each other. Both these objectives have been accomplished to some extent. Social as well as business meetings have been held, committees have operated in the fields of social welfare, race relations, legislation, employment, and public forums, and outstandingly constructive achievements in the

field of race relations have been given public recognition and approval. The membership includes people of all sorts of ethnic backgrounds and national origin, who work well with each other, despite wide differences in culture and in socioeconomic status. The chief core of agreement among the members is a determination to work together toward progressive, humanitarian developments in the community. As yet the Association is restricted to Oahu, although several requests for chapters on other islands have been received.

II

These developments took place within a setting of turmoil, change, upset, and a struggle to "return to normalcy"—a normalcy which has been difficult to find. The transition to a peace-time economy has required a great many adjustments, particularly in the field of business. As the flood of servicemen and women which had filled the streets, homes, and business houses of Hawaiian cities and towns receded and returned to the mainland during the process of demobilization of the nation's war might, the volume of trade which served these customers declined. The number of contacts between these strangers or "malihinis" and the resident population of Hawaii declined rapidly. Areas which were once filled with activity and humanity became untenanted "ghost camps" left under the eyes of a handful of guards and custodians, and later still became again a part of the rural countryside. Relationships and friendships built up hastily during a residence of a few months in Hawaii were left behind in the rush to return to mainland, family, friends, jobs, schools, and the trials of "reconversion" of the Pacific veterans.

Many of these relationships and friendships served as liberating experiences which destroyed prejudices and served as a solid foundation for future acceptance of all persons on their merits, rather than their racial backgrounds. Both Island residents and service personnel benefitted from these enriching experiences. There were also saddening and disillusioning experiences, as there are at each separation. Some "fatherless" babies were left behind when the servicemen left. There were also a considerable number of intermarriages between servicemen and women and residents of various races. Some of these couples are still living in Hawaii, others have gone to the mainland. It is still too soon to tell what degrees of success attended these cases of racial amalgamation and cultural assimilation. But certainly there are many that give every promise of success, and others which have already collapsed and dissolved. And in each case, a better knowledge of variant races has been gained,

though the new knowledge has not always been such as to bring happiness and good will.

III

The "demobilization" of war-workers has taken longer. The Navy Yard maintained fairly full crews to maintain and repair ships which were taking supplies to occupied areas and returning excess—"surplus"—personnel to the mainland, and other war-time industries still operated under contracts or began the huge job of re-inventory, re-classification, and re-grouping of material. Wartime installations were rushed to completion before the formal announcement of the end of the war should also end the war-time lush appropriations and halt the completion of planned military improvements and additions.

But after a few months of this, workers began to receive notices of discharge. Rumors ran rife that such discharges would be carried out along racial lines. Resident workers—who presented the federal government with the least cost in turn-over and transportation—were favored in some areas. In other cases, Caucasian workers from the mainland were heard to say: "First they'll fire the Negroes, then the Japs and Filipinos, then the Koreans and Chinese, and that'll leave us the jobs." Non-Caucasian workers have stated rather bitterly that this is just what did happen, and that when they were not discharged outright, they were demoted far more than were comparable or even less-well-trained Caucasian workers from the mainland. Whether this actually was the practice could only be ascertained by a systematic investigation of the payroll records of war-time installations, projects, and industrial establishments. Fairly wide belief in the truth of such statements did not help to improve race relations in Hawaii, particularly where the military services were concerned. Those specific non-Caucasians who had worked hard to perform successfully jobs which had always been denied to them specifically because of their race or national origin before the war felt that their newly-won economic advancement and improved level of living were seriously endangered by such prejudicial treatment, and feared and resented it, whether justifiably or not.

Now that the process of curtailment is practically complete, save for a few more sales of surplus goods, such threats are no longer existent, but a significant number of resident non-Caucasians feel that the threat was actually carried out in their own cases. Since the openings for employment along similar lines in private work and other public work have almost kept up with releases from war-time work, little real hardship has been experienced, if one excepts the disappoint-

ment and frustration of losing hard-won and coveted economic status and income.

As in the case of servicemen and women, the numbers of haole (Caucasian), Negro, and other mainland war workers have been greatly reduced. Negro servicemen and war workers alike have returned to the mainland to a preponderant extent, and have answered the often-put war-time query as to "How many will settle down here after the war?" by actions which spell out "Not many." It is to be noted, however, that discrimination has had its part to play in achieving this result, particularly in the professional and supervisory niches in the economic structure which were filled by Negroes during the war. Several instances of prejudicial treatment to induce the Negroes to leave have been noted, but there have also been instances of typical Hawaiian aloha extended to Negroes when they gave evidence of settling down in Hawaii. Caucasian war-workers and discharged servicemen have also found some prejudice against them, and resentment against "malihini haoles" who came back or stayed to take up the minor executive and supervisory positions to which local workers, both haole and non-haole, were aspiring has been expressed repeatedly. For such newcomers, of whatever race, the initial period of suspicion and opposition is succeeded by a more tolerant attitude, which ultimately develops into acceptance of the person into Island life.

IV

Resumption of activities by most Buddhist temples and missions took place during the latter part of 1945 and all of 1946. On all islands except Oahu, this resumption of activities seems to have been accepted as a matter of course. On Oahu, however, open opposition was expressed, and criticism of "Shinto" activities (described as Shinto, but obviously referring to Buddhist and other non-Shinto activities) appeared in one of the daily newspapers, the *Honolulu Advertiser*. Vox pop letters in several newspapers, and sidewalk comment contained some criticisms and defenses of the resumption of non-Christian religious activities.

The obvious ethnocentric slant of such discussions, and the association of religions practiced in Japan with Japanese nationalism, in the minds of the critics, tended to make this episode one of nationalistic competition, which concerned race in its political and international aspect, more than in its every-day routine domestic phases. Nevertheless, quite a tempest was stirred up, particularly when some of the less orthodox religious sects began to mix nationalistic allusions in with their religious talks and sermons. The healing faiths, such as Seicho-no-Iye, came under some suspicion and criticism, without much justification.

Another organization, the Doshikai, took a more nationalistic stand, and encouraged, at least indirectly, the wishful thinking of some of the issei in the victory of Japan. In October 1945 this belief became epidemic among some of the Japanese population, and has been dying out slowly since. This belief, which has been well discussed by Professor Andrew W. Lind in Chapter 8 of his book, *Hawaii's Japanese: An Experiment in Democracy* (Princeton University Press, 1946), was basically an escape mechanism for the older people, who could not at once rationally reconcile their longstanding belief in Japan's invincibility with the facts of her defeat. It had its basis also in the profound spiritual distress which the older generation of Japanese immigrants in Hawaii experienced up to the end of the war. Such beliefs, and their expression in organizational activity, served a very real function in releasing the tensions and frustrations of the elderly Japanese people.

However necessary these beliefs may have been to the mental health of the Japanese aliens, they produced very different effects upon non-Japanese members of the community. They brought forth resentment and doubt of the fundamental reliability of the Japanese aliens by some people, and efforts to give them more constructive and acceptable ways of finding a place of dignity and security in the community by others. These latter people have encouraged the Japanese aliens to express their feeling of pride and respect of their ancestral culture in the form of the non-military aspects of the Japanese culture, such as religion, music, art, literature, drama, and movies. Participation in such activities by the aliens has helped to relieve the needs somewhat. But there have been attendant difficulties, such as the opposition of critics in the community to the revival of anything related to Japanese culture, whether peaceful or not, and the difficulty of securing modern Japanese music or literature which does not have some nationalistic moral or message. On the whole, however, the rest of the community displayed tolerant acceptance of the inevitable, and faith in the ultimate outcome, and critics were as numerous among the more strongly patriotic Americans of Japanese ancestry as in other ethnic groups—and in several instances more determined, for they felt that their status as patriotic Americans might be endangered by such beliefs.

It is very doubtful that beliefs in Japan as a nation will persevere to form a basis for anti-Japanese attitudes in Hawaii. The destruction of Japan's military power will sooner or later be recognized by the issei, who in any event will live only a decade or so longer. The persistence of Japanese culture as such is more likely, although even in this case the

nisei are more likely to enjoy the words and tune of a Japanese song, whether nationalistic or not, than they are to know what the words mean. The issei leadership is still present, but the cultural influence stemming from it is declining. For instance, in the religious field, both Buddhism and sectarian Shinto have unquestionably been placed under tremendous handicaps by the war, and have not yet recovered from the difficulties and handicaps which they have undergone. Their leadership, which used to come from Japan, can no longer be effectively recruited there, at least for the time being, and probably permanently, because of the need for linguistic skill in English. Without skill in English, it will be difficult for these religious organizations and groups to perpetuate themselves, for they must use English to appeal effectively to the younger people. There are as yet no schools for the development of native-born religious leaders in America, and the elderly leaders are concerned over the future.

The language school controversy has again arisen, and its chief focus has been the effort to re-open the Chinese language schools. The war-time law which prohibits the operation of private language schools in Hawaii by religious and other organizations has been attacked in the courts as invalid and unconstitutional. A good many persons of Japanese, Korean, and Chinese ancestry are opposed to the resumption of operations of such schools, but there are also large numbers who feel that this is the only way to secure adequate lingual skill for their children. The probability of the children making use of such training on visits to or after migrating permanently to Japan, Korea, or China is secondary to its acquisition for use in the home, enabling parents to continue to influence or control their children, and making possible communication between them.

It is not argued seriously that either the language schools or the public schools (which offer courses in oriental languages from the 10th grade and upward) can equip the children to speak, read, write, and understand oriental languages well enough to enable them to participate effectively in Japanese, Korean, or Chinese culture and activities in the Far East. The war proved how inadequate this training is for such a purpose. But it is contended that the students get a beginning and a background which expedites their mastery of the language when they get to where they are obliged to use it, and it suffices to give them a working knowledge of it adequate for use in their homes. Courses offered by the public schools to date are wholly inadequate to accomplish this, and so long as the need is not met adequately by the public schools, there will be demand for special language schools to provide the desired training.

The chief argument against the language schools is a nationalistic one—that they tend to undermine faith in the United States and to develop faith in the political, cultural, and military primacy of the parental culture or country. This, together with the objection of prospective students, and the question of the efficacy of the training received, throw some doubt upon the desirability of the language schools. The issue still hangs in doubt at the present writing, but the forces which support the language schools and maintain that there is a real need for them are evidently still present in the community and still powerful. There has been no open and serious effort to urge the re-opening of the Japanese language schools, although several religious sects are hopeful of taking such a step if the Chinese schools' supporters are able to clear the way for it legally. The ethnic groups' leaders feel concerned about the issue because they feel that the perpetuation of lingual and cultural heritages are worthwhile in themselves and are also very helpful in keeping intact the unity and identity or distinctiveness of the ethnic group in the next few generations. Others who prefer the assimilation of all ethnic groups into a combination of all sorts of peoples and cultures without such definite distinctiveness feel that the language schools help to perpetuate an undesirable division of the community. The ordinary person thinks less about such distant goals and concerns himself with how comfortable it feels to converse with a language school student or non-language school student, or how efficient each is in doing the work desired of him in business or industry or politics.

V

Commanding officers at the several different military posts and installations in Hawaii found it possible to interpret their orders concerning the treatment of colored workers and servicemen and women quite variously. In almost all cases, no racial differentiation was made in work assignments. At Hickam Field, families were housed in Village No. 1, and were not segregated by race. In Village No. 2, single Negro men were housed with white men, and as in the case of the families, no difficulties were experienced. In Village No. 2, at first Negro and white single women were housed together. Several white women circulated a petition urging that Negro women be housed separately, however, and in spite of a counter-petition by other white women residents, apparently the commanding officer agreed with the matron that at least partial segregation should be introduced, and reduced to two the number of barracks open to Negro women. This step was strongly protested by the Hawaii Association for Civic Unity, with the result that Col.

Marcus A. Ray, Special Assistant to the Secretary of War, made an investigation of the situation, and remedial measures were ordered. The personnel immediately responsible, including the matron and the provost-marshal, were relieved and replaced.

It is interesting to note a peculiar coincidence in this matter. The matron involved had previously been a matron in a Georgia penal institution. The commanding officer responsible for instituting or accepting the policy of restricting, in practice, all single Negro women to two specific barracks, was from Texas. Furthermore, he had encountered difficulty in regard to segregation of housing facilities before, when commanding Field. The provost-marshal was also from the southern part of the United States. But several of the white women who protested against the policy of segregation were also from the South, and at least one of the staff members who advised against such a policy was from the same region.

The commanding general was also relieved and ordered elsewhere. Under the old commanding general, barracks open to Negro women were neglected in care, habits of visitors and personnel who provided service and guard duty for these barracks grew lax, and before long the police were dealing with two attacks upon Negro women occupants of these barracks, by unauthorized nocturnal visitors. The investigation had revealed the basis for such conditions, and had revealed other instances of social discrimination within the area apparently with the knowledge of and by personnel under the control of the provost-marshal. The matron, who was on leave, was not restored to duty. The provost-marshal and his entire force was replaced. The new commanding general, Brigadier General John E. Williams, revoked all regulations and ordered the cessation of all practices which tended to segregate Negro or other colored residents, or to otherwise discriminate against them. Freedom in choice of residence was restored to all workers, the neglected barracks were cleaned up, and adequate policing of the area was provided. No further news of assaults upon residents of any race has been received, and the residents have expressed a sense of satisfaction and relief at the change.

Equal success was not gained in the case of the Navy's even more flagrant ignoring of the Navy Department's orders in setting up a segregated housing area in Civilian Housing Area No. 3. Persons restricted in their choice of housing to this area include Negro, Hawaiian, and Filipino families who work in the Navy Yard. At least one worker of part Negro ancestry who asked to be assigned to housing outside the area "set aside for you folks" of colored ancestry was

refused, and rather than accept the segregated housing, left for the mainland. Officially, the Navy representatives claim that there is no segregation. The Navy Department's directives are clear in prohibiting segregation; but the practices of restricting people of color to one small area out of the entire residence area is also clear. Protests to the officers in charge have met with no success.

Such segregative practices in housing had their counterpart during the war in the practice of certain bars and restaurants and hotels which refused to serve Negro civilians and servicemen in the city of Honolulu. Several U.S.O. canteens also refused admittance to colored servicemen, or insisted that they bring their own dates to dances when other servicemen were admitted without this requirement. A Rainbow U.S.O. canteen was finally set up to carry out the function of interracial entertainment of servicemen, in Honolulu. This function was also carried out by U.S.O. canteens at Wahiawa and at Bellows Field, and by the Labor Canteen in Honolulu. Shortly after the end of the war, and the reduction in the Negro population of the Islands, such practices tended to decline.

The extension of segregation in CHA-3 and to a lesser extent in other fields and activities to other colored persons than those of Negro ancestry indicates the constant possibility of extending a segregative system and practice to local people of non-white ancestry. It is felt by some groups in the community that such a possibility constitutes a continuing threat to the Hawaiian pattern of racial acceptance and tolerance. Imitation and suggestion play a large part in instituting segregative practices, and a good many civilians, being aware of this, have opposed segregative practices. Yet there is no doubt that such practices were supported by some local leaders of civilian as well as military status.

A refreshing contrast occurred at Schofield Barracks, where the commanding officer, Brigadier General Wayne C. Smith, established a no-segregation, no-discrimination policy from the inception of his command. This policy was based upon sociologically valid grounds, but was adopted on the basis of strictly military considerations. It arose from the fact that in order to obtain the best service from each man, particularly important during a time when personnel at the post was rapidly being reduced, each man would have to be convinced that he would be treated strictly upon the basis of individual performance and merit, rather than upon arbitrary considerations such as race. Accordingly, personnel were assigned to work and to housing without regard to race, and found it possible to get along very well together when living in accordance with the Hawaiian pattern of

racial acceptance and tolerance. The successful results of this policy, in terms of productivity and efficiency, attest to the validity of the principle upon which it is based. As a sociological experiment, it seems to be outstanding in comparison with the control cases noted in Hickam Housing and CHA-3 of the Navy Yard. After an initial period of adjustment, less social friction and resentment can be observed than in the other two cases cited.

VI

As early as 1945 the sugar plantations began to take steps toward securing sufficient labor to keep the plantations up to a level of efficiency. Selective service and the competing attractions of war-time jobs at high pay had reduced the working force considerably. Mechanization was resorted to, but was difficult because of the sharp reduction in production of machinery for civilian uses during the war. Accordingly the sugar planters sought more labor. Under existing laws and treaties, the only non-domestic source of labor immediately available would be found in the Philippine Islands. Accordingly, the sugar planters requested the Governor of the Territory to certify the need for additional laborers to the Department of the Interior. This was done, without any prior public notice or discussion, and the Secretary of the Interior approved the request. Under the provisions of the Tydings-McDuffie Act, authority to approve this immigration of Filipinos rested with the Secretary of the Interior, and ended on the Independence Day of the Philippines Government—July 4, 1946.

The issue of further importation of laborers from an area of lower plane of living to the United States at a time of peak demand for laborers was one which produced a good deal of interest in this project. Safeguards were provided, such as agreements by the planters to pay wages equal to those of resident workers, and to return any immigrants to the Philippines if they become unemployed during the term of their contracts, or three years initially. Some protection for the workers in the form of guarantees to return them to the Philippines without charge at the end of their contracted work was included. In terms of the community welfare, a most important provision was included to the effect that wives and children of immigrants would also be brought, thus reducing the chances of social, personal, and family disorganization. However, in each case the immigrants were required to pay on the installment plan the costs of transportation, and for this and other reasons the full quota of 3,000 dependents for the 6,000 workers imported was not quite attained.

Both labor unions and sugar planters sought to inform the immigrants of conditions in Hawaii before and immediately after their arrival, and it was not long before the new workers felt somewhat at home in their plantation jobs and houses and in union organizations. Many of the immigrants had been here before and had returned to the Philippines before the war. They welcomed the chance to return to earn some money to re-establish their families and business or farm enterprises in the Philippines. There was general agreement that if the sugar plantations could not get along without additional laborers, the importation should take place, but there was a good deal of discussion as to whether it would not be possible for the existing supply of labor and other resources to fill the needs if all possible increases in the efficiency of management were practiced and particularly if plantation wage levels were raised sufficiently to be attractive to local residents. The sugar planters proceeded on the belief that this would be impossible, because the price of sugar might be decontrolled at any time, leaving Hawaiian plantations to meet the competition of low-wage areas on a world market, and because many Filipino laborers here were planning to return to the Philippines at the end of the war.

As is ordinarily true, in migratory movements, the newcomers offered a threat to the tenuous security and status of the preceding immigrants, particularly the most recent ones, namely the Filipino group. Resident Filipinos expressed alarm at their possible loss of status and prestige in the community, and their own reversion to a status of "ignorant, shiftless, illiterate, unskilled workers" in the eyes of the community because they would inevitably be grouped with the new arrivals of their own nationality, and blamed for the shortcomings of the newcomers, even though they had themselves long since achieved superior assimilation and conformity with the standards of the community.

Apprehension that this would be a permanent resumption of the policy which dominated the economy of the Territory prior to 1932, namely that of keeping wages low by bringing in unskilled workers from abroad under contract, roused mixed reactions. Those who wanted to climb up the ladder to comfort and American standards of living felt that this policy might well provide the community with a supply of hewers of wood and drawers of water over whom they themselves could exercise supervision, and thus secure better paying, pleasanter jobs. But on the other hand, the newcomers might prove to be a permanent depressive influence on the standards of pay and possibilities of achieving the desired standard of living for all non-haole residents. Atti-

tudes toward this immigration were therefore often charged with emotion and intense feeling, as well as confusion and conflicting reactions.

The success of the unions in integrating the new immigrants rapidly into their ranks, attested by their cooperation in the sugar strike in the fall of 1946, has done a great deal to overcome some of the apprehensions felt about the problem, but the lack of enthusiasm exhibited, in a few cases, has kept alive the feeling that further importations are to be looked upon with some doubts and apprehensions.

Few social problems concerning the new immigrants have been reported as yet, and the general level of education of the new immigrants and their familiarity with Hawaii is such that there is little promise of difficulty in this direction.

VII

Race relations and military and other service in World War II have influenced each other significantly. The relationships involved are highly complex and very difficult to summarize in a few paragraphs. They have been treated in detail by Professor Andrew W. Lind in *Hawaii's Japanese: An Experiment in Democracy*, Princeton University Press, 1946, chapters 4, 5, and 6, and in two forthcoming pictorial books by the present writer. Accordingly they will not be discussed in this paper.

VIII

Probably the most important event which revealed essential changes and characteristics in race relations was the sugar strike of the late summer and early fall of 1946. It must be borne in mind that the great majority of persons who perform the roles of owners and managers in the Territory are of haole extraction. Important differences exist in the proportion of persons of the several non-haole ethnic groups engaged in the several occupations, industries, and levels of responsibility and remuneration. The earliest comers were able to advance the farthest, in general. It must be admitted that the earliest inhabitants, the Hawaiians, have been far-outdistanced by the haoles in securing status, authority, and remuneration, and those groups who are closely related to the haoles, such as the part-Hawaiians and the Portuguese, have not had as many difficulties as some earlier-arrived oriental groups have experienced, but still have found themselves failing of full acceptance as haoles. These differences proved to be of great importance in the strike.

In previous industrial warfare, the Japanese population was less divided in class than was the case in this one, for past large-scale strikes found the economic leaders but lately risen from the ranks, whereas in this case, there were many

Japanese proprietors who had had time to develop middle-class attitudes. In the case of the Chinese, still greater detachment from the working-class group who were striking existed. Among the Filipinos, there were few who had made economic headway enough to develop attitudes significantly different from those of the manual workers in their group. Nevertheless, the general background of experience of each non-haole ethnic group except the Hawaiians in arriving as unskilled immigrants and trying to achieve higher status has given them all somewhat similar attitudes, growing out of their common experiences. These common experiences were as workers, and even when they have climbed out of that class, they retain many of the attitudes and social values which they developed when they were manual laborers. Hence there was quite a tendency among the non-haole ethnic groups to sympathize with the strikers, and to support them with money contributions and encouragement. On the other hand, there was a somewhat corresponding tendency among the haoles to support the owners and managers. Exceptions occurred, but were less numerous than were instances of action in conformance with this general principle.

For the first time in a large-scale sugar strike, all the workers of whatever ethnic group were combined together in one labor organization—the CIO-ILWU. In this organization, most of the elected officers were of Japanese or of Filipino ancestry, with many part-Hawaiians, Portuguese, other haoles, and a few Koreans and Chinese making up the rest. The top labor strategists included several malihinis (new-comers) from the mainland, who were haoles, three or four haoles of long residence, and a majority of non-haoles. The top management strategists were all haoles, the two of highest theoretical authority being malihinis also, but those of greatest economic power being long-resident (kamaaina) haoles. This situation tended to strengthen the attitudes already mentioned. Despite these facts, it is to be noted that little concerted effort was made to appeal to race or ethnic prejudice during the strike. There were, of course, many verbal expressions of the basic attitudes, such as an employer saying, "The yellow-bellies are trying to gang up on us and take over control of the industry," or such as an employee remarking, "All of us non-haoles have got to stick together against the haole bosses." But on the whole, there was a notable lack of active use of this possible agency of division. Two possible cases of real use may be cited. The newly arrived Filipino workers were assiduously cultivated by both sides, and efforts made to secure their allegiance as a group. Offers to give preferred status in jobs or promotions to Portuguese as compared with Japanese lunas and

workers, and to Japanese as compared with Filipinos or Portuguese, may have been made, in an effort to split the ranks of the workers on ethnic lines.

One important development was coincidental, perhaps, but introduced a new note to island race relations. An attorney and an organizer from the mainland who came to help the striking workers possessed Jewish-sounding names. Considerable mention was made of these names during the strike and the election which took place during it, and frequently the reference was generalized to include Jews as such. The word "kike" is reported to have been applied to these two leaders, and to Jewish persons—or at least Jewish labor leaders—in general. Anti-Semitism as such has not been strong in Hawaii, and this development was in the nature of a distinct departure. Jewish leaders in the community have not been unknown, have prospered in business and politics, and have held general respect and acceptance in the community. The reverberations of such attitudes can best be depicted in the case of a local business leader who remarked to a friend who was a close associate in his lodge, that every Jew in Hawaii should "be shipped out of here—no, by God, they should all be lined up and shot!" Whether this was representative of the business leaders as a group is somewhat to be doubted, but, as is mentioned in the next section, this feeling was openly proclaimed from the political platforms of Honolulu by one or more candidates for public office who received substantial numbers of votes. It was undoubtedly due to the stress of feeling aroused in the industrial strike of the time, but it was none the less real and effective, and one more instance of the influence of economic competition in helping to produce hostile attitudes between ethnic groups, even when the majority of the members of such groups are not involved.

Altogether, it may be said that the sugar strike introduced a new measure of cooperation and feeling of fellowship among the non-haole ethnic group, and that it tended to re-emphasize the already existing feeling of distinctness between the haoles, as the owning and managing class, on the one hand and the non-haoles, as the laboring class, on the other. During the war years, the sight of "haoles with dirty faces"—i.e., haoles who worked with their hands at manual toil—in the persons of war workers, marines, soldiers, and sailors, had tended to break down this separation. The sugar strike re-established it to a considerable degree, but not as fully as it had been before the war. Difference between city and country are marked here. The strike intensified the feeling in rural more than in urban areas, for the actual operations of the strike took place chiefly in the rural plantation

communities. In the city of Honolulu, and in some of the smaller cities, the non-haole middle class either sided openly with the strikers, or more frequently tried to appear neutral to each side. The newly arrived haole working class in Honolulu was torn between its laboring-class sympathy (many were members of labor unions) and its racial hostility to the "gooks" who made up the bulk of the strikers. Many made contributions to the strike fund, however, and served to demonstrate that the haole ethnic solidarity was no longer as great as it had been before the war. Conversely, more persons of Japanese, Chinese, and other non-haole ancestry sympathized with the owner-management side of the strike on the basis of their class interests than had ever been the case before. These movements in the direction of the alignment of contending factions on the basis of class interests may also have been the foundation of the success of interracial cooperation of all non-haole groups in the labor movement. But whatever the basis for this success, it is certain that there was a solid and effective combination of the great majority of the members of all the non-haole groups, as laborers, against the haole group, as owners-managers, for the first time in Hawaiian history; and whatever the underlying changes, the significance of ethnic affiliations is still very great.

The primary and general elections of the autumn of 1946 were crowded with significance for race relations. Major party alignments were somewhat obscured at times by the struggle of factions within parties and socio-economic differences which reached over party lines. The fact that the sugar strike was taking place during the campaign, and that the CIO-PAC organization had to operate when labor leadership was engaged in a severe organizational struggle with management tended to bring out into the open socio-economic philosophies and sympathies which frequently remain hidden during political elections.

The conservative faction of the Republican Party, which has long been openly allied with the larger business and industrial owners and managers, found itself confronted by determined opposition within its own Party. The more liberal or progressive Republicans tended to take a less dogmatic and class-determined position on public issues, and the delegate to Congress won a handsome majority in all counties with the help of the CIO-PAC, whose support he refused to repudiate in spite of considerable pressure from the conservative faction of the Party to do so. In terms of race relations, the conservative faction of the Republicans was composed very largely of haoles, including some Portuguese, and including also some part-Hawaiians, a few Chinese and part-

Chinese and a few Japanese. The more progressive faction of the Republicans included a larger percentage of Portuguese, Chinese, and Japanese. On the Democratic side, the haoles were in a distinct minority, including a Portuguese group larger than that in the Republican Party and the predominant groups were Japanese, Chinese, Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian.

The political alignment most hostile to the conservative faction of the Republican Party was the CIO-PAC, and both leaders and rank-and-file were composed outstandingly of non-haoles, and most of the haoles included were of Portuguese ancestry.

It is to be noted, however, that no ethnic group failed to have some representation in each Party, each faction, each political organization, and that no ethnic group took up en masse any political philosophy, position, or organizational membership to the total exclusion of others. But it is also to be noted that the chief differential lay between the conservative faction of the Republicans, and the CIO-PAC—that is, along socio-economic class lines.

Under these conditions, the campaign could not help but arouse strong emotions and active partisanship throughout the Territory. Factions maneuvered and bargained for advantages, laid careful plans and mulled over strategy frequently independent of party organizations, sometimes at known variance with party actions. The owner-employer class, being engaged in a sharp economic struggle, winked upon certain acts by Party members, candidates, and spokesmen which involved attacks upon labor leaders and PAC supported candidates in political speeches for votes, according to published and unrefuted charges. This is apparently the first case of anti-Semitism recorded as being used in Hawaiian politics or known to reliable political observers of long experience. It is probably related to the rise of the union movement and the coincidental presence during the time of the campaign of an attorney and one labor leader who had Jewish sounding names, but the intensity of the feeling involved is indicated by the remark of a business leader to the effect that he thought all the Jews in Hawaii should be deported or shot. Jews in Hawaii have not been seriously discriminated against or even distinguished as a separate group hitherto, and the old-time residents of sometime Jewish faith looked up with alarm and misgivings at such dogmatic and prejudicial statements. And perhaps they are justified, for the candidate who used the anti-Semitic appeal most strongly came very close to being elected to the Board of Supervisors of Oahu county, and gathered over 19,000 votes in the election. The attention of the Republican

Party was called to its candidate's statements, and the Republican Central Committee asked him to desist. When he failed to follow this suggestion, it made no effort to withdraw its official support and approval from him as a spokesman for the Party, in spite of the fact that the Republican Party platform clearly stated the Party's opposition to racial discrimination. This stands out in contrast with an agreement between labor and management during 1945 and 1946 that racial issues be avoided in all economic strife, an agreement which was honestly and effectively carried out, with the exception of the race-baiting of the labor leaders who had Jewish-sounding names.

On the island of Hawaii, the slate of nominees proposed by the island's PAC committee failed to include certain persons of Portuguese ancestry, although it did include others. The Territorial PAC recommended that the names of one or two of the passed-over candidates be added, but the Republican candidates quickly voiced the charge that the PAC was discriminating against the Portuguese candidates by withholding its support from them on a racial basis. While the selections had been made on the basis of certain personal rivalries for local leadership, as well as general considerations of PAC campaign plans and not on a racial basis, it was clumsy political tactics which made the charge possible. The charge was sufficiently believed to split the votes of the labor movement's rank-and-file, and to secure the election of several Republican candidates who would otherwise have had a difficult time in securing election. Charges against the Japanese population seem not to be substantiated by election returns. There is less evidence at least, that the Japanese electorate voted along racial lines, than that the Portuguese population did so. In neither case was there anything even approximating solid bloc voting on racial lines. A special election held to fill the post of a deceased representative found a haole Democrat with PAC backing opposing a Japanese Republican candidate in an electoral district in which Japanese votes formed a majority. The haole Democrat won.

When the Legislature met in February 1947, however, the Hawaii episode produced further repercussions. The deadlock between the Democratic and Republican parties as a result of the 15-15 vote in the House of Representatives found the Portuguese representatives cooperating closely, in spite of the fact that they were of different parties and socio-economic convictions. Seasoned political observers reported that the unity and closeness of cooperation of the Portuguese representatives was far greater than that observed in the case of the Chinese or Japanese representative for a Repub-

lican compromise proposal, although the majority of the Portuguese representatives are Democrats and supported by the PAC.

While other implications might be read into the elections, it may be said that the general pattern of participation of members of all ethnic groups in all parties and all factions and organizations still holds in Hawaii. No race or ethnic group has set itself wholly in any one category politically, nor does any one faction, party, or organization consist wholly of any one or two racial or ethnic group or groups. But specialization and relatively larger proportions of one race or another are characteristic of several factions and organizations. Probably the best-balanced organization or group with the most nearly representative racial components is the CIO-PAC, though it contains a slight underrepresentation of haoles and an overrepresentation of non-haole races, especially Japanese.

WARTIME PASSAGE

JOHN F. EMBREE

As in the past, it is the aim of this volume of "Social Process" to bring you an article which is not entirely analytical, but which will indicate the personal feelings and opinions of residents of the Territory of Hawaii. Dr. Embree, in "Wartime Passage" has given us an insight into the attitudes of a representative cross-section of the wartime Island population.—Ed.

Just before the end of the war—but before most people realized the end was just around the corner—the writer sailed from San Francisco for Honolulu aboard a Matson freighter. The trip was being made in connection with an assignment to the Pacific Area for the Office of War Information. Since there was little to do on the ten-day voyage, notes were kept on the conversations and attitudes of the 21 passengers and some of the ship's officers. This report is simply a summary of these notes presented for their value in revealing a cross section of attitudes on various matters among a group of people from Hawaii.

The 21 passengers included the following:

Defense workers, most of them returning to the Islands after a paid vacation	13
Medical Doctors	2
Ministers of the Gospel	2
Civil Servants	2
Agricultural Engineer	1
Mechanical Engineer	1

The conversations of the passengers and the attitudes reflected therein are of interest from two points of view:

1. In showing how the passengers without really knowing each other, and actually having quite different social backgrounds and points of view, managed to adjust their personalities sufficiently to get along under uncomfortable conditions for a ten-day period. The fact that we all knew that any relationships temporarily established under these circumstances would carry no obligation beyond the end of the trip undoubtedly made accommodation of conflicting ideologies relatively easy. Also important was the fact that there were no women on board whose presence would undoubtedly have created more complex relationships.

2. As reflecting rather basic American attitudes on international affairs and race relations which no amount of fine public statements can cover up and which, therefore, indicate a fundamental problem of social education on the home front if our efforts at cooperative relations with foreign powers are to have the necessary home front backing to make them effective.

The data presented here corroborate observations of the writer made during conversations with the natives of various

states of the union during the war and from observations as a government worker in Washington of the pressures to which Congressmen and in turn, government agencies must respond. All governments should lead, but a democratic government by definition cannot lead against the set views of the people. And the American people have strong views on many subjects which are conditioned by more complex factors than income or social class. There are, for instance, regional factors, ethnic group factors and occupational factors, some of which are reflected in the conversations of *War-time Passage*.

July 3

We were originally scheduled to sail yesterday, but at the last minute were notified to appear this morning instead. Before boarding the ship, our baggage was inspected by a naval officer for contraband such as firearms, cameras and liquor. Once on board and assigned our bunks in the dog house, we were not allowed off the ship again which made the additional wait especially tedious. Just one more example of the "hurry up and wait" characteristic of wartime activity.

While waiting for the ship to leave I went up on the deck where two men who turned out to be medical doctors were standing talking and watching the ship being loaded. The doctors are both from the Islands, returning after a visit to the mainland. Evidently they did not know one another before, but met in San Francisco while awaiting the sailing. They appear to have made the rounds of San Francisco night life together and to have become good friends. (One of them is a successful Honolulu physician with a lucrative practice. He had his training in New York, was something of an iconoclast in his youth, and on a visit to Honolulu some years ago liked the place so well he had made it his home. He is tall, handsome, and self assured, the American stereotype of the medical practitioner. He is interested in learning to speak Japanese, partly because he has had Japanese patients, and so has with him on the trip Eliseef's Japanese texts. Let us call him City Doctor. The other man is from one of the outer islands where he has practiced many years. He appears older than City Doctor; he is much less sophisticated; and his mind is slower moving. He is heavier set than City Doctor with a thick "peasant" face in contrast to the other's patrician appearance. He has a naive faith in bootstraps education via books which tell one how to apply psychology, how to use words, etc. Let us call him Island Doctor. The two men would hardly have been boon companions if it weren't for their being at loose ends together in San Francisco and finding they had a profession and a

home in common. But it is probable that neither one realized this adventitious nature of their friendship.)

When we finally pulled out, a Russian ship, plainly marked USSR on the sides, also pulled out. Island Doctor said that it irked him to see it sailing off to Russia with supplies. He made this remark after some initial comments on the craziness of the international set up whereby Russian ships could go through Japanese waters unharmed.

We had supper in the ship's officers' dining room. The room is about ten by twenty feet with a long leather cushion covered built-in bench on the forward side, and four fastened down swivel chairs by the opposite side. There is a single chair at each end, one of these being the captain's place.

Since there are more officers and passengers than seats, we eat as space becomes available and sitting over one's meals is not encouraged. But the food is good. For lunch there was bean soup, and a choice of tongue or roast beef; for dinner bean soup and lamb chops or sausage and scrambled eggs plus vegetables, cake and stewed apples. The fare is plain, but substantial, well cooked and very satisfying to appetites already whetted by the smell of the sea.

July 4

While awaiting breakfast this morning, I stopped for a talk with the three men bunked in the hospital. They have more space and are warmer than those of us in the dog house on top deck. They also have lights and better bunks. However, while we froze last night, they will sweat a few nights hence since they are right next to the galley.

The group here consists of Island Doctor, Agricultural Engineer, and Mechanical Engineer. Agricultural Engineer is going out to Honolulu from a career in the Mid-West in agricultural experiment station work and state college teaching. He is a man whose face and manner give the impression of being serious minded, but friendly. With brown wavy hair, a broad swarthy face, and eyes that light up when he smiles, he is similar to the American conception of what a solid, good tempered citizen of a Mid-Western community should be. Mechanical Engineer is of the practical type who looks after engines and boilers. He comes from St. Louis, is married, and has about five children, two of them sons in the service. He was formerly a sailor and bears generous tattooing on his arms and chest as evidence thereof. Since then he has come up a bit in the world and is a little ashamed of his decorations. He is heavy set with a full face. A sense of humor is something he lacks completely and in this respect he rather resembles Island Doctor. It would be difficult to sway his dogmatic opinions by recourse to logic. He is on

his way to a job as engineer for a pineapple company on one of the outer islands.

During the conversation which went on as I stood in the doorway, a number of interesting attitudes emerged. Mechanical Engineer, who has been with a good number of ships and who is an American born of a British father, has a strong prejudice against the English. He told us how dirty their ships are, what terrible slums were to be found in English port cities before the war, and so on. In the course of the conversation, a special resentment against lend-lease came out. He resented the fact that the British set up their own governments in Pacific Islands which we took from the Japanese; he resented the alleged fact that we pay rent for bases in the Pacific Islands under British control; and for the use of air fields which we built in Britain and which are used to protect the British Isles. On the other hand, in response to a remark by one of us, he was willing to grant credit to Britain for holding out against Germany before the United States entered the war.

When the slums were being described, Island Doctor chipped in with a comment to the effect that the Prince of Wales didn't lose the throne because of a commoner wife, but because he spoke out against slums and so the powers-that-be wouldn't let him remain king.

At breakfast, when a radio announcer said the Big Three should stick together, one of the ship's officers made a sarcastic remark to the effect that the big powers in Europe are busy gypping the United States.¹

Twelve of the thirteen defense workers bunk in the larger dog house and eat in the crews' mess hall. The thirteenth man bunks in the smaller dog house with non-defense workers and eats in the officers' dining saloon. The division of sleeping and eating quarters appears to be an arbitrary one of convenience, but it re-enforces a cleavage between two groups. The defense workers tend to hang together for conversation and recreation as do the non-defense workers. The lone defense worker in the small dog house is a young man

¹Two standard prejudices in the United States as of 1945 were those against Britain and Russia. The anti-British attitude is old and cuts across social class lines. The general attitude as found among anti-British Americans, is that Britain is always trying to cheat the United States and that in general she is a hypocritical nation. Many people are actually bitter in their attitudes even though they may never have been to Britain or known an Englishman personally, nor been in a business that competed directly with a British enterprise. The anti-Russian attitude existed before the war and goes back at least to 1919. Despite Russia's important role in defeating Germany, many people, especially business and professional men, have retained strong feelings of fear in regard to Russia. Many of these people regard as inevitable a war between Soviet Russia and the United States.

These two antagonistic attitudes in regard to two of the important countries of the world can easily become fertile ground for propagandists interested in exploiting cleavages in American society, especially if post-war social and economic problems become acute. Communists, for instance, can exploit to their own ends the anti-British sentiment ever latent in the United States, while fascist minded persons can rouse Americans to intolerance through exploiting current fears of Russia and communism.

whose wife is coming out on another ship. He oscillates between the two groups.²

During the day I got into conversation with one of the defense workers of the large dog house, and the subject that seemed to be bothering him was race. He wonders why the "Japs" are not evacuated from Hawaii as well as California. But he admits of some good in Japanese Americans—his real dislike centers on the "Chinaman." "Put a shirt on his back and he thinks he's the boss." He then cited examples of Chinese Navy Yard workers "tattle-tailing" to the boss instead of telling co-workers of an error or suggesting correct ways to do the job.

In my dog house are the following: City Doctor, Hawaiian-Portuguese Priest, Missionary Priest, Customs Official, Defense Worker, and Myself.

City Doctor has already been introduced. The priest is a young man returning home after training in a theological school in the east before going to Mexico. He is a Honolulu product and speaks with a variant of the local dialect. He has acquired some of the more set patterns of middle class morality. City Doctor, for instance, has decided not to shave for the duration of the trip—a fairly sensible decision considering the circumstances. One day the priest commented on this with disapproval saying, "Nobody respects a man who does not respect himself." The misapplication of this borrowed motto, intended for use in raising lost souls from the gutter, is a good index of the priest's level of understanding.

The Missionary was born in one of the British colonies, but is now an American citizen. He has lived and worked in India and Burma.

The customs official is a rather quiet man who keeps pretty much to himself reading books and magazines. His few entries into conversation are of a moderate and rational sort.

The identity of the writer during the trip was that of a government man working in O.W.I. As might be expected, he had a tendency to defend the activities of bureaucrats and also to reiterate occasionally the basic points of the O.W.I. line concerning the virtues of international cooperation, democratic race relations, etc.

July 6

This morning another conversation in the hospital cabin: Mechanical Engineer expressed his interest in education and regret that he couldn't go through college for an engine-

²Defense workers are men from the mainland who work on the various defense projects in Hawaii. As white laborers they are something new in a society where Orientals usually do the manual labor and whites or "haoles" the administrative work.

ering degree. But he intends to see that his two sons do so. He says he realizes the value of education.

This was part of a lengthy discussion on education, educational opportunities in the United States, the I.Q. of people in the slums, and so on.

Agricultural Engineer felt that people in the slums have a lower general I. Q. than the rest of the population. (Those of better I.Q. would get out; those of lower I.Q. drift or stay in.) City Doctor disagreed. I also made some comments on educational opportunities and background and their effects on I.Q. ratings.

Somehow the conversation turned to Europe and City Doctor said that there is no difference between Russian Communism and German Naziism except that in Russia the means of production are nationally owned. In reply to a remark of mine on the Russian treatment of minorities, he countered with the liquidation of the *kulaks* and others who did not string along with the regime. He said the groups persecuted in Russia were different from those in Germany—i.e., economic and ideological, but that the persecution was just as ruthless as the German treatment of the Jews.

I noticed a striking sunset tonight. City Doctor noted it out the dining saloon port hole. Quite independently Mechanical Engineer came in and called our attention to it. It was notable that this sight could arouse similar reactions in all three individuals of markedly different background and attitude. Evidently this conditioned reaction to certain phenomena of nature is general in western culture.

July 7

This morning the defense worker of our dog house and I joined some other defense workers in a poker game. They have been playing off and on for some days now. Mechanical Engineer also joined us. The game with a 25 cent limit was uneventful. One of the defense workers pretty well cleaned up.

After supper an interesting conversation developed in the saloon. The group this evening included the Captain, the Chief Engineer, Mechanical Engineer, Agricultural Engineer, the two doctors, the Customs man and myself.

The Captain is an old German who has been sailing the seas for thirty years or more. He is stocky in build, has clear blue eyes shaded by bushy brows and moves about with the abruptness stocky men often have. He appears generally good natured and to have the respect of his crew. He speaks with a distinct accent and his English is by no means perfect, but he has an amazingly broad education acquired as a boy in Germany. The Chief Engineer is a fat and cheerful soul

who has been around Honolulu for years. He can remember when Honolulu was burned down to cure the plague.

The discussion got off on how to select a doctor or dentist, and the problem of shopping around among M.D.'s (disliked by M.D.'s) vs. having consultation (preferred by M.D.'s). City Doctor took up the defense of the M.D.'s point of view, while Agricultural Engineer and I argued from that of the patient.

July 8

By today it is fairly easy to classify the passengers into three categories.

1. The Defense Workers. They hang together pretty well. One section of the group spends a good deal of its time at poker. They are all housed in one dog house and so have geographical as well as occupational unity (except for the one young man in the small dog house. He associates a good deal of the time with other defense workers, but when in the dog house or in the dining saloon, he mixes with the other groups.)

2. The Intellectuals. These include the two doctors, Agricultural Engineer, the Customs man, and myself. Mechanical Engineer is also of this group, though scarcely an "intellectual." He bunks in the hospital cabin with Island Doctor and Agricultural Engineer. In status and interest he stands midway between the defense worker and the professional engineer. On board he participates in group conversation with the intellectual clique more than with the defense workers or the religious men. This may be partly due to the accident of location in the hospital cabin; but it is also, doubtless, due to conscious efforts to associate with white collar society.

3. The Religious. These consist of the missionary and the priest. They do not really form a group, being of different faiths. They are two individuals who do not fit into either of the first two groups. The missionary spends a good part of each day writing on his thesis on Youth Training. When he comes to meals or joins a group, he always makes a cheery remark to all present in a YMCA leader tone of voice, "Good morning! Well, orange juice today—indeed, I'll try some of that." The rest of the table usually receive these remarks in silence.

The Portuguese-Hawaiian priest has been studying in the East and is going home on vacation. His conversation reflects a rather unoriginal mind stocked with poorly assimilated information.

Today is Sunday and there is to be a service for the crew by the missionary and perhaps also by the young priest. The

defense worker of our dog house says he is going to play no cards today and is going to church.

The climate is changing. Last night we passed the half-way mark to Hawaii and the first flying fish made its appearance, skipping across a couple of low waves in the morning sunlight. We are really in a tropical environment now—balmy atmosphere and broad horizons of limitless almost calm blue sea.

During the morning the intellectual clique gradually gathered about the mid hatches. We were eventually joined by the Captain and the Chief Engineer. Island doctor has been reading a book on applied psychology and he was this morning reading a book on how to read and was engrossed in word lists of "unusual words frequently used." (Never mind the paradox, Island Doctor never noticed it.)

A discussion of attitudes arose—i.e., British-U.S., French-U.S., etc. The Captain diagnosed the trouble in Europe as (a) many diverse languages, (b) many diverse and nationalistic history lessons in school. This is in contrast to the United States where all speak the same tongue and have a more or less common history. He noted that people from all the warring countries of Europe come to the United States and here they live in peace.

In discussing wars, he commented on their complex causes—e.g., the Civil War and the stated issue of slavery, but real causes more complex. He agreed with a comment of mine at this point concerning an industrial North and plantation South and the economic conflict thereof.

Occupational associations are notable on board. The two M.D.'s, though of rather different backgrounds and mentality, consort together a great deal. They sun bathe together and exchange information on books they have read. The Chief Engineer and Mechanical Engineer, who was once an engineer on a ship himself, sometimes talk together for long spells, sitting on a hatch or at the table in the dining saloon. The defense worker in our dog house tends to play cards and association with the other defense workers more than with any of us in the same dog house.

Xeno, a defense worker who seems to be of a higher status category than the others, tends to be isolated from them. He does not join the poker games and spends most of his time out on the cargo deck reading.

An interesting local habit observed by both officers and passengers is to wet and comb their hair before coming to dinner. They all do this even though their attire may be both informal and a bit on the dirty side. (If there is one thing

American mothers insist on it is that their boys wash their hands and comb their hair before coming to the table.)

Tonight, as we gathered about the saloon table, talk turned to the Bible. City Doctor was looking at a modern translation and we came to discuss the merits of the King James version as against those of modern translations. Most of us favored King James, though the young priest, to whom the book belongs and who came in later, favored the modern translation. City Doctor knows large sections of the Bible by heart—he learned them in Sunday School in order to win prizes.

July 9

This morning the news got around that the curfew has been lifted in Honolulu. City Doctor regrets it, but not too seriously. Some of the younger single defense workers are happy about it, although some don't like it. One, evidently a Southerner, predicted a crime wave and spoke darkly of the large number of natives who will now be on the loose. He says there are a lot of "niggers" who will snoop about asking for jobs, but who are not really looking for jobs. He says he has three licensed firearms in his house and they are all loaded. If anyone comes snooping about his house, he is going to shoot him down. If he is dead, then there is only one side of the story to be told.

The objector then went on to tell of something that happened to him in Honolulu. One day when his wife went down to the garage, she found the back cushion up in the front of the car. When he came home from work, she told him about it. He went down to verify her account and found foot prints on the cushion as well. And on looking around, he found a pair of glasses and then a pair of false teeth. Obviously the cushion had been taken out on the floor of the garage and used by a couple.

So he wrote a letter to Miss Fixit in the *Advertiser* and said that he would return the glasses and teeth if the owner would come and wash the car. Then, instead of putting the letter in her column, it appeared the following Sunday on the front page written up in a humorous manner. Then the next Sunday an answer appeared on the front page saying that the glasses and teeth were of no value to the finder and were to the owner and that Von Hamm-Young could clean the car for ten dollars.

So he turned the items over to the editor and, having already cleaned the car himself, he took the ten dollars. But he had hoped to see the owner; the teeth were small and he thought they might belong to a woman.

The Captain of this ship is a remarkable man. Born and bred in Germany, he received a thorough German education in his youth including trigonometry and calculus, many years of French and Latin, and an intensive training in geography. He knew of Maunakea, for instance, long before he ever saw Hawaii. Added to this classical European education of a generation ago which could make a narrow scribe of a man, the Captain has had several decades at sea, mixing with all kinds of men, visiting many foreign lands, serving as mate and finally as captain of a number of ships. He makes a conscientious skipper as evidenced by the care reflected in stories of how he had had to look after live cargo on various occasions—chickens, dogs, even horses.

As I have already stated, the Captain has the respect of his men, a good sense of humor, and a real intelligence about both world affairs and the vagaries of human nature at close quarters. But you would never know all this on first sight or on first hearing. He appears and sounds a rough captain of an old freighter with perhaps a shrewd knowledge of how to run a freighter, but not much else.

Yesterday, during one of our group conversations, talk turned to the need for a common name for people of the United States. Americans is not satisfactory since it applies to all of North and South American and people of other countries in this hemisphere resent its use by the people of the United States. Columbian wouldn't do even if it had currency because of Colombia in South America. Then it was noted that Yank is coming into more general use, at least abroad, as a term for people of this country; but the Captain pointed out that it really only applied to Northeast United States. Then Mechanical Engineer gave an incident from New Orleans where he was talking to a fellow worker on some repair job who asked, "Why don't they give the South some credit for winning this war? We have soldiers fighting in France just as much as they do in the North." This complaint puzzled Mechanical Engineer and he inquired further and the other man then gave as evidence a newspaper account which spoke of the Yanks doing this and the Yanks doing that, but never mentioned the rest of the people in the country. So, while to a foreigner and even to a Northerner in the United States, Yank means an American, to many people in the South, it means a "damn Yankee from the North" and nothing more.

I'd been wondering if Mechanical Engineer's extensive tattooing would cause any comment. It came today after lunch when the Chief Engineer, who has no tattooing, remarked on it. It seems Mechanical Engineer got it when he went to

sea as a young man of 15 or 16. He has had no additional tattooing since, and he has told his boys in no uncertain terms not to come home with any. He says it is sometimes embarrassing, and he would not go swimming at Waikiki, for instance.

The Chief Engineer remarked that Wacs and Nurses, etc., are getting tattooed now, but mostly in a small way, initials, and so on.

The second Engineer sitting by, a rather brow-beaten looking little man, has a few modest stars and figures tattooed on his arm. He nodded assent to Mechanical Engineer's comment of getting tattooed overseas in order to maintain one's prestige among the other sailors, and felt also that the regret comes considerably later.

July 10

This morning the Captain, talking with me in following up a breakfast table conversation on Solomon, Sheba and their descendant, "the Jumping Lion of Judah" in Ethiopia, remarked on slavery in that country, dictatorships in Central and South America, and why do we call them all democracies? My answer was that it was done simply because they are allies. "Yah, I suppose we must butter them up a bit." Then he veered to Russia and its lack of democracy, commented on shipping Poles to Siberia, concentration camps, and the shooting of dissenters. He has talked with Soviet seamen and officers in various ports and learned a good deal about the iron discipline maintained over the behavior of their crews and officers in foreign ports. He did not approve of all this iron rule. "They think two human beings are made like two Ford cars; they aren't."¹

There are a number of regular navy officers on board and they form quite a distinct group—or rather type—since they have not formed themselves into a social group. A Mormon University teacher is one of them. He is a Lt. j.g.; the radio man is another, and there are one or two others. They usually wear khaki shirts open at the neck, whereas other officers are usually to be seen in white undershirts. They are all quite young, probably in their twenties. Except for the

¹Recalling Island Doctor's comment on the Russian ship leaving San Francisco and his "instinctive" reaction of antagonism as compared with the Captain's objections to Russia, Island Doctor and in a rather similar manner Mechanical Engineer, just don't like Russia. They have a prejudice against it without knowing too much about it. The Captain, on the other hand, dislikes not so much Russia as the existing conditions of the country, and the fallacy of calling it democratic. He prefers the United States to such a country. His dislike of Russian methods is based in part on first hand observation of social conditions on Soviet ships and conversations with officers, one of whom from the Baltic states spoke German and so could exchange information more freely. While one could say Island Doctor and the Captain are both alike in disliking Russia, actually they are not alike at all and if it came to practical dealings with Russians, the Captain could act more intelligently and without blind prejudice, whereas Island Doctor would either be blinded by his prejudice or be completely duped by the pleasant personality of the individual with whom he was negotiating—in either event he would make a mess of things.

Mormon Professor, one suspects a touch of social and intellectual snobbishness among them, which is quite unwarranted, since I am certain some of the regular ship's officers outrank them in both brains and experience.

July 11

There is a good deal of rivalry between the navy and the regular ship's officers, or rather a certain mutual disdain which, combined with some of the divided authority inherent in the situation, can lead to serious friction.

The navy gunnery officer and his crew are on board for the protection of the ship, but the ship's captain, not a navy man, and his non-navy crew are responsible for navigating and running the ship. One navy officer recently tried to take his function too literally, testing drinking water, insisting on nosing into the engine room, and as a last straw so far as the captain was concerned, setting his crew to chipping paint off the gun mounts on Christmas Day. The Chief Engineer finally ordered the navy man to keep out of the engine room; the Captain ordered the men off the bridge on Christmas and then took the case to his superior officer in Hawaii and finally to still higher authority there and got rid of the man and his whole crew. This seems to be a case of a young newly commissioned officer taking his job too literally and aggravating all the ship's regular officers, who happened to be older, more experienced men.

The ship's officers, at least the Captain and the Chief Engineer, speak well of the present gunnery officer. But a chronic resentment of the Navy keeps cropping up in their conversation and stories of experiences in convoys, etc., most of which have as a moral the fact that the Navy doesn't know what it is doing half the time.

The slightly-built defense worker who happens to be in our dog house seems to be a young man whose family responsibilities have brought to renewed life a conscience developed in his youth. During the first few days of the trip, he was usually with other defense workers and played a good deal of poker. On Sunday he said he was going to go to church and not play poker. I haven't seen him in a game since. This may be partly due to some losses, or partly due to being in a cabin with two religious men, or it may be because he has reluctantly left his wife behind on the coast. She had recently recovered from a serious illness. Natural concern about her has perhaps been heightened by the lurid talk of the defense worker group about what happens to women left alone in Hawaii.

City Doctor is an interesting example of a professional man whose early idealism and iconoclasm have been partially covered over by the practical exigencies of life as a

successful private physician. As an M.D. and a graduate of an eastern college and evidently of some old family, he clings tenaciously to the symbols of private property (land) and individual enterprise. "They are part of human nature;" "They go far back in history," etc. Naturally he resents government controls and is now especially bitter about the OPA, mostly because of troubles in getting gas coupons.

Yet he is very iconoclastic about many other things. As an intern at X----hospital he took an interest in nurses' woes and advised them to organize in order to better their position.

He does not think our boys are fighting and dying for democracy—in fact, that is why they want to get them young, "when they'll believe all that stuff." He is willing to grant that brains and ability are to be found in every social and racial group and that circumstances can hamper opportunity through lack of education, but he also holds the opinion that those who have money deserve it and should pass it on to their children. (In this last Mechanical Engineer heartily agrees. "I wouldn't go on working if I didn't think I could leave what I make to my children." But Mechanical Engineer is a very orthodox man in most of his other beliefs also). Except in the field of medicine, his general thinking is more or less the iconoclasm of H.L. Mencken in the early *Mercury days*.

4:45 p.m.

"The best laid plans o mice and men . . ."

The Captain has just received a message to go to Kahului, Maui, instead of Honolulu, probably because Honolulu Harbor is too full. This has been a trip of delays—leave a day later than scheduled, slow down to a snail's pace three days out, and now—dock at Kahului! We speculate as to what next and whether or not we can hop a plane to Honolulu.

July 12

We landed at 7 a.m., the Captain making a perfect landing. The pier was very quiet, there being only a couple of sailors on guard and four men around who quietly put hawsers on cleats. One of the defense workers observed, if this were a Navy ship, there would be 100's of sailors on hand, not just a few men, and Japs at that! Another wanted to know the whereabouts of the American Consul (he'd been much in China) and when I reminded him that this was American territory, he snapped, "You'd never know it." (He is the same man who keeps three firearms and will shoot on sight.)

The pier remained rather quiet for about half or three quarters of an hour. Then, in the middle of breakfast, Mr. W. arrived. Everyone turned on him since he is Matson

representative and general big shot in Kahului. All this we had previously learned from the Captain, including the way he used to run the harbor with an iron hand, but that now with unions and Army and Navy, he is a broken man and seldom comes down to the pier except on necessary official business.

The two M.D.'s, a defense worker who has spent eight years on Maui and Oahu, and myself went down on the dock to investigate airplane transportation. Mr. W. a florid gentleman, acted with noblesse oblige, giving us the use of a car and driver to go to the airfield. The flight clerk was somewhat non-plussed at the prospect of 15 or 20 passengers, and in response to an inquiry about chartering a plane said that that could not be done without permission from Washington. But he did look over his passenger lists and decided he could squeeze us in at the rate of four passengers a day. I suspect that he picked the number four simply because there were four of us at the rail. At any rate, the next move was to get priorities from a major in Wailuku, which we did. He simply gave us all 4's which seemed to be adequate— thence to Hawaiian Airlines ticket office in Grand Hotel where a beautiful girl of Hawaiian mixture took care of us, putting us all on the 5:05 to Honolulu. To my request for an earlier plane in order to get in before the end of a business day she smiled and remarked, "Doesn't another business day begin tomorrow?"

PROBLEMS OF DEFENSE WORKERS IN POST-WAR HAWAII

CHRISTINA LAM

Shortly after Victory Day in Europe, and the beginnings of the end of the war, extensive recruiting of war workers for the numerous defense projects in Hawaii began to slump steadily. For those workers already under contract and working on projects, the enthusiasm common to the first days of the war was missing. The long hours of work, with the additional compensation of overtime, resulting in the large, over proportioned weekly checks, were not so characteristic in the year 1945.

The war workers brought in by the army, navy, and private defense companies became increasingly dissatisfied. Their morale was certainly not at the high level of the early war years. Their dissatisfaction with working conditions became more acute and other factors such as dislike of the climate, inability to adjust to the fast tempo of war work, homesickness for the home town and friends, general dislike and unsuitability to the work to which they were assigned, and general inability to adjust to life away from the mainland and familiar surroundings, assumed greater significance than before.

One recourse for the dissatisfied war worker, if he had enough money saved, was to break his contract and return home. Other war workers sought medical discharges, in which instances, their return passage to the point of recruitment was paid for by the employer.

Frequently, however, the war workers were not considered for medical discharges on the basis of their having incurred their illnesses prior to the assumption of the jobs, (although they had all been required to pass physical examinations before being hired), or on the basis that they were "gold-bricking" and were not ill enough to be returned to the mainland at government or company expense.

The problem of keeping the war workers happy and of utilizing their proficiencies to the utmost was greatest on the island of Oahu where most of the workers were concentrated. The Pearl Harbor Navy Yard, the several naval air stations, and the U. S. Engineers were among the government agencies hiring the greatest number of workers, while the Bryne Organization was the largest private contracting company engaged in defense work in the islands.

While the army was able to solve the problem of lowered morale and dissatisfaction among their own employees fairly satisfactorily, the navy and the private companies were not

nearly as successful in their employee relations. This was probably due to the greater number and higher turnover of employees under their jurisdiction, the heterogeneous composition of their workers, the mass recruitment of workers, and the lack of care in sifting out applicants with undesirable and irresponsible traits.

The inability of the navy and the private companies to cope with personnel problems and difficulties resulted in a large proportion of men dishonorably discharged... that is, they were released with prejudice for such reasons as excessive absenteeism, or absence without authority, inefficiency, insubordination, unsatisfactory performance, emotional instability, and personal reasons.

If the war workers were released with prejudice, they became ineligible for any of the benefits granted by the government and the private companies for satisfactory completion of their contracts. Usually this meant return passage paid back to the mainland, or if their contracts were renewed, also return passage back to Hawaii after a vacation.

None of the private contracting companies had arrangements or plans for setting up welfare funds where their workers could go for temporary assistance or loans to meet emergencies such as illness, payment of large doctor and dentist bills, lack of funds until pay day (the war workers usually sent most of their money home to their families), or unusual expenses incurred due to emergencies existing in the worker's family situation at home.

At the Pearl Harbor Navy Yard, where there were approximately 18,000 workers in 1945, four separate welfare funds existed for the use of war workers in good standing, on a loan basis. These were:

1. *Shop fund*, loaned at the discretion of the shop welfare committee and the shop master. Although unlimited as to the amount of the loan, its use was limited only to illness and personal liabilities.
2. *Navy Yard Welfare fund*, loaned at the discretion of the navy yard social worker. This fund was established to cover short periods of unemployment due to illness and could be borrowed up to a maximum of \$50 for any valid reason covering clothing needs, medical and dental bills, etc. (Pearl Harbor Navy Yard workers are allowed three days sick leave a month plus two and a half days annual leave a month. Sick leave in excess of the authorized number of days, or sick leave taken without authorization, resulted in the loss of wages.)

3. *Commandant fund*, loaned at the discretion of the commandant. This fund provide for indigent persons awaiting transportation to the mainland. Only indigent persons who had received medical discharges from the navy were eligible to borrow from this fund to cover expenses for food and rent while awaiting transportation paid for by the navy.
4. *CHA-5 fund*, loaned at the discretion of the navy housing officer. This covered only small loans up to a maximum of \$20 made to workers until they received their pay checks. It could be used only for rent and clothing, however.

The navy welfare funds were derived from a 25¢ deduction per pay period per man, and from the sale of soft drinks and cigarettes in war workers clubs. War workers borrowing from these funds were more or less forced to repay the loans promptly and in full, as unpaid bills borrowed from these funds were generally counted against the worker when he was being considered for promotion. Alcoholic workers were never considered for loans.

Civilian war workers whose work records were not considered adequate or satisfactory, or whose gripes and dissatisfaction over working or living conditions could not be adjusted by the employers were therefore left stranded without any resources when they were released with prejudice or when they voluntarily quit their jobs.

Irresponsible, chronically ill, alcoholic, and otherwise undesirable war workers became therefore a charge on the community, and the responsibility of the Department of Public Welfare, which administered a federal program designed to assist the stranded workers in Hawaii and on the mainland.

The Social Security Board of the Federal Security Agency authorized the use of federal funds earmarked as Civilian War Assistance to assist in returning stranded war workers to the mainland on the basis of the danger of enemy attack. Under the provisions of the Civilian War Assistance program, any stranded war worker could be returned to the mainland, and his expenses overland were met by the proper public welfare agency at the port of entry. Up to October 20, 1945, the federal government reimbursed all agencies for expenses incurred in returning war workers to their states of legal residence.

In the period between January 1, 1945 to September 15, 1945, 277 war workers applied at the Department of Public Welfare in Honolulu for assistance with food, lodging, medical care, and transportation to the mainland.

An average of \$106.15 was expended for each of the 222 war workers who met the eligibility requirements for financial assistance, making a total expenditure of \$23,565.00 over a period of nine and a half months.

In a study, limited to the above period, made by the Department of Public Welfare as to the type of war worker applying for financial assistance, and the reasons and nature of their applications for aid, the findings discussed in this article were reported.

Personal History of Applicants. The largest group of men (34.2%) was in the 40 to 49 year age group, while 9.5% were between the ages of 30-39. Less than one fourth of the war workers (24.9%) were between the ages of 20-29.

Roughly 45% of the applicants were married, with the largest number of these married men (25%) possessing a family of two children. Equally as large a group of the married men (23%) had no children while 21% had a small family with one child. The average war worker, therefore, in need of financial assistance, was married, between 40 to 49 years of age, and had a family consisting of two children.

Despite the fact that a large number of Negro war workers were brought into the territory by the navy, only a small percentage (1.8%) of the men applying at the Department of Public Welfare for assistance were Negroes.

The assisted civilian war workers came from 42 states in the union, with California, New York, and Pennsylvania contributing 14.7%, 8%, and 7% respectively. The proximity of California to Hawaii and the existence of large shipyards in California utilizing the same type of workers needed in Hawaii were probably the reasons for the large number of war workers coming from California. An interesting observation is that of the six states from which there were no war workers applying for financial assistance, three were the sparsely settled states of Arizona, North Dakota, and Wyoming, and three were New England states, Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont.

One hundred and seventy-five out of 277 war workers had been in the Territory six months or less when they applied for assistance in returning to the mainland. The most critical periods for the war workers seemed to be at the third and sixth months after their arrival in the Islands. Thirteen percent of the war workers sought the help of the Department of Public Welfare only three months after they started to work in the Islands, with the next largest group having been here only six months at the time of their application. Findings, therefore, seem to indicate that once a war worker had

been on the job six months, his adjustment to his job and Hawaii became easier.

Employment History. More than sixty percent of the war workers assisted by the Department of Public Welfare with food, lodging, medical care, and transportation to the mainland, had been recruited by the navy, 23% by private contracting companies, primarily operating under navy contracts and 14% by the army. A further breakdown shows that 55.6% had been employed at Pearl Harbor Navy Yard, with the next largest groups being employees of the Bryne Organization, a navy contractor, (19.1%) and the USED (11.1%).

An interesting aspect to the employment picture is the fact that almost one fourth of the war workers assisted by the Department of Public Welfare had been earning a high wage of \$1.52 per hour. (This did not include the time and one half paid on the basic hourly rate after the first 40 hours in the work week.) One third of the war workers were paid high wages ranging from \$1.50 per hour to the high of \$1.67 per hour. Only one fifth of the men were paid wages below \$1.00 per hour.

The war workers seeking financial assistance from the Department of Public Welfare had either been discharged from their jobs, released without prejudice, or voluntarily separated.

The majority of the men had been discharged or released with prejudice from the employment of the agencies recruiting them; a smaller group voluntarily quit, and a very few were released without prejudice.

A frequent cause—in fact, the cause for two thirds of the discharges—was absenteeism, phrased by the employers as “absence without authority” or “excessive absences”. Some of these discharges for absenteeism resulted after absences of only three to four consecutive days, or after six or seven absences occurring spottily here and there throughout a span of three or four months. These absences were due largely to illnesses ranging from “just not feeling well” to acute cases of sinus or arthritis, but the men were unable to verify their illnesses by the usual procedure of obtaining a doctor's certificate. In the case of the workers from Pearl Harbor Navy Yard, it was too cumbersome for the men to travel the long distance to town to obtain medical certificates or simple treatments which they had not wanted in the beginning from the naval dispensary.

Reasons which the men themselves gave for not reporting to work generally centered on the condition of their health, or on their general inability to make adequate adjustments to the climate and living conditions of Hawaii.

It is to be pointed out that the reasons given by the men for their absenteeism may be slightly colored and may represent only one side of the picture, as the case workers in the Department referred to the doctors only those men for whom physical examinations seemed mandatory.

The type of illnesses reported by the men as contributory to their absences from work can be easily classified into mental and physical ailments. One was fearful and apprehensive, one had hallucinations, another constantly heard voices. Some were "emotionally upset", mostly because of crowded and unsatisfactory camp and living conditions. Some suffered from "pure nervousness" due largely to homesickness or a dislike for Hawaii. Some had been diagnosed by private doctors as being psychoneurotic.

The complaints of physical illness varied widely. Many stayed away from work because of sinus; chronic alcoholism kept some away; others just "did not feel well enough to work;" some had epilepsy; others had tuberculosis in some form or other; some did not like the climate, or met with automobile accidents or accidents incurred on the job; neuritis, hypertension, backaches and appendicitis claimed four workers each; stomach trouble, ulcers, heart trouble, and asthma kept some workers away from their jobs.

One or two cases each were reported of almost every disability or illness found in the books: dizzy spells, fractured skull, hip pains, bronchitis, bad eyes, ear trouble, rheumatism, rib fracture, alcoholic psychosis, catarrhal fever, arteriosclerosis, broken leg, headaches, and rheumatic fever; psychosis, nervous disorders, deaf mute, dermatophytosis, pains in the arm, varicose veins, dengue fever, cyclophonia, high blood pressure, impetigo, contusion of chest, pyorrhea, glomerulonephritis, pleurisy, chronic media, fungus growth, strabismus of right eye, herniated disc, intestinal flu, gonorrhea, malnourishment, Parkinson's syndrome, toxic thyroid, and flu.

Other causes for discharges were falsification of records, unsatisfactory conduct, drunkenness on the job, refusal to work, insubordination, emotional instability, and other personal reasons.

About one fifth (18.7 per cent) of the war workers assisted by the Department were men who voluntarily left their jobs for varied and assorted reasons. Perhaps the greatest cause for these separations was the dissatisfaction over the 40 hour week and the resultant decrease in wages.¹ Exactly five per cent felt that they could not maintain two households on the wages derived from only forty hours of work, and since at the time of their leaving, the employers had not yet

¹A large percentage came to Hawaii on promises of big wages by over-zealous recruiters.

arranged a plan of providing transportation to those released for curtailment of activities or reduction of staff, they felt it more expedient to quit while they could.

Another group left their jobs as they did not feel well enough to work, or because some sort of physical illness kept them from performing their jobs well. Their complaints, similar in nature to those of the men discharged for absenteeism, included sinus, neuritis, hernia, asthma, stomach trouble, arthritis, high blood pressure, and psychoneurosis. These particular men had been refused medical discharges by their employers on the basis that they were not ill enough to warrant medical discharges.

Dissatisfaction over poor personnel practices and working conditions caused some workers to leave their jobs. Other workers, also discontented with their jobs, left to seek better employment elsewhere, or employment better suited to their capabilities. An interesting example of this discontentment is the case of one of the two women the Department aided with transportation home. Miss F., age 46, Wisconsinite, employed at Pearl Harbor as a storekeeper, voluntarily left as she was considerably upset over having to move large equipment besides being made to do work she considered too heavy for her. Her request to be transferred to something more suited to her ability and strength was ignored.

A great variety of additional reasons were offered for quitting work. Frequently, these were probably good reasons rather than the real reasons. Some quit when their employers would not grant them releases because of alleged family emergencies. Others claimed they were inadequately trained for their jobs. Frequently individuals quit because they did not like and could not agree with their foreman. One individual had ulcer and could not stand the mediocrity of camp food. There were men who could not stand life in the barracks. Others object to the dust, the heat, the climate; the fact that they did not have enough to do. A member of the Merchant Marine quit because his ship was going to the Philippines and he didn't like the trip. Several individuals quit because they were suffering from physical ailments and their employer refused to give them a medical discharge.

Only nine percent of those applying for assistance at the Department of Public Welfare had been given clear releases from their jobs. This did not mean, however, that they were entitled to transportation privileges back to their homes for although their work records were clear, they did not have the required number of months to "fulfill" their contracts. Of those men released honorably, most were given releases on the grounds that they were needed at home for family emergencies, such as the death or illness of a member of the

family. The family emergency was first verified by the Home Service Department of the American Red Cross before the men were released. Though there existed the revolving welfare funds at the Navy Yard, it did not seem to provide transportation for cases of this nature.

Less than one percent of the men, four men in number, had completely fulfilled their contracts and were entitled to the full benefits thereof. These men were aided by the Department of Public Welfare for room and board for a period of about a week as they were in the process of finding new jobs in the community, and wished to remain in the Islands.

Reasons for Application. Sixty-seven percent of the men requested the Department of Public Welfare to pay their transportation back to the mainland, with the next largest group (16.7%) seeking assistance with room and board while awaiting changes of jobs. Thirteen percent of the men needed medical care and hospitalization.

Outside of the usual requests for assistance with transportation, food, shelter, and medical care, there were several requests for services, for instance, that of a Negro, serving a year's sentence for possessing a deadly weapon, who wanted the Department to write an "official" letter to his family in Alabama to inform them that he would be unable to support them. And there was a man, assisted by us for a week's room and board, who after returning to his home in Kentucky, wanted us to check up on a refund for a pair of shoes he had bought here for his wife. Other similar requests for services were that of a 19-year-old youth, jailed for petty larceny, who sent a friend to ask if we could pay his bail, and that of a laborer, discharged from one job for absenteeism, who wanted the Department of Public Welfare to pay his National Maritime Union dues of \$17.50 in order that he might find employment on a ship.

Services rendered by the Department of Public Welfare usually consisted of referrals to community resources which had not been fully utilized by the war workers. For instance, when the Department of Public Welfare referred the war workers back to their employers, with specific suggestions for helping them, many of their problems were resolved. This was true in 16 percent of the 277 men applying for assistance. A characteristic situation of this type is the case of Mr. David R., 44 years of age, a veteran of World War II, and a truck driver at Pearl Harbor. He quit his job and applied at the Department of Public Welfare for assistance in returning to the mainland. He had not been able to convince the navy authorities to give him a medical discharge despite the fact that he had a statement from a private doctor that he was psychoneurotic. His diagnosis read

"arthritis, anorexia, insomnia, nervousness" and the private doctor strongly recommended immediate return to the mainland. After the man had been referred for a physical examination by the Department, a letter was sent to the navy officials reporting the findings of this doctor and recommending that he be given a medical discharge. The war worker was advised that were he not successful in obtaining a medical discharge he was to return to our Department. Our effort was apparently successful as Mr. R. did not return for further services.

In typical cases such as the following, satisfactory adjustment was obtained by referring this individual back to his employer: A 24-year-old chap who wanted to return home to Ohio before his imminent induction; a 38-year-old Navy Yard painter who had been refused a medical discharge despite the word of his supervisor and doctor that he was completely disabled; a Pennsylvanian under the care of the Bureau of Mental Hygiene for emotional instability due to acute alcoholism; a disabled workman who was eligible for workman's compensation as he had been injured on the job.

Referral to the United States Employment Service of those men who seemed able and fit to work was effective as 96 percent of the men referred there for job placements were able to obtain work of some sort to tide them over. (Most of these men were looking for temporary jobs just to earn enough money for passage home.) It is to be pointed out that the majority of workers were skilled laborers and that temporary vacancies existed largely in the laboring or semi-skilled occupational classes. Since most permanent employers were reluctant to hire skilled workers on a temporary basis because of the length of time necessary to train them, some of these workers had to take jobs which were not occupationally suited to their training and experience. Illustrative examples are the cases of a Pearl Harbor Navy Yard rigger, last paid \$1.42 an hour, who took a job as a janitor in a welding company; a sailor who became a cook's helper in a cafeteria; a shipfitter, last employed at \$1.61 an hour, who began work in a bicycle shop as a general helper at \$1.00 an hour; and a truck dispatcher who became a clothing salesman in a local department store.

Services rendered to the war workers included innumerable letters written to the San Francisco Department of Public Welfare requesting that assistance with railway fares be granted the bearers, referral to clinics and hospitals, to the Employment Service, Mental Hygiene Clinic, Catholic Charities, United Seamen's Service, Industrial Compensation, the American Red Cross, and the Navy Housing Welfare Fund.

Unusual types of services given to the war workers included wiring and writing families on the mainland to send money, 415 contacts with landlords to arrange housing accommodations, 492 letters arranging credit at local restaurants, arranging for baggage transfer to the ships, and sometimes bailing the war workers out of jail just in time to take them aboard ship.

The Nature of Assistance Granted. The following table illustrates the breakdown of financial assistance granted to war workers:

TOTAL	\$23,565.31
Transportation to the mainland.....	\$11,731.40
Room and Board	646.25
Food	574.07
Housing	571.51
Medical Care	24.00
Hospitalization	9,714.10
Clothing	150.42
Personal incidentals	153.56

Forty-two percent of the authorizations for medical care and hospitalization involved illnesses of a mental nature, while 13.9% involved accidents (4 automobile, 1 fighting). There were 14 cases (38.8%) who were hospitalized for more than 30 days.

Summary. The average war worker who walked into the Department of Public Welfare for financial assistance in 1945 had been an employee of the navy, was between 40 to 49, married, with a family of two children. He was unable to adjust to his job, and to his working and living conditions; he had various physical and mental illnesses which kept him from performing adequately on the job; he was unable to save enough money to take care of emergencies; and he had been in Honolulu about three months when he applied for financial assistance.

He was assisted by the Department of Public Welfare on an average of \$69.25 for transportation, \$26.33 for food, \$28.27 for housing, \$9.20 for medical care, \$196.46 for hospitalization, and \$5.00 for clothing.

Generally he was the type of worker whom the employer did not find desirable, but he was in need of services which the Department of Public Welfare had to offer.

A SUMMARY OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

E. LEIGH STEVENS

Long before bombs fell on Oahu on December 7, 1941, Hawaii had been a busy center of defense work and the outbreak of war only intensified activities. First to face the impact of war, it immediately became a wartime base for maintenance, supply, and repair; a center of jungle training for troops preparing to move to forward areas; and a rest and recreational center for those returned after combat. The Island was the last community to revert back to peacetime operations. Army and Navy installations have concluded their plans for normal operations with the result that some installations and operations have been discontinued and personnel either released or transferred to other departments. The number of civilian personnel has declined from 55,000 to 35,000 since VJ Day, with further reductions being contemplated by July 1.

From 1940 to 1947 Oahu's civilian population increased 51 per cent, from 229,000 to 358,000. Many of the workers employed by the Army and Navy were recruited on the Mainland and approximately 12,000 have returned to their homes on the Mainland. Others have been sent to the forward areas, such as, Guam, Saipan and the Marianas to complete construction of many defense projects.

Postwar planning in a broad manner has been headed by the Postwar Planning Committee of the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce, which was organized about the middle of 1943 and made its final report on September 14, 1945.

This Committee feels that Hawaii's future possibilities rest on four economic legs: Industrialized agriculture, the size of the armed forces retained here, the tourist business, and the fishing industry. Dependent for prosperity on these factors are construction, retailing and wholesaling, finance, transportation, and a vast array of other enterprises.

The major conclusion of the Committee is that Hawaii may expect more than enough work for the labor force for several years. There is such a tremendous backlog of private construction of homes, expansion of business enterprises and modernization of services that it will require three years to catch up on work long deferred. A partial list of private construction planned for the next three years has been compiled by the Committee. It totals \$113,150,000, and is considered near capacity for local contractors with their present facilities. In addition, there are \$55,000,000 worth of public

projects listed as highly essential, and about \$163,000,000 worth of public projects which can be undertaken later.

This program has been delayed due to shortage of materials and labor difficulties. One of the major setbacks was the West Coast shipping strike which paralyzed the normal business operations. Also, the sugar strike affected materially the economic conditions of the Island. If we have no more major disputes between management and labor, this construction program should be well underway within the next six months.

Studies indicate that individuals are buying a vast number of automobiles, new household appliances, and other consumer goods products as they become available. This augurs well for the wholesale and retail trade.

In the field of civic improvement, there is also need for harbor and airport developments, slum clearance, off-street parking facilities, and numerous other community projects which will require much manpower.

The chief function of the Employment Service in this program is to furnish information on the labor market and to channel labor to projects as they reach the production stage.

Immediately following Japan's surrender, the Honolulu USES swung into peacetime operations. Wide publicity was given to the lifting of manpower controls and immediate steps were taken to revise job orders to a peacetime basis. Employers were asked to: (1) Cancel job orders on file which they did not intend to fill in the light of changed conditions; (2) Revise any job order already on file where there was a change in working hours, overtime pay, or qualifications of workers; (3) File requests for new workers, especially for those who could not be hired previously because of priorities or ceiling; and (4) Notify the USES of any contemplated lay-off of workers.

On November 16, 1946 the United States Employment Service in Hawaii was transferred to the Territorial Department of Labor and Industrial Relations under Mr. L. Q. McComas but will continue to be affiliated with the federal United States Employment Service. The same standards and offices will be maintained with very little change in personnel.

The Territory of Hawaii Employment Service has adopted the nation-wide Six-Point Program as its goal. Geared to the needs of job seekers, employers, and the community, the Six-Point Program provides job placement services for veterans and all other job seekers in all the different skills in industry, trades, and services. It provides employment counseling as needed. It also supplies labor market information to job seekers, employers, and the public; personnel services to employers; and cooperates with civic groups and labor or-

ganizations in community employment and vocational planning.

The Territory of Hawaii Employment Service will continue to accelerate the registration of available workers and to strive aggressively to have employers list their requirements with it so that workers will experience little or no delay in being referred to jobs.

SPEECH, PREJUDICE, AND THE SCHOOL IN HAWAII

BERNHARD HORMANN

For some years there has been strong feeling on the part of a large segment of the population in Hawaii that the English standard schools maintained by the Department of Public Instruction since the middle 1920's, were undemocratic in that they tended to encourage race and class prejudice. This feeling led to much public discussion and finally crystallized in organized pressure for the abolition of the standard schools. Identical resolutions passed in recent conventions of the Hawaii Education Association and the Hawaii Congress of the Parent-Teachers' Association called for the abolition grade by grade over the next twelve years of the English standard system. At the present writing a bill incorporating the recommendation has been passed by the 1947 legislature.

The abolition of the dual standard school system may work in the direction of reducing race and class antagonisms and building community solidarity. That it will not necessarily do this is indicated by observations at the University of Hawaii, where there has been no classification of students, which might be interpreted racially, but where strong racial feelings are known to exist and occasionally come close to the surface.

Data collected by our sociology department¹ bear out the fact that the English standard school has become a symbol to a large segment of the non-Haole population of Haole "snobbishness." While there is every evidence that the policy of maintaining the dual standard system was never deliberately administered in any way to justify this feeling on the part of the non-Haoles and in fact, much evidence to the contrary as witness the fact that the proportion of non-Haoles in the English standard schools was climbing steadily, it is nevertheless true that the feeling of resentment against the standard schools has continued. The doing away with the English standard schools will no doubt relieve one basis for tension, but the public school administration and the public should, nevertheless, be ever watchful lest the new situation generate new tensions.

It is unfortunate that we do not have a larger number of systematic studies on race and class prejudice in schools of various types in Hawaii, the University, the English standard schools at various levels, and in urban and rural districts, the non-standard public schools, Catholic schools, other private schools, such as Punahou and Hanalei. Such studies

¹See *What People in Hawaii are Saying and Doing*, War Research Laboratory, University of Hawaii, May 8, 1946, Report No. 9, "The English Standard School."

could be a guide to the Department of Public Instruction at the present time.

Just as our area of ignorance in regard to the relation between different types of school situations and prejudice is still great, so also do we know relatively little about the relation between language behavior and other social behavior. There are in Hawaii a number of dogmatically held opinions which can bear a little sociological scrutiny. Since these opinions, too, may work themselves out in policy,² and since with or without the dual standard school system the problem of spreading the use of standard English is a real one, the question involved should be carefully considered.

Our discussion will center around three common assumptions, namely, that pidgin English is a desecration of the English language, that our aim is to root out pidgin and dialectal English of whatever type, and that bilingualism is a deterrent to the development of emotionally healthy and linguistically adequate adults.

1. Is pidgin English a desecration of standard English?

Reinecke³ has clearly brought out that the English now spoken by large numbers of our younger adults and children has developed into a far richer and more adequate means of communication than the original plantation pidgin English. In this respect, it is like the "Creole" dialects of French, Spanish, and Portuguese which have grown up in the colonies.

By every test local speech should be looked at as a dialect. It is an accepted medium of expression for a large population group. It has developed a body of accepted speech practices relating to pronunciations, sentence structure, grammar, vocabulary, and idiom. The practices are learned by Hawaiian children in the same manner as children all over the world learn their mother tongue.

There may be honest disagreement about the esthetic value of the local dialect. To many malihinis and to many teachers of English it is an unmusical gibberish, a crude jargon. Certainly to others it is at least picturesque and this has been

²The pressure resulting from these doctrinaire views will be one of the continuing sources of tension mentioned above. It is perhaps significant that to many persons coming from the mainland sub-standard English is a symbol. Antagonism to a sub-standard English is sometimes a way of expressing a more fundamental antagonism—to the people who speak this sub-standard English and from "contamination" with whom they want their children to be protected.

On the other hand, the intense concern with speech standards has meant, on the part of some persons a concern with "standards" in general. School authorities seem to be divided in their views on the desirability of grouping children "homogeneously" by interests, abilities, and experience. Unless the new single standard classes are divided, in some such way, these parents, who are found in all racial groups, will no doubt be heard from.

³John F. Reinecke, "Pidgin English in Hawaii: A Local Study in the Sociology of Language," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIII (1938), pp. 778-789. See also Reinecke and Aiko Tokimasa, "The English Dialect of Hawaii," *American Speech*, IX (1934), pp. 48-58 and 122-130.

effectively capitalized upon by writers of advertisement, song writers, and so on.

The important point, however, is that the local speech is the medium of communication of a large part of our population. It is the language in use in the family circle, over the neighborhood hedge, on the playground, among groups of friends, and in work gangs. It is thus the language for the expression of human warmth and sentiment. The language which a person learns on his mother's knee and with his playmates is precious to him even though it may be ugly to others.

The local dialect has also been criticized as an inadequate mode of communication. For the pursuit of intellectual and scientific interest it is no doubt inadequate. For purposes of travel outside Hawaii and of communication with persons living elsewhere it is also of course inadequate. But for family and neighborly living in Hawaii it is at this time proving adequate for a large segment of the population.

2. Is our aim to root out pidgin and dialectal English of whatever type? We can agree that our major aim is to spread as rapidly as possible the use of standard English. The rooting out of pidgin and dialect may or may not be a means to this end. The central problem is after all, how standard English can be established most effectively. The fact that there have been and still are many different schools of thought about this shows how little we actually know.

The assumption that it is necessary to root out the oral language now so widely in use is not grounded on any evidence. It may be that the aim of establishing standard English can actually be best accomplished by a more complete understanding and appreciation of the local dialect.

Unfortunately the excellent beginning of Reinecke in analysing the structure, vocabulary and idiom, pronunciation, and grammatical rules of the local dialect has not led to further research along the same lines, and few know even about his pioneer work. The speech practices of the children in school have been looked at as "deficiencies" and "pidgin." If, instead, the teachers could recognize the peculiarities of speech as speech "usages," and know something about their nature, their approach to the teaching of standard English might, it is suggested, gain in effectiveness.

Psychologically, their approach would change from one of combating local speech to one of acceptance of, and even respect for it, while teaching standard speech as a skill which local people can and must have in *addition* to the local dialect.

Pedagogically, a systematic knowledge of the local dialect would make possible the development of better techniques

for teaching standard English. In grammar, for instance, the structure of the local dialect can be worked out inductively by the pupils. These pupil discovered rules can then be used to bridge the gap to the structure of standard English. This is the way many of us learn a foreign language when it is efficiently taught.

One or more generations ago, the language problem of Hawaii was more acute than now, for there existed no common means of communication for unifying and integrating the peoples of Hawaii. At that earlier time the foreign languages spoken in the immigrant homes were the subject of continuous vilification. There was constant pressure, on patriotic as well as other grounds, that the foreign languages be rapidly discarded. The poor progress of children with standard English was always attributed to the retarding effect of the foreign languages spoken in the home.

These campaigns in their propaganda overlooked the danger to the unity of the home. They disregarded the lesson of Daudet's famous short story, "La dernière classe," that the persecution of a language only increases the sentimental value of the language to its speakers. Finally they were based on the assumption that bilingualism is always a detriment.

In the process of unification, the present dialect has grown up. It did not grow up because the foreign languages continued to be spoken, but rather because and as these languages were being discarded. It is a notorious fact, for instance, that most second generation Orientals speak a decidedly sub-standard variety not only of English but also of their parental tongue.

But why did not standard English become established then? Reinecke argues that the existence of laborers of many different linguistic backgrounds made necessary the quick development of a common language of command. To this language, which is today the cruder speech of the older people, each of the peoples of Hawaii contributed in greater or less degree, but as major contributors, Reinecke singled out "the American and British foremen who thought to make their language more intelligible by mutilating it when they spoke to foreign workmen."⁴ He believes that the schools are mainly responsible for changing the pidgin to the present dialect, and that this was a remarkable accomplishment in view of the small percentage of native users of standard English at that time living in Hawaii.

But he points out that this dialect is now more firmly established than any of the parental immigrant languages. He predicts the early dying out of plantation pidgin, but the

⁴Reinecke, "The English Dialect of Hawaii," op. cit., p. 51.

retention for some time of the present local dialect. The difficulty of eliminating the local dialect is due to the widespread influence and authority of dialect-speaking parents, from whose homes an increasing number of school children will come. He also stresses the influence of the age contemporaries of the children in ridiculing those children who attempt to speak standard English, and the fact that a non-Haole who grows up in Hawaii cannot at the present time yet expect to find adult companionship and to establish intimate social relations with standard-speaking Haoles.

Hawaii's experience conforms with the findings of linguists. Dialects grow up.

3. Is bilingualism a deterrent to the development of emotionally healthy and linguistically adequate adults?

The assumption that the speaking of an Oriental language while learning English was responsible for the development of pidgin English has already been questioned.

The writer has come across two observations which, while not pursued in research, seem to indicate that the use of a foreign language and the use of standard English are not incompatible. An educator of Hawaiian ancestry told him that formerly the Hawaiians who had gone to public school spoke better English than now. He himself has noticed that some of the present group of children descended from the German labor immigration of the eighteen eighties and nineties speak the local dialect, while their parents speak more standard varieties of both English and German. We see here that bilingualism involved the adequate use of two standard languages. Surely the experience of the smaller nations of Europe, such as Belgium and the Netherlands, suggests the feasibility of multilingualism without sacrificing adequacy of expression and emotional integration.

But the question of the value of maintaining the ancestral languages in Hawaii is becoming increasingly academic, in spite of recent discussions in the community about the advisability of Japanese language broadcasts and the reopening of Chinese language schools.

The question now concerns the bilingualism involved in speaking the local dialect while at the same time speaking standard English, for this too is a form of bilingualism.

Here the most interesting precedents are such European countries as France and Germany, where many widely different local dialects are alive, but where, through the school system, children learn the adequate use of the standard national language. The writer has spoken to persons who normally and naturally speak Low German, but who can easily and readily switch to High German when that is required.

We can perhaps learn from the experience of these European countries.

It must be recognized that a language which a person learns in childhood is more than a tool, but an important part of the culture which is moulding him. The local dialect is not only the language of intimacy between the generations, but also among contemporaries. Because it is more than a tool it would be a serious thing to combat directly. The emotional confusion is likely to be more serious if the intimate social ties are undermined, rather than if the child finds it necessary to use two languages.

Hawaii's experience conforms to the findings of all students of language. Dialects, in contrast to trade jargons, grow up in isolated communities and among isolated classes. Dialect is the problem of the cultural pocket, rather than the cultural frontier. Bilingualism, which is found on linguistic frontiers, is not the cause of a dialect. Rather is the cause to be found in isolation from the persons who speak the standard language. Once developed dialect is normally passed on from generation to generation, and in a sense the very existence of a dialect is a major cause of its survival. The real problem is then the breakdown of barriers to participation in the wider community where standard speech prevails. The real problem is isolation.

There are certain practical applications growing out of this discussion. Appeals to learn standard English in the name of patriotism or for other emotional reasons will not prove effective. Patriotism and standard speech do not necessarily go together, as the boys who "went for broke" demonstrated.

Furthermore, outside specialists in speech when imported to Hawaii have only some of the equipment requisite in the task. They may fail just because they have no understanding of the local dialect and, therefore, of the local people.⁵

Standard English, it was clearly demonstrated to our A JA boys who trained and fought outside of Hawaii, has certain practical advantages. Effective motivation will come when our Island youth are convinced that standard English has practical value for them. The Koreans, being a small group, learned standard English more quickly because it had greater practical value for them.

As regards loyalty and sentiment the value is all on the side of the local dialect. It would, further, be false to argue that the speaking of standard English by local youth would eliminate prejudice against them. Many volunteered for war service in order to overcome the prejudice against them and

⁵The technical problem in teaching certainly involves their special skills, but it also involves the effective motivation of local boys and girls in the acquisition of standard English

some veterans now feel bitterly about their failure to achieve a sufficient reduction in prejudice. Such disillusionment we must avoid in our attempts to spread the use of standard English.

The writer is, however, by no means convinced that Hawaii will always have to cope with the two varieties of English. His points are, that pidgin of the crude, plantation variety will die quickly, but the local dialect, just because it is a socially established and recognized mode of expression will not so readily die, and that, even while treating it with the respect due any language, we can achieve the successful establishment of spoken standard English.

A NOTE ON THE 1946 ELECTIONS IN THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII

MILLARD PURDY

(This is the summary of a talk presented by Mr. Purdy to the Sociology Club of the University of Hawaii.—Ed.)

The same factors that have always played their parts in deciding elections were at work again in the primary and general elections — economic alignments, popular personalities, party activities, some racial voting, and the hard work of door to door campaigning. But the most notable single aspect was organized labors' energetic efforts in the campaigns. It was the entrance of labor into the Hawaiian political arena on a large scale with organization, leadership, and money. It was largely represented by the CIO's Political Action Committee. Around its activities and the counter-attacks of its opponents, other issues became satellites.

Still deeper than that, and at the same time a part of it, was the sugar strike. The start of the strike in early September was the forerunner of bitter campaign days to come. The forces that were opposing labor strictly on labor-management issues of wages and hours before the campaign, were part of the same forces that fought so hard against the Political Action Committee during the campaign. Likewise, the same group of labor leaders who bargained for the unions and led the union workers in the sugar strike were largely the same group who provided the brains and leadership in PAC's political endeavors.

The strike itself proved to be a real, down-to-earth help to the PAC by strongly tending to hold the ILWU workers together on political questions and candidates as it already had done in the negotiations and the eventual deadlock between labor and management. The PAC leadership cultivated that advantage and sought to unite the union members still closer. At least two PAC officials explained to me in detail how they were traveling their districts day after day and telling the ILWU members that if they didn't stick together and show unity in voting for PAC-indorsed candidates it would damage their collective bargaining position. The sugar management, they said, would be watching closely and take any sign of political disunity as a strong indication of general weakening of the workers' determination in the sugar strike. That was bringing the arguments down to ham and eggs reality. It hit at the pocketbooks of the workers and its effectiveness as an argument naturally was strong.

Remember, too, that the same economic losses which were exerting such a motivating force on the unions were exerting

a similar force on management and the friends of management.

As you all know, some of the bitterest controversies in our national history have had their roots in economic problems. It was on a teacup scale in Hawaii, but it had mainland echoes and it was nonetheless potent.

As it stood at the opening of the primary campaign, the PAC had held indorsement meetings, questioned candidates and had publicly placed its indorsement on selected candidates of both parties, the overwhelming majority of them Democrats. It was ready to take the field and work for the election of those candidates. The majority of the Democratic party organization was neutral on the PAC, but the Republicans were geared and primed to slug it out with the union's political front.

With the stage so set for a showdown political battle, all that was needed was someone to throw the first rock. The Republican campaign committee didn't hesitate in doing that. At a meeting of the campaign committee on the eve of the opening of the campaign, Roy A. Vitousek, chairman of the committee, proposed—and the committee approved—release of a short statement “suggesting” that Republican candidates refuse to appear at PAC rallies or to speak from PAC platforms.

The statement was published in newspapers and produced only slight rumbles for a few days. About a week later the PAC struck back and you are aware of the rest of the battle. PAC and anti-PAC became the central, emotion-rousing issue propounded and shouted from campaign platforms, over radio stations and in the press. The Republican candidates led the way in attacking PAC. Most of the Democrats steered clear of the PAC question and devoted themselves to blasting the Republicans. A few joined up with the PAC in its rallies.

The results eventually showed that the PAC gained political strength through election of some of its indorsed candidates, some of whom were ILWU officials. It did not show controlling strength and remained a minority group. But it proved again to labor that it can wield substantial political power in the same manner it has wielded economic power—through unity of action. The results also convinced the Republicans that they are up against a real force and they know that they will have to deal with it again in the legislature and in the 1948 election. That election probably will be more important and decisive on the issue than was the 1946 election.

The position of the Democratic party in the fight is less positive. The core of the party organization—the central

committee—refused a proposal to join its forces with the PAC forces and work officially together in the general campaign. Nonetheless, some of its candidates gained public office through PAC help, and it is yet to be determined whether all of those candidates will consider themselves subject to the party organization or to the PAC's leadership.

Of the other factors that influenced the outcome of the elections, one worth mentioning was the entrance of Governor Stainback actively into the campaign. He came largely in behalf of William Borthwick, the Democrat's candidate for delegate to Congress. But his influence as Governor of the Territory helped Democrats in greater or less degree all along the line.

RUMOR AMONG THE JAPANESE

YUKIKO KIMURA

After V-J Day, rumors chiefly connected with belief in Japan's victory were widespread among the alien Japanese. Some of them disappeared within a few months while some of them persisted over a year. There was a gradual declining and narrowing of their scope of influence as the alien Japanese got over the first shock brought by the news of surrender of their homeland and as they became more adjusted to their changed situation. According to Dr. Andrew W. Lind, reports from his informants on various islands indicated that the rumors began to wane by the middle of September, which was about a month after V-J Day, and by the end of October few were heard.¹ Perhaps the fact that many alien Japanese who went to Pearl Harbor on Navy Day on October 27 saw no evidence of a Japanese fleet, contributed to the waning trend of rumors and beliefs in Japan's victory.

Rumors, of course, although based on fancy rather than on facts, are influenced to some degree by the facts, and many individuals were frank to admit, "I used to believe every rumor but none of them came true while everything in the papers which I stubbornly denied proved to be true." Rumor is also frequently a symptom of a state of widespread social unrest in which the individuals find relief from the tensions of some violent collective experience by telling and believing stories which conform with their deeper wishes. Thus the rumors reflect to some degree the depth of the previous emotional experiences. The more intense the emotional experience, the more persistent and the wider is the rumor. The waning of rumor reflects the disappearance or lessening of the emotional strain from which the individual or group is suffering. Short-lived rumors reflect collective crises of less intensity.

The following are samples of the rumors which prevailed among alien Japanese in Hawaii after V-J Day and they suggest the type and intensity of emotional shock the Issei had experienced:

A Japanese fleet is in Pearl Harbor to take over Hawaii.

A Japanese fleet is sighted off Diamond Head.

People in my neighborhood told me that the new Japanese Consul General was Mr. Yoshida. They saw him entering the Consulate, escorted by MP's on motorcycles. The Consulate was lit with bright lights the night of his arrival.

I heard that people saw a few Japanese officers at a restaurant, guarded by MP's.

A person told me that someone saw a Japanese army officer receiving \$116 for a one yen bill at the Bishop Bank.

I heard that there are several Japanese officers at Schofield and in Pearl Harbor. They are stationed there at six months duty and then they will go back to Japan. New officers from Japan will be sent here to take their place then.

AJA boys who are in Japan are all prisoners of war, captured by the Japanese Army.

Some people are saying that we don't need the Japanese Consulate any more because Hawaii is part of Japan now.

My neighbors were circulating a rumor that they saw the new Japanese Consul General and his party going in procession on King Street. They were escorted by MP's. There was a grand welcome party at the Consulate that evening.

Somebody saw President Truman on his way to Japan to make an official apology to the Emperor for the damage by American indiscriminate bombing.

The rumor of the visit of Prince Takamatsu to Hawaii was widespread and everybody believed it. Almost every family in this neighborhood contributed at least \$10 toward the welcome party for him. The Doshi-kai group sponsored that campaign here.

A rumor which I heard recently was that General Yamashita was still alive in the Philippines. The American forces which wanted to go to Japan had to get his permission first. That was why they had to go by way of the Philippines. The Doshi-kai group evidently circulates some paper with a big stamp with a signature 'Yamashita' on it and tell the people that is the proof of what they say.

The way they spread a rumor is usually by writing it with pen or pencil on a piece of paper and passing it around in the neighborhood or among friends. They don't say who wrote it but they say 'it's written like this, so there is no mistake about its factuality. It was reported directly from Tokyo.' The phrase, 'The Imperial Headquarters' or 'Broadcast from Tokyo,' has so much power over the Japanese here. When these words are used they think the news is absolutely true.

A member of my temple told me that Mrs. M of Seicho-no-Ie is supposed to have spiritual eyes which foresee approaching events. According to him she told her followers that about 300 Japanese planes were to attack Hawaii on July 27, 1945, and she gave them amulets to protect them from the bombs. Nothing happened on that day. So someone asked her the reason. She answered that it was due to bad weather. They waited and nothing happened on the day she designated. So, people asked her again, and they were told that instead of planes a Japanese fleet would come. But the Japanese fleet did not come. Now she tells the people to wait until March 27. She also told the people that President Truman was called to Tokyo by the Japanese Emperor. The Emperor did not want to deal with MacArthur, and she saw Truman's party downtown on its way to Tokyo.

Rumor, a Form of Social Contagion

According to Blumer, some kind of social contagion is likely to occur where collective excitement is intense and widespread. Under the influence of collective excitement people become emotionally aroused and tend to be carried away by impulses and feelings rather than reason and rational thinking.² He also indicates that an aroused feeling of restlessness has a reciprocal and contagious character, since its display awakens a similar condition on the part of others, resulting in mutual reinforcement of this state as the

¹Honolulu Star-Bulletin, October 30, 1945.

²Herbert Blumer, "Collective Behavior" in R. E. Park (ed.), *Principles of Sociology* (New York, 1939), p. 230.

individuals interact with one another. Thus, a restless feeling is communicated in a circular fashion reacting back upon those who first manifested this excitement and further intensifying it. Social unrest is marked by such excited feelings as vague apprehensions, alarm, fears, etc., which are also conducive to rumors and to exaggerated views and perceptions.³ Rumor, thus, is one of the symptoms of a state of collective restlessness or excitement.

Under conditions of widespread social unrest and the associated collective excitement, there is a high degree of suggestibility among the individuals involved and they become very responsive to each other's expressions of the dominant mood. As the individuals react to the same stimuli in the same psychological manner, they reinforce each other's feeling and in the process of such interaction, the intensity of their feeling is increased and their sensitivity to any suggestion conforming to and intensifying that feeling is also strengthened. Because of this intensifying and stimulating nature of rumors as they spread, rumors become more exaggerated, often to the extent that the original story is either hardly recognizable or becomes two or more separate stories. As this process is repeated, exaggeration and even transformation of the original story is quite natural. In the same manner the mood of the participants is likewise intensified.

Since rumors originate and persist in a state of collective restlessness and excitement, their contents reflect the concerns with which the group as a whole is preoccupied at the time. The symbols and objects included in the rumors represent the focus of attention of the group. All the rumors prevailing among the alien Japanese in Hawaii after V-J Day indicate that the welfare of Japan was their chief concern. There was no rumor which indicated Japan's surrender or defeat. In this sense, the rumors revealed the unrealized wishes and hopes of the entire group. Because of the collective nature of the excitement and sensitivity, the pictures projected in the rumors were accepted by all within the same psychological group and who shared the same mood. As a result, the rumors spread and persisted in the group as facts, and anything which contradicted the prevailing rumors was regarded as false. It was also natural for the group, under such a state of heightened suggestibility and excitement to become stimulated into action on the basis of the rumors, accepted as fact. Various forms of symptomatic behavior accompanying the rumors after V-J Day such as gathering on the hills to see a Japanese fleet or going to the former Japanese Consulate to greet a new Japanese Consul General

³*Ibid.*, pp. 226, 227.

in "Montsuki" ceremonial dress are to be interpreted in this sense.

In general the rumors which emerged from experiences of deep emotional intensity tend to result in some type of action; whereas the rumors associated with experiences of less emotional intensity may not be projected into action and are more quickly forgotten. Many of the rumors which prevailed in the Japanese community after V-J Day revealed the extremely intense nature of the emotional experiences of the participants. The same thing may be said about the rumors which prevailed in the internment camps. The following expressions reveal the type of rumors that prevailed in the three internment camps, namely, Santa Fe, Crystal City, and Tule Lake, and indicate the intensity of the emotional experiences and the psychological mechanism operating there.

Rumor of Japan's victory was widespread in our camp and there was a big celebration. I joined it, too. They said that the news came directly from Tokyo. Later we were told that it came from Seicho-no Ie in Hawaii.

The rumor of a visit by four Japanese generals spread once and they all went to the fence and waited for their arrival for hours.

Many of them were eager about repatriation to Japan. They believed and said that now Japan won the war and America was going to pay fifty thousand dollars per family as a reparation. Some of them went to the administration office and demanded that amount be paid them in advance.

Once a rumor of an official visit to our camp by Lt. General Miura spread. The internees made Japanese flags and each had one in his pocket. Many of them went to the gate and waited from 6:00 to 9:00 p.m. Finally they came back. When I asked how the welcoming meeting was, they answered nonchalantly that he was unable to come due to an important mission elsewhere.

Those returning to Hawaii were told that a Japanese fleet would meet them at Seattle and escort them to Hawaii. Hawaii was believed to be under Japan by most of the internees.

Mr. I told me that even three or four days after the internees sailed from Seattle on their way back to Hawaii, someone still told him that he sighted nine Japanese ships. He said that many internees thought Hawaii was under Japan even after they had returned here.

Once a man who left his family in Hawaii asked me what was my advice concerning his plan to be repatriated to Japan; as he could get fifty thousand dollars from the American government. He would become very angry with me if I contradicted him. So, I told him to return to Hawaii first, even if he was going back to Japan eventually. But evidently he returned to Japan.

At our camp, those fanatical believers of Japan's victory urged those wanting to return to Hawaii to change their minds and return to Japan. Those who knew Japan lost the war could not even mention it as they would have to suffer violent consequences. I myself barely escaped an attack a few times. Right after we heard news of Japan's surrender, a man came to me and said, 'Well, Japan finally surrendered, I hear.' While I was conversing with him, another man came and said, 'Japan won the complete victory. I have the proof,' and he showed me a leaflet. I just said, 'Is that so,' because I knew it would not help the situation if I said the opposite.

The rumors were usually started by four or five individuals who always printed and circulated them among the internees. Some of the rumors came from Hawaii by way of letters. Out of 2,000 at our camp only about 100 knew and accepted Japan's defeat. The rest were all fanatical and believed rumors of Japanese victory. They called us traitors and even threatened to beat us up.

When I first heard about Japan's surrender, I naturally told others about it. Then they became very angry with me. After that I did not try to argue with them. They might do anything to hurt me. Those of us who believed in Japan's defeat and agreed with each other were always together, especially when taking a walk. Others stared at us and talked behind our backs, often loud enough so that we could hear what they were saying. I lost some of my life-long friends because we could not agree with each other. They were indeed fanatics.

The life at the internment camp was monotonous, with all communications with the outside world cut off. Therefore, every little bit of news and information became a center of interest and was talked about and exaggerated. Also every little incident stirred the people. There were also individuals who enjoyed big stories out of small incidents. Very often, when a new internee came in with news of the outside world, some exaggerated stories started, especially in connection with the war situation. Most of the new internees were from Peru. They listened to the Japanese radio broadcasts till the last minute and believed Japan was winning. So when they came in, they brought that news and their convictions. Those who were inclined to be fanatically pro-Japanese naturally believed news brought by them.

The above expressions indicate that the focus of attention in the internment camps was Japan's victory. Whether it was from deep-seated conviction or mere wishful thinking, Japanese victory was the prevailing object of concern in the camps and directed the sentiment and attitude of the people within them.

Although the actual content of the rumors which prevailed in these two geographically separated groups, the mainland internment camps on one hand and the alien Japanese in Hawaii on the other are different, the stories in both areas reveal exactly the same psychological background, namely a common belief in and wishful thinking regarding Japan's victory. This suggests the fact that the individuals in the internment camps and those in Hawaii experienced the same emotional crisis.

Rumor in the Psychological Crowd

According to Park, isolated individuals may acquire the characteristics of a psychological crowd and turn their feelings and thoughts in a definite direction at a certain moment and under the influence of certain violent emotions such as a great national crisis.⁴ In this sense the individuals in these two geographically separated areas may be considered as having acted as a psychological crowd. Despite the physical distances between them, they were sensitized to each other. The rumors exchanged by means of letters between the two

geographical groups stimulated each other and helped both groups to become more sensitized to the same suggestions. The rumors of each area were acceptable when they reached the other because both were under the same general emotional atmosphere. The individuals constituting the same psychological crowd were capable of reacting in unity in the same direction under similar stimuli and impulses. In the same sense, similar rumors could prevail among the alien Japanese on all the islands in Hawaii regardless of the geographical distances between them.

The same principle explains the widespread rumor during the very early stages of the war of the appearance of the *kudan* or human-faced cow as an evil omen. Practically all the Japanese families on all islands ate *sekihan* (red rice) to protect themselves from the expected disaster.⁵ The rumor of the *kudan* spread so fast and widely that the Japanese were suspected of possessing a special means of communication. In such a violent emotional crisis when the whole Japanese population was in a state of extreme fear, the Japanese behaved not as individuals but as a psychological crowd, and acted in unity in the same direction regardless of their residential separation on different islands. The rumor of mass evacuation of all the Japanese to a concentration camp on Molokai or on the mainland spread widely among the Japanese during the first year of the war and caused frantic buying of trunks, suitcases and clothing. This also indicates that the Japanese who were preoccupied with the same threat and undergoing the same emotional distress reacted not as individuals but as a psychological crowd. Both these rumors that prevailed among the Japanese during the first year of the war also indicate the fact that when a whole group takes on the character of a crowd the individuals composing it lose their individualities and behave as part of the whole. The individual behaves on the basis of the collective impulse with his attention, desires, and imagination all directed in a common direction and toward common objectives. Any rumor that conforms to the group stereotypes accepted as authentic and spreads readily and guides their further action.

Rumor may, therefore, be conceived as the projected imagination of the group, and one of the special values in the study of rumor is the discovery of the special objects with which the group is preoccupied and the direction in which the collective imagination is moving. This principle is illustrated in the rumors which prevailed among the Japanese both in Hawaii and in the internment camps, as well as those prevailing in the wider Island community.

⁴Robert E. Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, (New York, 1939), pp. 887, 888.

⁵The rice cooked with red beans. It is considered as bringing good luck.

Following the attack by Japan on Pearl Harbor, while the whole community was undergoing an acute emotional crisis involving extreme indignation and a sense of insecurity, innumerable rumors prevailed, all of which indicated a general drift in the thinking of a considerable portion of the public with respect to the Japanese. The following are samples of those rumors.

One of the Japanese fliers shot down on December 7 was wearing a McKinley High School ring.

Japanese residents waved their kimonos at the Japanese fliers and signaled to them.

Japanese fishermen were all working for the Japanese Government. They piloted the Japanese to Hawaiian waters.

Arrows were placed in the cane fields to show the Japanese fliers the direction.

Mr. S. was dressed in a Japanese army officers' uniform during the Japanese attack.

Some Japanese made radio signals to the Japanese fleet and assisted the Japanese in their attack here.

The advertisement of a Japanese dry goods store that appeared in the Star-Bulletin a few days preceding December 7 was actually to tell in detail the time, place and type of attack to those who understood its code.

Mr. H. of Wahiawa worked as a Japanese spy and had a secret radio set to send signals to Japan. He was shot by MP's right at his home on December 7.

All the Japanese maids who worked for Navy officers' families are Japanese spies.

All the rumors which were rampant in the larger community after the Pearl Harbor attack were related to the Japanese attack. Very few of these rumors, however, referred directly to the enemy troops or Japan, but rather to the local Japanese. Thus, the general public in Hawaii was more concerned about the local Japanese, rather than about Japan or the Japanese fliers. Although the feeling of the whole community was concentrated on the treachery of Japan, the indignation aroused by it led to rumors about the local Japanese. One object of special concern in all these rumors was the attempt to find some explanation for the suddenness and ease with which the enemy fliers attacked Hawaii. Every possible type of explanation seems to have occurred to the over-wrought imaginations of the general populace. Suspicions, originating prior to the war, seemed to be confirmed by the known and rumored circumstances of the Pearl Harbor attack.⁶ In the extreme state of collective excitement which existed, these rumors intensified the common suspicions and fears of the local Japanese, and thus further increased the vulnerability of the public to still other rumors and suspicions. Thus, the individuals in the state of a psychological crowd think and behave with a persistence and consistency described by Blumer in the following statement.

Usually the common object is the exciting event which has aroused the people; much more frequently, however, it is an

⁶A. W. Lind, *Hawaii's Japanese*, Ch. II, III.

image which has been built up and fixed through the talking and acting of people as they mill.... Its importance is that it gives a common orientation to the people, and so provides a common objective to their activity. With such a common objective the crowd is in a position to act with unity, purpose and consistency.⁷

The above statement also explains the absence of counter-rumor in the same psychological crowd. No rumors prevailed among the Japanese after V-J containing any story of allied victory. None of the rumors which spread after the Pearl Harbor attack contradicted the current feeling of suspicion toward the local Japanese. Rumors containing opposing sentiments cannot prevail simultaneously within the same psychological crowd. A counter sentiment never becomes a rumor, because of the natural tendency of the crowd to reject it. Individuals in a crowd are responsive only to the suggestions in line with the dominating sentiment of the crowd and exclude all other sentiments. This means that there is a selective process which operates as rumors spread. They respond to and collect only the suggestions which conform to the dominant sentiment they contain, excluding or rejecting all other suggestions. In such a selective process rumors become more elaborate, exaggerated, and numerous, which in turn intensifies their original sentiment.

Rumor, on the other hand, has no effect upon those who are not under the same emotional influence even though they are situated in the same house or the same car, or even though they participate in the same activities with those who are completely preoccupied with the rumor. This explains the fact that most of the Nisei were for a long time unaware of the presence of the rumors of Japan's victory. In many instances when the younger generation became aware that their parents were under the influence of these rumors, there occurred arguments and severe family disputes. Similar incidents occurred frequently between the alien Japanese who either did not share the same sentiment or who retained greater self control and independence of outlook despite the emotional shock which they may have experienced. This also explains the presence of a minority group in the internment camps, which suffered exclusion and persecution from the large majority. Such a situation as this is well described by Blumer as follows:

....the extent to which one becomes preoccupied with an object, to that extent one comes under its control. A human being controls himself in the face of an object of attention to the extent that he is able to call up images which he can oppose to such an object.... Where people are collectively excited, as a result of some form of milling, this loss of normal control becomes pronounced, setting the stage for contagious behavior.⁸

⁷Blumer, "Collective Behavior," *Principles of Sociology*, p. 235.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 229, p. 230.

The rumors which prevailed in the Japanese community after the close of the war reflect the traditional cultural values of Japan including the belief in the invincibility of the homeland. Many of the rumors which prevailed among the Japanese would never occur among non-Japanese, even if they were placed in exactly the same situation. Thus, the rumor of the appearance of "kudan" or a human-faced cow is peculiarly Japanese, representing a cultural trait of the provinces from which the Japanese immigrants came. The same principle applies to the rumors which prevailed in the larger community after the Pearl Harbor attack. One particularly significant example is the rumor of a McKinley High School ring being found on the finger of one of the attacking Japanese fliers shot down on December 7. In Japan military custom and discipline even in peace time forbid either enlisted men or officers to wear rings. Besides, even civilians were urged to donate to the government not only all of their metal accessories, including rings and pins, but even their gold teeth as early as 1939 and such donations became compulsory later. Anyone showing any metal ornament on him was considered outrageously unpatriotic and suffered actual persecution and official punishment even a few years before the war. Therefore, any rumor of a soldier wearing a ring could immediately be detected as having originated in a country or cultural group where wearing rings is permissible, if not customary, among soldiers.

In summary, it may be said that rumor serves as a temporary outlet for the inner tension caused by social unrest. It channelizes the collective excitement but it does not actually solve the problem. On the contrary, rumor by its contagious nature serves to stimulate further the original unrest and the tensions which dominate the crowd. Thus the original rumors, not only become more elaborate, but also more rumors appear to intensify the dominating emotion. It appears then that rumors instead of relieving group tensions by channelizing them, actually aggravate the original tension and increase the sense of insecurity, excitement, and restlessness from which the group are suffering. The only way to relieve the tension is to eliminate the cause of the emotional experience. The prevailing rumors will then disappear automatically.

SERVICE-CIVILIAN TENSIONS IN HONOLULU

ANDREW W. LIND

The pains of social reconversion in Hawaii are less acute than mainland headlines of race riots between white servicemen and Island natives might suggest. Compared with most communities with large numbers of servicemen, Honolulu's experience of getting back to a peacetime equilibrium has been mild. August fourteenth, 1945, for example, was probably celebrated in as hilarious a fashion in Honolulu as in any other American city. Yet, Honolulu with its high proportion of servicemen and racially mixed civilian population, one-third of whom were of Japanese ancestry, had no incidents of rioting such as occurred in Pacific Coast cities. Neither has Honolulu experienced the zoot-suit riots of Southern California, although Hawaii has had many of the same elements to contend with.

The one episode of dramatic proportions took place on the evening of November 12, 1945 when an estimated five hundred sailors from the Honolulu Naval Air Station descended in force upon the neighboring civilian community of Damon Tract and for several hours gave expression to their repressed feelings by throwing rocks at the houses and shouting threats at the "gooks" who lived within. This single incident which created a sensation in the mainland press grew out of unfounded rumors that had been circulating for several days among the restless sailors at the air station. Their gesture of revenge for the supposed murder of two of their members by civilians was surprisingly temperate for a mob of five hundred enraged sailors. Windows and doors were smashed, automobiles and motorcycles were damaged, but no civilians were reported injured. That no more violent disorders on a mass scale occurred is perhaps the most noteworthy aspect of a potentially explosive situation. Every city situated near a large troop center in the autumn of 1945 was in danger of outbursts from the restless service personnel impatient to be sent home.

Honolulu's problem was further aggravated by its character as a port city and the presence of a large floating population both civil and military. From the earliest days of contact with the roistering men of the sea, Honolulu has been faced with the necessity of imposing such controls as it could upon the wayward tendencies of men "a long way from home;" and islanders have always been somewhat hesitant in extending the traditional Hawaiian hospitality to the unattached males who came from the ships. Conflicts between the "local boys" and the invaders for the favors of Island

girls date almost from the days of Captain Cook. Among the most sensational of these incidents was the so-called "Massie affair" which attracted world-wide attention in 1931. A series of physical encounters occurred between gangs of local youths of various ancestries and Caucasian servicemen and their wives culminating in the Kaahawai incident in which Lt. Massie and a couple of sailors admitted having shot and killed a Hawaiian youth for a supposed unpunished sex offense against Mrs. Massie.

The threat of such conflicts is chronic in Honolulu and it presents a problem to which responsible Island residents are now highly sensitive as affecting both the statehood aspirations of Hawaii and the internal peace of the community. The Territory is not likely to forget the painful trials, sensational publicity, and adverse federal legislation which followed the Massie case.

Tensions between mainland servicemen and local civilians have long existed in Hawaii, but normally they have been restrained to minor assault cases recorded on Honolulu's police docket. During the war such episodes were kept at a minimum by the rigid controls of martial law, including a strict curfew and limitations upon liquor consumption. With the return of civil rule and the decline of patriotic fervor since V-J Day, the old feuds broke out afresh, and the need for taking community action in dealing with the problem was again impressed upon the public. Committees of civilians and of servicemen have been organized, and the newspapers for a time maintained a public box-score of even the most trivial incidents involving servicemen and civilians. Honolulu, following the Damon Tract incident, was threatened with a "crime wave," made to order by a curious and sensitive public.

Street fights and minor brawls—not uncommon in any city where large groups of servicemen seek diversion and relaxation from long periods of duty—increased both in number and in the depth of feeling involved especially following V-J.¹ Sailors, to a far greater degree than soldiers, became involved in such incidents; and in fact the number of fights between soldiers and civilians, never very large, has not increased since the war.² Life in the Navy may be more ex-

¹The data cited in the following footnotes were derived from a study conducted by Mrs. Carolyn S. Peto under the direction of the author and is based upon the records of all assault, affray and disorderly conduct cases involving civilians and servicemen reported to the Honolulu Police between July 1st and November 1st, 1945. Although police records are never wholly complete, it is probable that the number of incidents sufficiently serious to be reported to the police is fairly accurate. The total number of incidents increased from 41 in July to 63 in August, 63 in September, and 60 in October. The number of persons involved was 159 in July, 349 in August, 196 in September and 224 in October. That the number of incidents and of persons involved was no larger after V-J Day in a community involving so many servicemen and civilians is perhaps the most remarkable fact of all.

²The total number of civilian-service clashes reported to the police during the four month period involved 175 sailors (Navy, Coast Guard and Merchant Marine) as defendants as compared to 22 soldiers, 37 marines, and 115 civilians.

citing than for the average doughboy, but it is also much more confining during much of the time. Needless to say, it is only the disorganized minority of both civilians and servicemen who are involved in such incidents. The local hoodlums are chiefly young men between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five, and they are drawn from all the various racial ancestries.³ The servicemen are almost as young, eighty-per cent being under the age of thirty.

The case of assault in which both civilians and service personnel appear tend to follow one of three or four familiar patterns. A lone serviceman returning to camp at night is suddenly surrounded by a half dozen adolescents of Island ancestry, bare-footed, long-haired and with loose shirttails, who maul and rob him and as suddenly disappear into the darkness. A couple of inebriated sailors make familiar passes at a local girl, and they are attacked by a group of civilian bystanders. A serviceman is refused admission to a beer parlor and "takes a swing" at the doorman. An excited soldier or sailor watching a public football game makes an uncomplimentary remark about one of the Oriental contestants and is severely pummelled by a group of Islanders who seem to be waiting for such an occasion.

The following cases are cited directly from the records of the Honolulu police Department during this period and are intended to give the reader something of the flavor of the incidents themselves.

- A. A sailor was walking down Kamakela Lane alone when he was stopped by four local boys. The largest one asked the sailor for a cigarette. The sailor offered him one, and offered a cigarette also to another boy. The boys then asked him if he wanted to get some liquor or women, but before he could answer the question, two of the boys struck him with clubs. The sailor ran in search of an SP. The boys ran away, but were later apprehended. Upon being questioned the next day, the boys admitted that they had participated in the striking of the sailor, but could not give any reason for their action other than that they thought it was fun to gang up on servicemen." (Two Filipinos, aged 19 and 12; one Chinese, aged 17; one Puerto Rican, aged 14.)
- B. Twenty-five local boys of various racial ancestry, aged 13 to 19, all members of a Teen-Age Club, and approximately 150 soldiers were involved in a fracas of major proportion at Farrington High School grounds. On Friday night, August 17th, a group of local boys was walking through the school grounds. The sentry (MP) at the gate flashed a light in their faces and stopped them. An argument began over this. One of the boys was struck by some soldiers present. The local group began throwing rocks in retaliation. Two patients at the Farrington Hospital were hit by the rocks and received minor injuries.

³Over 71 per cent of all the civilian defendants were in this age range and an additional 7 per cent were juveniles under the age of 15. All of the major racial groups in the local population were included with the Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians most highly represented. 45 per cent of the total number of defendants as compared to about 15 per cent of the male civilian population were of Hawaiian or part-Hawaiian ancestry.

The following night, at about 9:30 p.m., another group of boys was walking through the grounds on the same road after having attended a Teen-Age Canteen dance at the Farrington High School grounds. The group was stopped by some soldiers and asked if they were the boys who had thrown the rocks on Friday night. When they answered negatively, one of the soldiers (MP) knocked down two of the boys, and told them to get out of the hospital grounds and stay out. The boys returned to the Canteen and rounded up some more boys. In the meantime, the soldiers contacted their men at the Farrington Hospital to prepare for expected trouble. The soldiers, about 150 strong, came down armed with clubs, bottles, rocks, and other weapons. An argument followed but no blows were struck. The local boys, seeing that they were outnumbered, ran away. The soldiers chased them, but could not catch them.

Since each side was as much fault as the other, and since no major injuries had been received by anyone, all persons involved were discharged.

During the course of investigation, a large group of soldiers were gathered around and various members of the group were heard uttering various things, all of which . . . (amounted) to giving the locals all the trouble they were looking for and then some . . . It was clear that the entire group of men stationed at the hospital either as MP guards or as patients, were all worked up over this incident, and were inclined to break out as a unified group and settle the things once and for all—THEIR WAY! ! ! The situation had ugly possibilities.

- C. While crossing the street, the defendant (Filipino, aged 33) accidentally bumped one of three sailors. He asked for pardon, but the sailors struck him. When he was struck the second time with a whiskey bottle, he took out a knife and stabbed a sailor.
- D. The Honolulu Stadium riot started with many small fights throughout the bleachers, and ended in a mass riot between soldiers, sailors, and civilians. It was impossible to ascertain the beginnings of the fight; and impossible to ascertain the number of persons involved. Six local boys were arrested; six Army Lieutenants were questioned. The servicemen had been drinking. No local boys were seriously injured, but some servicemen were. The local boys declared that the fight started when some sailors called them "punks." The sailors declared that the local boys started swinging first.
- E. Seven juveniles (Hawaiian and Samoan, aged 13 to 17), struck soldiers when the soldiers called them 'black sons of b—s'. The soldiers declared the youths attacked them with no provocation. Both groups apparently were looking for trouble and participated in the fight willingly.
- F. A group of seven local boys (5 of Japanese ancestry and 2 of Portuguese ancestry) drove up to Kuhio Park and got out of a car, drinking beer. One of the boys said, "Let's pick on the first donkey we see and knock the . . . out of him." The boys walked up to two unidentified soldiers who were lying on the sand and kicked some sand on their faces. The soldiers immediately got up and prepared to defend themselves, whereupon the seven boys separated into two groups and set upon these two soldiers.

A basic factor underlying most of these incidents is the widespread disposition of Islanders and servicemen to conceive of each other as out-groups, strangers, and even enemies. It is part of the familiar *Malihini-Kamaaina* (new comer - oldtimer) dichotomy which lies at the root of so much of the behavior and thinking in the Islands. It was strikingly manifested in 1931 when the Navy felt that all the

Islanders, Haoles as well as Hawaiians and Orientals, were combined against them and a ranking admiral, sensitive to an alleged indifference of Islanders to the Navy, declared that the only salvation for Hawaii was government by a commission consisting of men "not imbued too deeply with the peculiar atmosphere of the Islands, men without preconceived ideas of the value and success of the melting pot."

The same suspicion and distrust toward the out-group was reflected by Island civilians toward the newly arrived defense-workers and servicemen just prior to the war but it was somewhat effectively submerged during the war by the over-powering opposition to the enemy. Once the threat of a common foe was removed in August 1945, the older internal tensions reappeared.

The racial factor has unquestionably been one of the fairly constant elements in the service-civilian issue for many years. Actually it is difficult to exclude race completely from any important social consideration in Hawaii. During the war servicemen were disposed to apply the opprobrious term "gook" to all non-white civilians and not infrequently the terms "nigger," "slant-eyes," "yellow-belly," "Jap" and other equally objectionable terms were used indiscriminately toward any and all non-Caucasian civilians. This was particularly common among the newly arrived service personnel or among those in large encampments who had been unsuccessful in establishing friendly contacts with local residents.

The large majority of non-Caucasian civilians would hesitate by using such invidious terms as "white-trash" and "damn-Haole," which is comparable to "damn-Yankee" in the South. There is little doubt that irritation at the attitudes of racial superiority freely expressed by men in the service, particularly when under the influence of liquor, was one of the important factors in many of the unprovoked attacks which they suffered at the hands of Island civilians. One young man of Oriental ancestry tersely expressed the feelings of many: "The servicemen act as if Hawaii were conquered territory and as if we owed them respect and homage." The desire for revenge for discriminatory treatment received by local boys in mainland training centers clearly added fuel to the conflict.

Competition for the attentions and affections of Island girls underlay much of the tension between civilians and servicemen during the war and the early post-war period. Local boys frequently lacked the refinement in manners or the skill in courtship possessed by mainland G.I.'s. Because of the overwhelming sex disproportions in Hawaii, most of the servicemen had to direct their romantic appeals to the

local girls if they were to have any feminine companionship whatever. The attentions of the G.I.'s although usually appreciated by the girls were deeply resented by the local boys. Mainland servicemen were successful in winning the hearts of some 1200 Island girls in marriage during the three years ending June 30, 1946, and gossip tends to exaggerate the additional number of local girls who were victimized by servicemen.

The Island zootsuiters who wantonly attacked soldiers and sailors would rationalize their behavior as a means of protecting the honor of their sisters and girl friends. "We don't want our girls to be left holding the sack when the Haoles leave," they would say, "our local girls are push-overs for the 'snow jobs' of the mainland slickers." The public record of 291 illegitimate births during 1945 in which the father was known to be a mainland serviceman indicates that there were some grounds for such fears.

Many of the servicemen, more especially the sailors, developed a distinctly unpleasant taste for the Islands. The recreational facilities were grossly inadequate to meet the needs of so many, while the cheap and tawdry entertainment of Honolulu's honky-tonks was forced on his attention as soon as the servicemen arrived. Relatively few were able to enjoy the advantages of Honolulu's cultural centers or its private homes. Many men felt that curio shops, taxis, restaurants and bars shamelessly robbed them, despite the OPA. The sentiment of a considerable portion of the military visitors to Hawaii was that of the sailor who said, "I'd love every — inch of this rock if it were twelve feet under water."

The general touchiness of the situation in which both civilians and servicemen were anxious to be relieved of wartime restrictions was further aggravated by the free flow of liquor in Honolulu. The records of the Honolulu Police Department although not entirely complete at this point, indicate that at least 63 per cent of the individuals involved in civilian-military assault cases in the four months following July 1, 1945 were completely or partially under the influence of liquor. Excessive drinking was both a symptom and a cause of general post-war unrest.

As the community gradually becomes accommodated to a peace time existence with a marked decline in the number of servicemen and mainland defense workers in the Territory and a similar reduction in the competition for the use of the limited facilities of stores, theaters, and public utilities, the tensions described in this articles also recede in importance.

The basic problems discussed, however, remain and it is well that both civilian and military authorities are constantly alert to the potential dangers involved. As long as Hawaii remains one of America's principal military and naval outposts in the Pacific, the task of reconciling the desires and habits of large groups of young men away from home with the mores and expectations of a stable community is bound to remain a critical one. Specific devices for providing more wholesome recreation for both civilian youth and servicemen and closer collaboration between civilian and military polices, will undoubtedly help. What is ultimately required, however, is a program which will permit the serviceman to become a participating member of the local community.

POST-WAR TRENDS IN THE ISLAND ATTITUDE TOWARD THE NEGRO

PHYLLIS KON COOKE

With the guns of World War II silenced, Hawaii is well along in its task of picking up where it left off December 6, 1941. Politically and economically her position is in many respects better than ever, the war having boosted Hawaii's chances for statehood, and stuffed many Islanders' pockets with war profits. However, one pre-war institution of the Hawaii "Melting-Pot"—the doctrine of racial equality—has not yet been released from some of the war-time restrictions placed upon it. Among the informal restrictions which developed, one of the most apparent has been the partial exclusion of the Negro as a welcome ingredient in the "Melting Pot." Many of the open restrictions against Negroes, such as barring them from the better Waikiki restaurants and night clubs, started in an attempt to appease prejudiced white servicemen from the deep South, or, as some proprietors put it,—“to avoid trouble.” With the war over, most of these openly discriminatory practices are disappearing, but their influence remains.

To understand the significance of the current community attitude toward the Negro, a brief historical summary of the Negro in Hawaii is required. The first “group” of Negroes to come to Hawaii was a band of some twenty-five or thirty American Negroes imported from the mainland about forty-five years ago by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association to work on the sugar plantations of Maui and Hawaii. Prior to this, Negroes had occasionally stopped over here, while serving as crew members on trading ships. A few elected to settle here. In the critical years just before and after the annexation of the Islands by the United States, several Negroes served in advisory capacities to the government. Among them was a highly-respected lawyer, who attempted to regain for the Hawaiians some of their “kuleanas”¹ which they had unwittingly or carelessly sold to enterprising and unsentimental white residents. His daughter retired not long ago after many years of public service and is remembered by the people of the Territory as one of the leaders in Hawaii's educational system.

During World War I, a regiment of Negro troops came to the Territory, but judging by the 1920 census, only a few chose to remain as residents. The count for that year showed there to be 348 Negroes in Hawaii, but in addition to these, there were a good many part-Negroes who were classified

for census purposes in other racial brackets, a practice still used here, which is significantly different from the mainland census system according to which any person is classified as “Negro” who has any Negro blood. By 1940 the Negro census figure had dropped to 255. According to Dr. Romanzo Adams, Hawaii's late authority on sociological and racial questions, this low number is representative of the pure Negroes only, or those choosing to be so classified in that category. The Puerto Ricans, who are of Negro and Indian origin, and the “Black Portuguese” have not been classified as Negroes.

This small resident Negro group is scattered throughout the Territory. Some have acquired homes of their own; others are working on the various sugar plantations throughout the Islands. A number have entered the semi-skilled and skilled trades, and a few are professional men. Inter-marriage into the Hawaiian, Puerto Rican and other out-groups, resulting in offspring of hybrid types, may have reduced the population of pure Negroes as of December, 1941; but since then there was an increase in the number of Negroes, due to those who have taken their discharges from the Armed Forces here, as well as some Negro war workers who have decided to remain.

The few Negroes who resided in the Territory prior to the Second World War have been accepted as part of the community. In many plantation camps they live in harmony with other racial groups. In the city the Negro may acquire a home of his own, or he may rent a house in most of the residential areas. Very little outward prejudice has been shown towards these local Negroes by the remainder of the Island population, for he was considered “one of us.”

In spite of their experience of discrimination elsewhere, the newly arrived Negroes came expecting no prejudice here. They had heard of Hawaii and its racial equality and harmonious inter-racial group living, and then were keenly disappointed with the alleged “Melting Pot,” for here too, as on the continental United States, they found that they had to suffer a certain amount of resistance and unfriendliness from the community. In the same manner, the arrival of the Negroes in great numbers to the Territory where, heretofore there had existed only a small number, was something for which the local people were unprepared. Influenced by many mainlanders who had deep-set prejudices, and stereotyped ideas derived from the movies, newspapers, the radio, and tabloids, the community was not prepared to accept the Negroes.

Specific reason for this anti-Negroism were collected from different people residing in the community, through the

¹“Kuleana”—one's parcel of land—the right to one's own property.

method of interview. Many of those attitudes collected were based on personal experiences, hearsay, rumor, and had very little scientific or factual basis. Although these attitudes were almost always unreasonable, they had real meaning for the people holding them.

An interesting reason for her prejudice against the Negro was made by a young business woman of Japanese ancestry. Her dislike, which was based upon physiological differences, is one which has been proven a fallacy by anthropologists and medical men. In this case she believed the Negro ethnic group to have a distinct odor:

"I hate Negroes. They have an awful smell—makes me feel sick in the stomach. I can't even stand near one—I don't know what makes them smell—it is a raw odor—like a wild animal—you know how a wild goat smells; well, the Negroes smell like that to me."

Many of the prejudices felt by local people have been intensified through personal experiences with the Negroes in their working establishments. Girls who work in cafes, stores, bars, and taxi dance halls, in direct contact with the Negro men, were divided in their opinions toward the Negro. A Japanese waitress employed by a popular "dive" in downtown Honolulu relates an experience which had changed her attitude of a polite cordiality to one of aversion and fear. She says:

Before this happened to me I tried to be nice to them. I don't like Negroes. They lousy, they make too much noise, and when you tell them to stop they want to fight, or slap your face, and call us "dirty Jap." I work down Hotel Street—these Negroes they always trying to make date with us when you treat them nice. I know this because I used to be nice to them and try to treat them like human beings, like the way I wanted to be treated. One day a Negro sailor came to me and ask for the Princess Theater—I told him where it was. When I was finished with my work he was still hanging around; he followed me to my bus stop. Boy! Was I scared. When I got on my bus I told the driver about the Negro and so he stopped him from coming on the bus. The man got mad and said, "What do you think this is—the South? I'm in the United States Navy and can do d—well as I please. From that time on I don't bother with the Negroes. I only try to give them service, but that's all."

Another Japanese girl who regards the Negro as "highly emotional," told of a case in which she was just a bystander but was in a position to observe the "character of the Negroes." This experience substantiated for this girl her belief that the Negro is unable to control his emotions.

One day I was walking up River Street. I saw a big Negro man, drunk as can be chase a haole man with a sharp knife. The knife gleamed in his hand. He was about ten yards from the white man; when the Haole guy got around the corner, a taxi picked him up. The Negro didn't know what happened and so went to all the stores to ask if they had seen his victim. Finally he got so mad he got hold of an old Japanese man and said, "You is hiding him, hain't you?" He was about to knife the old man but someone called the police who came in time and took the drunkard away. From that day on, whenever I see a Negro I don't look him in the eye."

Other instances occurring during the war years gave the local people a feeling of distaste toward the Negroes. In Honolulu, the two major newspapers reported stories of rape cases involving Negroes. Unfounded rumors were the result. These rumors were particularly fertile in the small plantation villages. A young girl from the island of Hawaii relates the following story, which brought about fear of the Negroes, especially of the Negro Marines, who were stationed in Hawaii in rather large numbers. She says:

The bus driver on his daily run to Hilo came back with the story that an old Japanese woman was raped by a Negro Marine. He came to her son's house where she was alone. He wanted a drink of water, so she went into the kitchen to get it for him. He followed her, discovered there was no one around, and raped her. The bus driver said everyone in Hilo was worried because it was the second case in one week—the first was in P. . . . He told us not to treat the Negro guys nice, because they will come back again and again. He also told us not to look at the Negroes, since they might think we were interested in them. From that time I have always been afraid of the Negro Marines and do not pay attention to them.

Another common reason for disliking the Negro is the conception of the Negro race as shown on the movie screen and as heard on the radio. Here he is often pictured as irresponsible, lazy, and stupid. A college girl bases her prejudice upon such reasoning, claiming she "hates the Negroes." She had never had personal contacts with them nor cared to erase her false ideas.

The local people tended to accept the Haole mainlander's point of view towards the Negroes. They believed the mainland Haoles were "in the know" since they had more frequent contact with the Negroes in the States. Many of the Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines warned the local girls not to associate with the Negroes because the Negroes were beneath everyone and were not fit to mingle with the local girls. Such a case is cited here as an example of the acceptance of such statements by the local population: A Hawaiian hula girl model refused to pose with a Negro sergeant—when asked why she had so rudely turned the poor man away she remarked:

The haole boys told me not to let the Niggers touch me. If I did they would not come to have their pictures taken with me. I don't know why they don't want me to pose with the Niggers. Must be some kind of disease.

Here the word "Nigger," which is seldom used by the local people, is uttered naturally,—as though the word were the proper thing to use. When assured by her manager that the colored boys were all right, she consented to pose with the Negro serviceman.

Small children have no inherent fear of persons of another color. Fear must usually be instilled in children. Rural mothers when attempting to frighten their children into good

behavior and obedience, had formerly made use of the stock phrase, "You be good or the 'obake'² is coming to get you." This was sometimes changed to, "Be good or the black man will catch you," when the Negro troops arrived in those areas.

Unlike the very rigid prejudice many Southerners seem to possess, the local community tends to make allowances for the Negro who is educated, intelligent and shows he has talent or ability along certain lines, whether it be in literature, music, athletics, or in a profession, the Negro who is gifted and who has gained recognition and fame loses his color—his fame places him in a category equal to that of artists of other racial groups.

The tendency for college students to accept the Negro students is clearly seen by the friendly relationships on the local university campus. So long as the number remains small, the Negro students will be taken into the campus activities. If more Negroes were to take their schooling here, there would probably be a tendency for them to form cliques, thus resulting in at least partial isolation from the other students. The recent marriage of an educated, intelligent, and likeable young Negro student and a co-student of Japanese ancestry seemed quite acceptable to the students acquainted with the couple.

A remark quite typical of college girls was made by one flighty student, concerning a well-dressed, educated Negro on the campus:

"Gee! He's cute, huh?"

Business men who are connected with restaurants which prohibit Negroes claim they have no particular dislike for the Negroes, but that they would lose their white customers if they permitted all kinds of people into their establishments. This situation, which existed during the war is not likely to be carried over to post-war Hawaii's business methods, since with the return of many servicemen and war workers to the mainland, the proprietors must take as customers any one capable of paying his check.

The local people's attitude toward the Negro is not one which is apt to become an obsession. If only a small number of Negroes choose to remain in the Islands, they may be assimilated into the local community as were other Negro families who are part of the community today. The opportunities for the trained and skilled Negro are numerous, and those who are superior in their line of work will find it not impossible to reach the top. If the Negro is unlearned, unskilled, and lacks ambition, then he must be content with more menial tasks. The local community tends to accept the

person who is able to "get ahead;" if he deserves admiration and respect because of his efforts, then it will probably be given to him, regardless of his racial background.

The Negroes' Attitude Toward the Community

Negroes who are old members of the community are generally accepted by other racial groups as part of the locality in which they are residing. Although there is not a great deal of intermingling between the Negroes and the Oriental groups, they often live in close contact harmoniously. The more prominent Negro members often enjoy friendship with leading citizens of the various racial groups in the Territory.

Those Negroes who enjoy economic and social security tend to forget the existence of racial prejudices and may often under-estimate the seriousness of the problem. One prominent Negro community member remarked, "The situation is the same as it was thirty years ago. The prejudice is only petty, and of a temporary nature."

A pessimistic view is taken by many mainland Negroes who have experienced rebuffs from the community. A large number of Negroes are suspicious of those people who show friendliness towards them—perhaps a conditioned response resulting from the treatment they frequently receive on the mainland. Other Negroes are eager to take advantage of anything resembling kindness.

A number of Negroes feel that the majority of Islanders are courteous, when taken as a group, although some individuals, they feel, are ill-mannered and rude. One Negro man related an incident which he felt would have never happened had it been another person involved:

My friend got some clothes back from the laundry. He discovered some tears in several of his shirts, so he went back to see the people about the shirts. The Japanese couple who owned the laundry did not understand English, but had a daughter who carried on the business for them. This girl said to her helper, "—'D—these Negroes; they are always bothering us. We should worry about their shirts—if they don't like the way we handle our work, they don't have to come. They always give us trouble."

Another Negro man remarked that the local girls are very rude. He said, "You stand up to give a girl your seat in a crowded bus, but she just looks the other way, and acts offended." Still another Negro man said, "If there is an empty seat next to a Negro, the local girl prefers standing all the way rather than sitting beside him."

A number of Negroes remarked they could not understand why the Oriental girl prefers dating the Haole man since, as one Negro puts it:

²Obake—Japanese word for ghost or devil.

The Orientals and Negroes are very similar, in that they are both of the minority group, being economically and socially below the white man. Why shouldn't we get together to fight our cause instead of remaining at odds?

Feeling themselves not acceptable to the local girls, most of the Negro boys have never attempted to ask the girls for dates. The typical attitude of this sort is expressed by one colored boy:

We know how we stand. We don't want to horn in any place we are not welcomed or treated like the others. All we ask is to be treated like human beings.

That the pessimism of many Negroes who sense racial prejudice will only with difficulty be eradicated is brought out in a statement made by a young mulatto:

I am married to a local Japanese girl. Everywhere I go I feel as though I'm being watched. People are suspicious of me and everything I do, I feel they are looking, staring at me, seeing and hoping that I may slip and do something wrong. My sons will feel it, too, when they are old enough to realize it. It's like being on a pedestal—.

Most of the Negroes do not feel the community's prejudice to be wholly the local people's fault. Many believe that the Army and Navy policies which sometimes involved segregation were basically at fault; these segregative measures helped form the attitude of local people that "something must be wrong with the 'Niggers'; otherwise they wouldn't put all of the Negroes in one group, away from the whites."

Many members of the Negro ethnic group feel that they would be more readily acceptable to the Territory if they have something definite to contribute. Education has therefore become a very important factor.

One conclusion to be gathered from this study is the fact that if the percentage of Negroes choosing to reside in the Territory remains small, it is inevitable that they will be gradually accepted as a part of the community. At present, approximately .25% (twenty-five one hundredths of one percent) of the total population is Negro—a very small percentage, indeed.

Another reason for feeling that the Negroes will eventually find a position of worth in the community is based on the idea that the majority of people making up the Territorial population were at one time looked down upon and subjected to many indignities—but these same people have managed to become respected Island citizens.